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HISTORY OF ENGLISH POLICY.



THERE seems occasion to apply a doctrine of relativity to English history. It is well-known that a principal cause of error in all departments of study is the tendency to isolate the object of study, to consider it in itself alone, neglecting its relations to other things. In order to avoid this cause of error it has been necessary in most departments formally to preach a doctrine of relativity, and to protest against the unreal abstractions, the imaginary or merely verbal entities which swarm so long as we contemplate things in themselves alone rather than in the complicated relations in which Nature presents them to us. There is a fallacy, which might be called the fallacy of capital letters, and without entering into the natural sciences we may find endless examples of the great practical evils which it has caused. Error of a special kind gathers round those capital letters by which we distinguish abstract names. While we talk with comparative safety of men and women, as soon as we begin to speak of Man and Woman we expose ourselves to indefinite chances of error. The Man or Woman we have thus created for ourselves turns out again and again to be an unreal thing, a kind of mythical being, to whom in giving it abstraction we have given imaginary qualities and often an imaginary history. Thus, for example, if we analyse the causes of the French Revolution, we find at the bottom of all abuses, political and social, a perverted way of thinking, a philosophy which erred precisely in the way just described. The philosophy of the day had accustomed itself to think far too absolutely about human nature, to speak far too lightly of Man, and to lay down propositions far too sweeping about Man in general. To that generation, says M. Taine, Man appeared to be a very simple puppet, the motions of which were completely understood. The fallacy of capital letters had

taken possession of a whole age, and thus a mental oversight became an enormous practical evil, a cause of infinite crimes and revolutions, an epidemic disease ravaging the world.

This form of error has now been pretty thoroughly investigated. We have all been warned against the pretentious abstractions which so readily take the place of real things, against the artificial entities which the mind creates by considering things absolutely rather than in their relations. And yet we do not cease to make the mistake. The artificial entities still swarm in all our minds, surrounded with a whole mythology of fantastic beliefs which may at any time translate themselves into practical evils. Let me take an example from one of the greatest departments of knowledge, from history, and especially from English history.

What is the precise subject with which English history deals? What is the thing or object which it contemplates? Few people trouble themselves to ask this question, while the most content themselves with assuming that everything interesting, or amusing, or curious, that ever happened in England must of necessity belong to English history. If we lay it down that the people who live and have lived in England are the subject of English history we propound indeed something tolerably obvious, yet it is already almost more than the average dabbler in English history is accustomed to recognise.

But having once conceived such a thing as the people of England, we have already one of those general names which we may spell with a capital letter, and to which we may attach all the fallacies which gather so readily round capital letters. A host of general propositions swarm at once round the name. The people of England is the English race, and the English race has all the qualities we know so well. It rules the waves; by a natural vocation it is irresistible and ever victorious by sea. It is free; wherever it comes it brings certain institutions which protect it against the tyrannies to which other nations not so blest sooner or later fall a prey. It has a certain natural good sense and practical judgment which have been denied to other races who may possess more refinement. And so on. A whole doctrine has gathered itself round this name, English people—a doctrine which few of us have ever taken the trouble to verify. It is a doctrine which we have acquired by isolating the phenomenon, and considering it in itself alone, just one of those doctrines therefore which we ought to regard with suspicion. It is one of those doctrines which might easily involve us in great calamities. Thus the doctrine, that the English people is always free, might lead us to ruin if we overlooked how easily, after all, the one-man power springs up among us; and the doctrine that Britannia rules the waves might ruin us if it led us to forget that the waves after all are apt to be ruled by the strongest fleet.

What the people of England is, and what are its qualities, we are to discover from its history, not to assume before entering upon the study of its history. Scarcely any error is more gross and yet more ordinary than that which explains historical events by reference to national character, the knowledge of which, being the last result of history, is not to be assumed in the examination of historical problems. But the people of England must be studied, not merely in this inductive way, but also in its relations. The English people, more than most others, are what they are in consequence of their relations to peoples who live outside England. This is one of the consequences of their being an insular people. But in some degree it is true of all great States, that they must not be studied in isolation. In France and Germany, as well as in England, the course of history has been determined in a great degree by causes which lie outside France and Germany. And yet this is a truth difficult to bear in mind, in consequence, not merely of the disposition to which we are all subject, to consider things too much in isolation, too much absolutely and too little relatively, but also in consequence of the practice which prevails of dividing history according to countries. We write histories of France or England, and no other kind of histories, so that we hardly know where to look if we would inform ourselves about the relations between France and England. International relations are apt to drop out of sight while this system prevails, and a kind of tacit assumption establishes itself, that in each State the causes of the course of its history are always to be sought within the State itself. Thus, when we study the struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament we consider the arbitrary disposition of Charles on the one side, and on the other all the causes which roused the spirit of resistance in his people and gave that spirit a centre in the Parliament. But few of us find a place in the picture for Richelieu, or remember that the 'Thirty Years' War was contemporaneous with the growth of our civil troubles and with our first civil war. Few of us feel it necessary to study these Continental movements as if it were possible that in them might be found, at least in part, the explanation of our insular disturbances. No, we have formed the habit of regarding each State as if it were in a manner watertight. We have been driven to this habit by finding that our books treat States separately and will not therefore help us to understand any interaction that there may be between different States. To be sure there are exceptions. M. Albert Sorel has written a book called "*L'Europe et la Révolution Française*," in which he considers the causes of the French Revolution in all Europe at once. It may be called a study in international history, and it is so profoundly instructive that it may well lead us to consider how rich and fruitful is this subject of the interaction of States which has been so little cultivated.

I arrive at the conclusion that we should recognise such a department of study as international history. To a State like England, international history must needs be exceptionally important, considering that we have always been an island, and in the last two centuries we have become a world-empire. The people of England is not, at least now, equivalent to the people living in England; the activity of English people is by no means limited by our insular frontiers. If, therefore, we would rightly understand English history, we ought not to look at the English people alone, but at the English people "in its relations to surrounding States. Continental States have for a long time exerted influence upon us and received influence from us. These States, then, along with our own, form a whole which ought to be considered together. It is not sufficient to trace the course of internal development in our own country; we should trace at the same time the development of those other States which in various ways, whether by wars or negotiations or by the various instruments of culture, by thought, religion, science or literature, have modified and received modification from our internal development.

And yet it has not been our custom to study English history in this way. We have indeed necessarily brought it into connection with Continental States, so far as we have waged war with them; but we have not held in general that our own State ought not to be regarded as an isolated whole but as part of a system which includes more than one Continental State. We have commonly, indeed, done France the honour of giving her a little attention, but scarcely any other Continental State. The fact that we once took a Dutch Stadtholder for our king, has not led us to feel that we cannot understand our own history without mastering at the same time the history of the Dutch Republic, nor do we feel called upon to master the history of the Spanish monarchy because it once sent an Armada against us, nor because we have, twice since, early in the eighteenth and again early in the nineteenth century, waged war in the Spanish Peninsula. And even in the slight excursions which our historians do make into the history of Continental States, they commonly exhibit little thoroughness or seriousness. John Mitchell Kemble, if I remember right, warned Macaulay of the insufficiency of the knowledge of German affairs which he brought to his narrative of a great European war, and his knowledge of even that part of the reign of Louis XIV., which, as the historian of the war of the League of Augsburg, he was bound to know, is by no means so profound as his knowledge of the insular England of the same time. We need not be ashamed of living in an island. At the same time, if we would write our own history and estimate worthily the part we have played in the general development, we ought not to make ourselves out more insular than we are. We have, in fact, in all periods exerted a powerful influence

upon the continent which is so near to us, and also received powerful influences from it. All this interaction deserves to be described as much as the movements which have begun and ended within the island. Here is an inquiry which hitherto has been much neglected. It is not confined to history. Some student will perhaps soon make a name by treating English literary history as if England were not an island—in other words, by discussing thoroughly the influence which foreign literatures have had on our own and the influence which our literature has had upon foreign literatures. French writers say glibly, “Montaigne and his pupil Shakespeare.” Has the fidal book yet been written on the debt which Shakespeare owed to Montaigne? Or the influence of French writers upon English since the French school of English poetry came to an end? Has that been thoroughly treated? For instance, the influence of Rousseau in England; or later the influence of Balzac upon Thackeray. Again, who has thoroughly treated the curiously powerful influence of English literature in the eighteenth century upon the slowly rising literature of Germany, the influence of Milton, Thomson, and, most curious of all, Young; then that of Goldsmith and Sterne, and more commanding and decisive than any other influence, that of Shakespeare. Not indeed that these subjects have been left untreated. All or almost all have been discussed, but they have not been discussed together or completely—that is, the problem of the relation of English to Continental literature has not been tackled. We possess scarcely any book similar to M. Sayous’ “*La Littérature Française à l’étrangère*.” Thus, in literary history and equally, we may add, in the history of thought and philosophy, it would be possible to efface the insularity which clings to our view of ourselves, and to contemplate England not absolutely, as it is in itself, but relatively in its place in the system of States and nations which makes up Europe.

But it is in history, probably, that this new point of view would produce the greatest change. For in history, perhaps more than in any other subject, we are content to dispense with a point of view altogether. Much as we differ as to whether history should be vivid and dramatic or scientific, we seldom ask ourselves what facts belong to history, and what facts, whether interesting or not, are in their nature not historical. The consequence is that we can scarcely predict what subjects we shall find discussed in any given history. The author seems equally prepared to admit anything which may strike him as interesting. Lord Stanhope introduces quite a long and laboured discussion of the unities of the drama, not under the head of Shakespeare, or Otway, or Addison, but in the middle of a history of the eighteenth century, where, if such a subject is historical at all, yet certainly the period offers no justification for dealing with it. And Mr. Lecky devotes a great part of one of his large volumes to

an inquiry into the causes of the French Revolution, though the French Revolution certainly does not belong to English history, and his subject professes to be the history of England in the eighteenth century. In this instance it is rather the length and elaboration of the discussion that is open to criticism, since no one would question the immense historical importance of the subject, nor deny that it belongs in a certain sense to the history of every European State alike. A slighter digression into it would have been justifiable on the very principle maintained in this article. But if we suppose that history ought to be subject to a rigorous rule, which should admit some things and exclude others as not belonging, however interesting in themselves, to the subject, let us proceed to consider what change would be produced in the outline of English history if we resolutely rubbed off the insularity from England and resolved to consider it in its place among the States of Europe.

This would be, reverting to our former phrase, to put by the side of the national history of England its international history. Or it might be otherwise described as carrying a step further a process which was begun long since, the division of English history according to the aspects in which it may be considered. It is indeed a curious proof of helplessness to observe such rigid uniformity, as in general we do, in laying down the outline of history. In general we undertake to treat everything at once—internal affairs, legislation, foreign policy, interesting occurrences of whatever kind, literature and art, manners and customs, in fact, anything that we imagine can in any way be made amusing. Yet, practically, we have been obliged to limit this helpless miscellaneousness. Literary history has set up for itself; so, particularly in England, has constitutional, and so also has economic or industrial history. Ought not policy also to be made independent? Ought we not to have histories in which English foreign relations should be treated by themselves and for their own sake, and not buried in a mass of domestic matter? Partly, no doubt, it is because we have had a constitution that we have so many constitutional historians, and if other nations have treated their foreign relations with so much more thoroughness, if Droysen has written "*Preussische Politik*," and Albert Sorel has done a similar work for the most important period of French foreign relations, while it is difficult to point to any corresponding works in English, this is partly, no doubt, because those Continental States have been so much more military than England. Yet we, too, for good or for evil, have had our great wars, and these wars deserve to be considered, not only from the military point of view, but also in the policy which dictated them. Wellington and Nelson, Rodney, Clive, Wolfe, and Marlborough, ought to live in English minds, not merely in the glory of their victories, but also in the policy of the wars in which they took part, and in the results of

those wars upon English development. And yet it is hard to meet with any Englishman who possesses a well-weighed opinion upon the policy of any of our great wars, or knows whether Wellington or Marlborough did more good or harm on the balance to the people whose armies they commanded. This is so, because our policy has never been sufficiently separated from our general history, and our foreign relations, therefore, being lost in the general mass of English history, are not grasped in their continuity by the average Englishman. We ought to have a Stubbs and a Hallam for English foreign policy, who should set the history of English policy by the side of English constitutional history.

If in this way we should resolutely discard our insularity, we should begin to see our country no longer as self-contained and wrapped up in an eternal contemplation of parliamentary affairs, no longer as looking but occasionally across the Channel to bestow a glance upon the affairs of France, but as a member of a system of States of which France is but one, as having, and as having long had, a close interest in the general development of Europe. Hitherto we have felt that at least Napoleon and Louis XIV., at least the ambitious struggles of France for ascendancy, were inseparable from English history, but this view brings into English history also the House of Austria with its long struggle with the House of Bourbon. It will not be merely at rare and short intervals that we shall have to pay attention to Continental affairs; we shall have henceforth to follow their whole course—the Spanish monarchy, not merely at the time of the Armada and the War of the Spanish Succession, but before the Armada, at least as far back as the beginning of the Dutch rebellion and throughout the seventeenth century, and again through the eighteenth century, the age of the *pacte de famille* and of the European House of Bourbon, until we come to the nineteenth century and its Peninsular War—in short, at every time since the Spanish monarchy emerged from the universal dominion of Charles V. down to the present, we shall consider the Spanish monarchy and its history to be inseparable from the history of England. Austria, too, will occupy us not merely at rare intervals, as when she fights by our side against the French Revolution, or when Eugene takes the field along with Marlborough. We shall follow her whole development. The Thirty Years' War will seem to us inseparably connected with English history and, as it were, a chapter in our Stuart troubles. Nor will William III. appear the only link between our State and the Dutch Republic. His predecessors in the Stadtholderate, as far back as William the Silent, will appear to us as figures in English history, and we shall recognise the curious parallelism in the development of the two Sea Powers from the time when they stood forth to break the Spanish monopoly of maritime power and colonial possession. And

the whole modern period of our history, so closely interwoven at every point with Continental history, will be seen to open with an event which is essentially European and international, the Reformation. This will appear to us no mere theological or ecclesiastical change, but a great moral and political disruption by which England became for the first time in any true sense an island. We shall mark the moment at which England at the same time ceased to have possessions on the Continent and also began to draw towards union with Scotland at the moment of a great transition. Then, that is, under Elizabeth, we began to have a maritime frontier, and at the same time the modern Britain, a physical name, showed itself likely to supersede the ethnological unity called England. But in studying this disruption we shall not consider the Reformation only but also the counter-Reformation. We shall perceive in how great a degree the great religious struggle of the sixteenth century was decided to the advantage of the ancient Church, and we shall not, as so many Englishmen do, cease to take any interest in the religious history of the Continent after the time when the Continent attaches itself mainly to Rome. We shall grasp the full greatness of the movement called the counter-Reformation, and not till we have done so shall we fully understand how the French Huguenots, after obtaining their Edict of Toleration, could be deprived of it again with the general approbation of the French people after nearly a century, and how Charles II. and James II. could still hope to restore the Roman Church in England after the Reformation had been triumphant here for the best part of a century.

Such a history of British or Britannic policy, the policy of the modern great Power, which, resting on the basis of the three kingdoms, covers the world, will divide itself naturally into periods. If we look back to the beginning of that nineteenth century which for this Power has been on the whole so peaceful, we discern a long period of war covering all the eighteenth century and the first fifteen years of the nineteenth. It is the period of the wars, waged principally with the House of Bourbon, in which the insular State of Europe attached to itself a great trade empire covering the globe. It falls roughly into two parts, of which the first covers the wars in which that empire was founded, and the second those in which it underwent its fiery ordeal, being assailed first by the two Bourbon Houses allied with our insurgent colonists, and then again by the French Revolution and Napoleon. In this period are included most of the great deeds of our army and navy. Marlborough stands near the beginning and Wellington at the close of it. But beyond this period, if we look back to the policy of the seventeenth century, we find ourselves again in a period markedly different. It is the age of the Stuarts; England can scarcely be said as yet to have an empire; even the basis of that empire, the

great insular union, has not yet been laid. England and Scotland are as yet united only in the royal house; Ireland has not yet emerged from the primitive phase of wars of religion and legislation founded upon religious discord. It is a period deeply interesting in constitutional history, but in international history or the history of policy, how shall we grasp it or how fix its limits? What position has Stuart England in the system of Europe? What alliances has it, and what are we to think of those Dutch wars which it occasionally wages, or of its transitory appearance as a military State in the time of the Protector? It is at least a period when the policy of the modern great Power, the world-State founded on the three kingdoms, is but in embryo.

In this embryonic period we may see that three persons stand forth presiding over our policy and linking England to the Continent. These international persons are William III., before him Oliver Cromwell, and before him again Queen Elizabeth. They represent the tentatives through which we gradually arrived at the policy which suited us. Yet they have all alike been less considered in this aspect than in the aspect they wear towards our domestic politics. William attracts us as the author of the Revolution of 1688 much more than as the great master of European politics who gave us once for all the international position we were to hold in the eighteenth century. Oliver, too, attracts us as the Protector, the successful revolutionist, much more than as the great experimentalist in foreign policy who made us a military State and plunged us into war with the Spanish monarchy. Elizabeth, perhaps, strikes us as the founder of Anglicanism and settler of the religious question, or as that and at the same time the successful resister of the Armada, rather than as the founder of our modern naval power and our influence on the ocean and in the New World.

It is impossible to understand these three great persons while we contemplate England alone. In their careers England is closely interwoven with the Continent. Elizabeth must be considered not only in conjunction with Philip II. and the rebels of the Low Countries, but also in conjunction with the religious wars of France, and with that final civil war of France through which the House of Bourbon established its throne. To understand Elizabeth it is necessary also to understand Henry IV. Nor can we form a just conception of our Great Rebellion and of the singular military government which arose out of it unless we study, in conjunction with it, the transformation of France under Richelieu and Mazarin, which corresponded in time with the transformation of England. Nor, lastly, can we understand the Revolution of 1688 unless we look at it from the point of view of Louis XIV. as well as from that of James II. It is indeed the peculiarity of this particular English revolution that it is, as it were, a

revolution in England inside a revolution in Europe; that the same events and the same man who overthrew James II. overthrew also the ascendancy of Louis XIV., and that the European war by which that ascendancy was first shaken was connected in the closest manner with the English Revolution, and was presided over by the English revolutionary king.

Macaulay bestowed much trouble and much appreciation upon William III.; yet so much in his mind does the purely English and the constitutional aspect of William's work preponderate over the European aspect that we look in vain to him for any comprehensive estimate of William's career. He relates how William overthrew James II., and he has described with thoroughness the parliamentary and party conflicts of his reign. But William, more than most other rulers, was an international man. He did not merely overthrow James; he also took the leading share in overthrowing the ascendancy of Louis XIV. He cannot, therefore, be estimated without a full comprehension of that ascendancy—that is, without a comprehensive view of the mutual relations of the principal European States in his time. And such a view would lead the historian away from England, or require him to consider England, not by itself, but in its place in the system of Europe. Macaulay had not formed the habit of regarding our country so. He can indeed describe with spirit William's campaigns in the Low Countries, but he does not justify, as he might do, the admiration he demands for his hero by estimating adequately that part of his work which was done outside England. He gives us no conception of the prodigious extent of his total achievement, nor makes us feel how the same man who laid the foundation of the modern English constitution at the same time dominated the system of Europe much as Richelieu had done, and laid down the outlines of almost all the international history of the eighteenth century.

In like manner Oliver Cromwell has been studied much more thoroughly in his domestic career than in his European policy. His unparalleled rise to supreme power, and the moral questions that strange rise suggests, the question whether his religious professions were sincere, and his intentions in life upright, these we have found interesting, partly because they do not require us to travel beyond our insular frontiers. But we cannot estimate his foreign policy without understanding, besides English affairs, the position and policy of Mazarin, and Carl Gustav of Sweden, and Philip IV. of Spain. To estimate it rightly we must understand the war of France and Spain, which dragged on from the Peace of Westphalia to the Peace of the Pyrenees. Now this chapter of Continental history scarcely comes within that part of Continental history which we think it necessary to master. And yet it is just in those years that England was closely linked with the Continent through the strange, adventurous, and

original policy of the Lord Protector. It was not for nothing that he made England a military State. He intended the navy and the army, upon which his supreme power rested, to execute far-reaching plans which he had conceived. He had a passionate anti-Spanish feeling, and he had a great Panevangelical idea, such as might naturally have grown up in a mind which united so strangely religious exaltation with comprehensive statesmanship. He pushed these schemes far enough to leave an indelible mark on English history ; but if, instead of dying at sixty, he had reached the three-score years and ten, still more if he had anticipated the aged Premiers who recently have been seen ruling England at four-score years, we can see how far British policy might have been deflected from the line it has actually pursued. This is to suppose that the military state had struck root and had endured ten or twenty years longer in England than it actually did. In that time, it is easy to see, the anti-Spanish passion might have carried us far and the Panevangelical idea might have borne strange fruit.

If we look back further than Oliver Cromwell, and consider the Great Rebellion itself and all that led to it from the European rather than the merely insular point of view, we shall bring Richelieuism and the 'Thirty Years' War into connection with our domestic troubles. That is, instead of merely remarking how monarchy for a time was suppressed in England, we shall remark how at the same time the principle of monarchy won one of its greatest victories in France, how a more commanding and imposing form of monarchy than had been seen before grew up by the accession of Louis XIV. following the victory of the system of Richelieu, at the moment when the Stuart monarchy began to fall in England. The House of Austria, too, will be brought into connection with English history, first in its Austrian branch, while we follow the vicissitudes of the 'Thirty Years' War. Travelling further back still, we come to the great reign in which the foundations of modern England were laid. Under Elizabeth we see not only the religious question and the succession question settled for good, and the way paved to the personal union of England and Scotland, we see also the great struggle between our rising naval power and the other—the Spanish—branch of the House of Austria. Here, too, the domestic aspect has been much more thoroughly studied than the European aspect of our affairs. The transition which Europe was then making under the fresh influence of the counter-Reformation, the settlement for all coming centuries of the questions raised at the Reformation, the establishment of the great House of Bourbon in France during the same years which saw the House of Stuart prepare to take the place of the House of Tudor among ourselves ; all these great changes, of which France was the scene, and in which England was so closely concerned, show us that in this reign England stands

related not merely to the House of Spain and its rebels in the Low Countries, but also to France, then emerging from its wars of religion. But if we attempted to go back beyond this reign, we should find ourselves once more in a wholly different age. The policy of the seventeenth century may be considered to belong together with that of Elizabeth. We may distinguish a period of a century and a half between the accession of Elizabeth and the struggle against the ascendancy of Louis XIV., which followed the Revolution of 1688. But beyond Elizabeth, in policy as in domestic affairs, all is different. We find ourselves in another world—a world, indeed, to which all that has been said above is equally applicable, a world in which England may be regarded relatively to the Continental Powers which influence it or may be isolated in an unnatural manner. But there is not room in this article to examine that other, that distant world. For us Elizabeth laid the foundation of that great Power which, upon the basis of three insular kingdoms, which were gradually united, has since built a trade empire covering the globe.

It is this great composite fabric which those ought to study who study the later centuries of English history. For them the question is how the insular kingdoms were united, and how the trade empire was added to the insular union. It is a question which cannot be handled at all so long as we isolate England and concentrate our thoughts upon Parliament, a question which requires us to consider England first and last relatively to several Continental Powers which have influenced and received influence from England. It is a question of international history, a question wholly separate from that constitutional development, that long struggle for liberty, in which we are always disposed to find all the interest of English history—a question, in short, not of British liberties, but of British policy.

J. R. SEELEY.

ALSACE AND LORRAINE.

EUROPE at this moment may be likened to a huge arsenal. It is literally bristling with bayonets from the Thames to the Volga, and from the North Cape to that of Matapan. Even little Greece, though she cannot pay the interest on her debt, must have war-ships. Yet all the sovereigns and rulers in chorus stoutly maintain, and, no doubt in almost every case honestly maintain, that the one anxiety of their lives is that peace shall not be broken. The expenditure for military purposes is so tremendous that the producing and the propertied classes are alike staggering under its weight. Everywhere huge deficits are being met by increased taxation, or staved off by new loans. Italy is, perhaps, in the very worst case of any, but her condition is typical. The enthusiasm which, within the lifetime of many of us, made Italians offer up their lives freely on the battle-field and the scaffold for their fatherland one and united, has been crushed out by sheer hunger. Men cannot be enthusiastic with nothing in their stomachs. To large classes in Italy life is rapidly being made impossible by the burden of taxation.

Yet all this is in a time of profound and unbroken peace. The situation would be laughable if it were not so desperately serious. It is as if every available man in the British Islands were enrolled in the police force, and were constantly patrolling to protect agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, all of which were dying out for want of labour and by reason of the cost of the police protection.

There is only one reason in the least degree adequate to palliate, I will not say excuse, this anomalous and monstrous condition of things in Europe. The Eastern question—which means, What is to be done with the unspeakable Turk when he is considerate enough to give up the ghost?—is always with us. But, serious as this is, it is

not enough to account for, far less to justify, the present armed condition of Europe. No; the reason is that, as the result of the great struggle of a quarter of a century ago, the new German Empire took back from France certain German lands which had been wrested from the Holy Roman Empire 200 years before by force or fraud. Those lands, thus regained by Germany, are Alsace and Lorraine.

Now, I was so fortunate as to spend a night during the bombardment of Strassburg in the trenches of the German besiegers at Kehl; subsequently I visited the outposts of the besieging army before Metz; and immediately after the surrender of the latter city I acted as one of the Commissioners of the War Victims Fund in Metz—a city then stricken with pestilence, for small-pox and typhoid fever followed close in the track of the armies. From that centre we visited the whole of Alsace and Lorraine, and later every part of France in which the German armies were or had been. Death has severed many of the friendships then formed, but many still remain, and some have been perpetuated in the second and even the third generation.

It is not then to be wondered at that the fate of Alsace, and Lorraine should have a deep interest for me, especially as it is the uncertainty in the minds of the people of Europe as to that fate which is the occasion of the constant alarm of war, and thus the one hindrance to a general disarmament, in which alone Europe can find its salvation, or indeed escape from financial, industrial and social ruin. The first thing to be done in order to bring about a better state of things is to get rid of all delusions, and to really know what are the condition and prospects of the conquered provinces.

In order to ascertain this, I have spent the past six months in Alsace and Lorraine, with my headquarters at Strassburg, making very frequent excursions by railway or tricycle to Metz and Mühlhausen, as well as to the remotest country villages. I have had many hundreds of conversations in French or German, as the case might be, with all sorts and conditions of men and women—with the Imperial Vicegerent the Statthalter Prince Hohenlohe, with the Commanding General of the Fifteenth Army Corps, stationed at Strassburg, his Excellency von Blume, with the Bürgermeister of Strassburg, with members of all shades of opinion of the *Landes Ausschuss*, or Alsatian Parliament, with Jesuits in the cities, and with country curés and Protestant pastors in the villages, with farmers and peasants everywhere, and with their wives and daughters. Many of them remembered the benefits conferred upon them by the "War Victims Fund," and were disposed to treat me with confidence and without suspicion.

I also crossed the frontiers and stayed for days with French friends.

In Alsace-Lorraine itself, I had relations with members of the *Ligue Patriotique*, the *raison d'être* of which is to restore the lost

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provinces to France, and who never mention Germany or the Germans without spitting and cursing, and with others—old friends who find themselves the last of a very numerous circle, and who only wait before going into final exile until their boys have reached the age of seventeen, when they must elect, whether they will be French or German, and when they will at once elect to be French, and will leave Alsace or Lorraine for ever. In order to understand my subject I have neglected no means.

Alsace and that portion of Lorraine ceded to Germany, as the result of the war, contains 5580 square miles. It is exactly one-third *larger* than the island of Jamaica, and one-tenth *smaller* than the county of Yorkshire. The population in 1871 was 1,549,738; in 1880, 1,562,880; in 1890, 1,603,506. Of these roughly speaking 1,230,000 are Catholics; 320,000 Protestants, and 40,000 Jews.

It came under the Roman domination through the conquests of Julius Caesar, and remained for five centuries an integral portion of the Roman Empire. Early in the fifth century it was ravaged by the Goths and Alains, and was occupied in the south by the Allemanni, and in the north by the Franks. About the five-hundredth year of our era, the Allemanni were defeated in the great battle of Tolbiac, and were driven definitively beyond the Rhine, and the whole of the left bank became a province of the Franks. This was followed by the conversion of Clodwig (Clovis). The old names then ceased to be used, that of *Alsatia* taking their place, from the river *Ell*, or *Ill*, which flows into the Rhine at Strassburg, which is called "*Alsa*" in old titles—*Ellsass*, the country of the *Ill*. *Alsatia* was sometime attached to the Austrasian kingdom, whose capital was Metz, but in 870, on the division of the empire between Charles the Bald and Louis the German, it was definitively united to the German Empire. Throughout the Middle Ages, Alsace was the cradle, or one of the cradles, of German thought, art, architecture, and civilisation.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the "friends of God," with Eckard and Tauler at their head, prepared the way for the Reformation. Early in the fifteenth century Gutenberg set up his printing-press at Strassburg, and Martin Schon, or Schongauer, engraved his copper plates. The Reformation practically secured the whole of Alsace. Sturm von Sturmeck withstood the Catholic persecutions and founded a Protestant Strassburg University.

Meanwhile, as France became a strong centralised Power, she naturally longed to extend her dominion eastward. Louis XI., when Dauphin, checked by the citizens of Basle at St. Jakob, in 1444, retired and wintered with his army in Alsace. Henry II., the husband of Catherine de Medici, took the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, from the German Empire, and essayed to do the like by

Strassburg, but in vain. In 1617, the Austrian Archdukes made over all their rights to the Spanish line. The Alsatians hated the Spanish *régime*, and this threw them into the arms of France, and in the utter weakness of the German Empire after the Thirty Years' War, there was nothing for it but to accept the "protection" of the French monarch. The work of Richelieu was completed by Louis XIV., and in 1681, in a time of profound peace, the grand old German city, with its minster the glory of all Germany, became an integral part of the French monarchy.

The Protestant worship was tolerated, almost all the churches being divided into two in the strangest possible fashion, a half being given to each communion. The cathedral was restored to the Roman Catholic rite, although at the time there were but three Roman Catholic families in Strassburg. The German University flourished more than ever under the French Government. In history, philology, and law, it produced great lights—Johannes Schilter, Jeremias Oberlin, and Johann Scherz. Goethe attended the university, together with Herder, in 1770-71.

Economically, Alsace had good reason to be grateful to the French *régime*: the cultivation of the vine and of tobacco was carefully fostered by the French Government. But, without violent persecution, a steady relentless war was made against the Protestant faith, and, by the time the Revolution came the bulk of the population had been won back to Catholicism. No one rejoiced more in the era of civil and religious liberty that seemed to be dawning in 1789 than did the Protestant inhabitants of Strassburg; but the noblest and best of them perished on the guillotine in 1791. During "the Terror," the then Mayor of Strassburg, a man named Mouet, from Savoy, seriously proposed that all German-speaking Alsatians should be deported, and the land divided among good French *sans-culottes*.

Mühlhausen, which up to that time had been attached to the Swiss Confederation, was annexed to France in 1798. Many families then left it, rather than change their nationality. This is curious, as now, after less than 100 years—at the time of the war it was only seventy-two years—there is no spot in all Alsace that is so uncompromisingly French and so bitter against the Germans as Mühlhausen. As a matter of fact, Strassburg and, to a great extent, Alsace, remained essentially German in language, culture, and sentiment, until the principles of 1789 and the victories of the Empire awoke a strong French patriotic sentiment. Kleber, Kellermann and Rapp were Alsatians, and Marshal Ney was the son of a miner at Saarbrücken. The name is a common one still in and around Metz; I noticed it over a small grocer's shop there. Probably he is a cousin of the great Field Marshal, "le brave des braves." It was a terrible blow

the young heroes of the war of liberation when the determined

opposition of Russia prevented Alsace and Lorraine being re-incorporated with Germany.

In 1872, 160,000 of the inhabitants declared that they would remain French, and 50,000 actually emigrated to France, thus going into perpetual exile. We now come to the kernel of the whole question. The French allege that Europe is at this hour one great armed camp, because contrary to the rights of men and the spirit of the age, Germany has cruelly, brutally, and violently torn from France an integral portion of its territory against the will of the inhabitants. The favourite image used to represent Alsace by French writers is that of a daughter—ravished away from her mother by a cruel spoiler—who in tears and anguish constantly stretches out her hands to her mother France, imploring release from the soul-crushing bondage under which she is sinking. Even an enlightened statesman like Jules Simon felt himself compelled to employ this image. They maintain that there can be no permanent peace in Europe until this outrage has been atoned for, and the annexed provinces have been restored to France. They insist that to dispose of a people without their expressed consent is a violence only worthy of a barbarous age. Did not France obtain the consent of Savoy and Nice, expressed by “*plébiscite*,” before those provinces were transferred from Italy to France? It is hardly worth while at this time of day to inquire whether that “*plébiscite*” was or was not a hypocritical fraud, and as to the question whether Germany was justified in taking territory at the close of its successful war, it is undoubtedly an admirable question for debating societies, but it is purely academical, and does not belong to the region of practical politics. With regard to it, I will now only remark that I am profoundly convinced from intercourse with large numbers of Frenchmen in France, and of French sympathisers in Alsace, that if Alsace and Lorraine had never been severed from the mother country, and even more if to-morrow they were restored to France, the peace of Europe would not be materially advanced. France would still smart under her great defeat; she would still yearn for a *revanche*; but the possession of the great fortresses of Strassburg and Metz would give her a double-barrelled pistol to present at Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, and Munich.

As an illustration of this I may mention that when, a month ago, I passed a day in the company of my old friend, M. Emile Erckmann, known to fame as one of the authors of the immortal stories of Erckmann-Chatrian, he had been expressing the very natural and proper sentiment to him as a Frenchman that the cause of the present armed state of Europe and all our woe was the fact that Germany had dismembered France and taken territory, instead of being content with a few more milliards. “Yes,” said a crony, an old gentleman who was present, “to take territo-

was contrary to the spirit of the age, and the occasion of all subsequent bad feeling. No, frontiers should be always respected; to alter them is barbarous." "Yes," chimed in M. Erckmann's housekeeper, an intelligent and educated woman, "all the mischief arose through taking the provinces." And almost in the same breath, she added, "There is only one natural frontier to France, and that is the Rhine;" and the old gentleman repeated with emotion, "Only one natural frontier, the Rhine." M. Erckmann said nothing; I think he must have seen the humour, not to say the irony, of the situation. Why is the Rhine the natural frontier of France? Why should Belgium and a great part of Holland, and of Germany, be absorbed in order to round off France? What good reason is there to call the Rhine the natural frontier rather than the Elbe, the Oder, or the Vistula? Yet this is what French people feel even after all their defeats and humiliations. It was because Napoleon III. felt that if he could but give to France the frontier of the Rhine he would assure his dynasty for, at least, another generation, that much against his natural will and inclination he made war in 1870.

Now, after a quarter of a century, to inquire whether Germany was justified in annexing Alsace and Lorraine, is a purely academical question to discuss; it can serve no purpose of practical politics. The men who rule Germany now are not responsible for that annexation. The Emperor was then a boy of eleven years of age. It would be just as practical to inquire whether England was justified in annexing Oude, France Algiers, or Sardinia Tuscany. A quarter of a century is a long time even in the life of a nation. The Flavian dynasty, which has left such indelible marks on the world, did not last so long. The first French Republic and the Consulate and the Empire together were comprised within that period. But let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that in the event of the conquered provinces being restored to France in exchange for gold, France would be absolutely satisfied, not only now but for all time to come. A distinguished member of the French Legislative Chamber, a Protestant, and a man largely interested in manufactures, recently wrote some earnest essays to prove that France and Germany were natural allies and had almost identical interests. "Let Germany but accept gold in exchange for the two provinces and all cause of quarrel will be removed, and we can then swear eternal friendship and join our forces against the common enemy—England!" It is fair to say that this benevolent and peace-loving statesman did not propose to make war upon us with swords and guns, but only to ruin our industries! Apart from any side issue to England, is such a settlement practical or even possible? The answer must be an emphatic and an absolute "No." Party politics in Germany are conducted with a bitterness happily unknown in this

country ; but on one point all politicians and very nearly all men and women in Germany are agreed, and that is, that the last man and the last gold piece must be staked in order to retain the two fair German lands, which were redeemed to the Fatherland, not with corruptible things as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of its noblest sons. On this question all parties and all classes are agreed! The only German I ever heard express any doubt as to the retention of Alsace and Lorraine was Herr Liebknecht—a worthy and eminent man, it is true—but I gravely doubt whether even he would recommend the restoration upon any terms to France, and I am certain, if he did so, that he would fail to carry with him more than an inconsiderable fraction, even of the extreme Social Democrats. The Emperor is the very last man to entertain such an idea for a moment. Were he seriously to consider it, it would cost him his Imperial crown.

Those who know Germany will bear me out when I say that so long as the German nation continues—I do not say merely the German *Empire*, for a German *Republic* might take its place without changing the national sentiment—Alsace and Lorraine will never, upon any terms, be voluntarily given back to France.

A very distinguished and an altogether disinterested man, M. Edouard Tallichet, the editor of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, the great Swiss quarterly, now a century old, maintains the exact contrary. In a series of very able articles, commencing immediately after the war and continuing almost to the present time, he has consistently supported the thesis that in taking Alsace and Lorraine Germany committed a great wrong, and that Europe stands upon the brink of an unexampled calamity until that false step has been retraced. From a conversation I had with him recently, I fear that he holds this pessimistic view of the situation as strongly as ever. His latest suggestion is that Alsace and Lorraine shall be restored to France, and that Germany shall find indemnification in a French colony—say Tonquin, or the French Congo—of vastly greater extent and importance than the two provinces. With profound respect for the eminent editor, it seems to me that he altogether misses the German sentiment in this matter. Alsace and Lorraine are valued by Germany, not as producing so much taxation, or as being worth so many milliards of marks. The cost of their retention is altogether out of proportion to any pecuniary advantage they may bring to the fatherland. Strassburg and Metz are felt to be bulwarks, instead of, in French hands, being a standing and dangerous menace to Southern Germany. But above and beyond this, Germany feels the provinces are bone of her bone and flesh of her flesh, and would no more barter them away for territory, be it ever so extensive, elsewhere, than would Great Britain hand over the province of Ulster to a foreign Power in exchange, say,

for one of the States of the Great American Republic, though that State be as large as the whole of Great Britain. No, whatever may be our theoretical view of the right and wrong of the situation, Germany will never yield up the provinces until Germany as a nation ceases to exist.

A second alternative was proposed, as far back as 1870, by the Count Agénor de Gasparin, and it has received a very large amount of attention and support ever since. The proposal is to neutralise Alsace and Lorraine, or rather those portions of the two provinces that Germany took over, and to dismantle the great fortresses of Strassburg and Metz. The advocates of this plan say: "Make Alsace and Lorraine neutral, and restore the neutrality of Luxemburg and you have a great neutral belt, or zone, consisting of Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Lorraine, Alsace, and Switzerland, which would effectually shut the two great belligerent Powers of France and Germany away from one another, and would render it as impossible for them to go to war as for a whale to make war upon an elephant."

M. Tachard, a Frenchman by birth, an Alsatian by adoption, and a German by education, simply lives for the realisation of this idea, and says he desires only to have the word "tampon" inscribed upon his tombstone. He was ambassador of France at the Court of Brussels during the *régime* of Gambetta, and with rare devotion ever since he has urged his views at most of the European Courts. It is, at first sight, a most taking idea; but upon examination I fear it will be found to be absolutely impracticable. To begin with, what would be the value of a declaration of neutrality, unless accompanied by guarantees? The joint and several guarantees of all the Great Powers would alone carry weight. Would they give these guarantees? England, it is certain, would not be allowed by her people to do so. We have too many commitments of the kind already entered upon with a light heart by our predecessors, but which it is more than doubtful whether we or our sons, in case of extreme need, should feel ourselves bound to go to war about. The other Powers—Russia, Austria, and Italy—would be less likely even than England to give such guarantees.

I was on the Swiss frontier in January 1871, when Bourbaki's army of 80,000 men came tumbling over from France in hideous ruin. If the whole army, or, as I should prefer to call it, the militia of Switzerland had not been there to receive the unwelcome guests, they would have entered Switzerland as an army, and not disarmed and as prisoners. The Germans would almost certainly have followed them, and then, treaty or no treaty, guarantees or no guarantees, the neutrality of Switzerland would for the time have been at an end, and it would probably have had the misfortune to become again the battle-ground of contending nations, as it was a hundred years ago.

As to France, France would only accept the neutralisation of the provinces as a means of making their reconquest more easy. I believe the neutralisation of Alsace and Lorraine would make war more imminent than it is now. Germany believes this, and it is ridiculous to suppose that she would even consider the razing of the immense fortifications of Metz and Strassburg, unless France was prepared to dismantle the huge works at Belfort.

No, Germany would regard neutralisation purely and simply as a first step towards handing back the provinces to France. Neutralisation is impossible; nobody sincerely desires it, and if it could be obtained, the danger to the peace of Europe would be increased rather than diminished.

If, then, it is vain, and even absurd, to look to the elimination of the danger of a great war, either by the restoration of the provinces to France, or by their neutralisation, thus forming a buffer-State between the probable belligerents, what alternative remains to us? First, and foremost, to look the facts fairly and squarely in the face, and to realise that Alsace and Lorraine are at least as absolute and integral parts of Germany as Savoy and Nice are of France. When France and Europe recognise this certain truth, we shall have made a first step towards an era of peace.

"Alsace has not entirely become German, but it has absolutely ceased to be French. For its complete restoration to the Fatherland we must wait until the generation that was in middle life at the time of the war has entirely died out."

These words were addressed to me six months ago by General von Blume, commander of the Fifteenth Army Corps, at Strassburg. It may be objected that this is an *ex parte* statement; but the result of continuous and painstaking investigation during the past six months convinces me that it is a true statement. It was made to me under circumstances which, I think, throw some light upon the present condition of Alsace, and I may, perhaps, therefore be excused for briefly referring to them.

The key of the position at the battle of Wörth was the Château of Froeschweiler, then the residence of Count Ferdinand Eckbrecht von Dürkheim-Montmartin. The church—which was burned to the ground in the action, and was subsequently rebuilt in magnificent style as a thank-offering by all Germany—drew the fire of the German artillery, and thus the château escaped with comparatively little injury.

Count Dürkheim had passed a long life in the service of the French Government. He was sous-préfet of Ham at the time that Prince Buonaparte (the subsequent Emperor Napoleon III.) was confined in the château, under a sentence of lifelong imprisonment. Kindness he was then able to show to his prisoner was never forgotten, and

at the time of the *coup d'état* Dürckheim was Préfet of Colmar. He then received the important position of Inspector-General of Telegraphs for the whole of France, and in that capacity it became his duty to hand to his former prisoner, and later master, the despatches telling of the disasters of Spickern and of Wörth. His eldest son fought on MacMahon's staff at Wörth, and died of typhus, near Sedan. It was at this time that I made Count Dürckheim's acquaintance, an acquaintance which became an intimate and affectionate friendship for the remainder of his life. Dürckheim, though a Frenchman by education and long service, never forgot that he came of a long and illustrious line of German nobles, and he felt that he was best serving his fatherland of Alsace by loyally recognising the new order of things, and becoming as good a German subject of the Emperor William as he had been a French subject of King Louis Philippe and of the Emperor Napoleon. He suffered as all men suffer who are before their time. His neighbours, friends and relatives regarded him as a traitor to France, and the Germans themselves with doubtful wisdom and gratitude, hesitated to push forward in the administration one who was thus regarded by his neighbours. His last years were passed in Austria with a son in the Austrian service, and were occupied in the preparation of his memoirs, a book which had a very great success in Germany, and brought him into communication with hosts of new friends who made happy his declining days.

Before his death he had the satisfaction to see his son Albert happily married and settled in the old château, and to assist at the baptism of an heir to the house of Dürckheim-Montmartin. It was at this château on the occasion of the great annual shooting in the forest of Froeschweiler, that General von Blume expressed the opinion just quoted. There may have been about forty guns, and the sportsmen were posted in the glades of the forest, where twenty-three years before Zouaves and Turkos had had to yield to the terrible impact of the German line. Many of the guests, German officers from the neighbouring garrisons, took part in the fight, where now they were only waging war upon roebucks and hares and pheasants. Other guests were Alsatian noblemen from Strassburg and the neighbourhood. Even after nearly a quarter of a century, Alsatians will not usually mix with German officers and officials in ordinary social intercourse. Curiously enough, however, an exception is made for hunting parties; and here upon the battlefield of Wörth, were the two races nearly equally divided, having formed an alliance defensive and offensive against the poor game.

If my readers will excuse a very short digression, it may interest them to know that the drawing-room to which we retired after the hunt banquet is furnished with chairs and sofas in gold and very

faded brocade which have a remarkable history. The sofa upon which General von Blume and I were sitting was one which was habitually used by Napoleon and Josephine; for it and the rest of the suite were the furniture of the drawing-room at Malmaison, and they were bequeathed to my late friend, Count Ferdinand, by the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden, the niece of Josephine and adopted daughter of Napoleon. On the companion sofa, there is the mark of a tear in the old brocade. The tear was made by the spur of Marshal MacMahon, who passed the greater part of the night preceding the fateful 6th August, 1870, upon that sofa. Since then those sofas and chairs have been used by the old Emperor William and his son, the late Emperor Frederick III., when they rode over to breakfast with Count Ferdinand in 1878. But to leave furniture: Count Albert and a brother now dead served their year in the German Army at Karlsruhe, and the former is now an officer in the Prussian Guard. At his table I met an old baron, the head of one of the largest engineering establishments in Alsace. Alsatian by birth, he has always been a true Frenchman, though the irony of fate had made him the husband of the sister of one of the most distinguished invading German Generals. On the 6th August, 1870, MacMahon, swept away in the rout, indited in his hall the telegram that informed his master of the great disaster, and the next morning the conquering German General went to visit his sister, my friend's wife, in the very same house.

Here it may be remarked that, however loyal to France the great leaders of industry in Alsace may remain, the protective system which obtains on the Continent has compelled them to lay out millions of francs in establishing *succursales* in France since 1870. If it were possible to imagine that Alsace could again become French territory this expenditure would be absolutely thrown away. They have thus given very material and substantial hostages to the German Government.

With regard to the peasantry I remember, during the war of 1870, speaking to a young Alsatian peasant, and asking him how he felt with regard to a possible annexation to Germany. "To us peasants it matters nothing whether we are French or Germans; in either case the powers that be will take care that we pay taxes enough." Universal military service has become obligatory since 1870, and the peasant naturally associates it with the German *régime*, but he forgets that were he again French it would in some respects be even more onerous.

Then it is only human nature to ascribe the depression of trade common to the whole world, and from which Alsace has not escaped, to the German Government. As a matter of fact, thanks to the protective system, the wine-growers of Alsace have been greatly bene-

fited by the annexation. Formerly they had to compete upon equal terms with the superior growths of France, while Germany was closed to them by a high tariff. Now they go duty free all over the Zollverein. On the other hand, the cotton-spinners of Mühlhausen cannot send their yarns to their old market in France without paying duty, and in Germany they have to compete with the spindles of Saxony and elsewhere.

Speaking generally, the peasant is not dissatisfied. He would like to pay fewer taxes and to escape military service. He would, perhaps, prefer the French military service, where the discipline is less severe, and, in time past at least, the drill-sergeant's hand was not so brutally heavy. On the other hand, he recognises that the present *régime*, if not gracious, is just and conscientious to a degree. It is also an administration by men of his own race and speech, and there is nothing very attractive in the prospect of being relegated to officials alien to him in race, who do not understand a word of his language, and who have always despised him for not understanding theirs. He sees that his material interests are being well looked after, and that, in spite of bad times and heavy military taxes, he is saving money and adding at once to his possessions and comforts. All he desires is to be severely let alone, and the one thing he dreads is a war that would practically put an end to his well-being, for which it would be no sort of compensation or consolation to find at its close that he had become, as his fathers were, a citizen of the French nation.

• In the great towns the feeling is somewhat different. In Strassburg, for instance, there is the Ligue Patriotique, which may number some hundreds of members in the city. The *raison d'être* of this secret society is to restore Alsace to France, and it is animated by an uncompromising hatred to the German rule. Nothing gave such vitality to this society as the repressive measures, and notably the law of passports, which Germany unhappily adopted some years ago. These unwise measures undoubtedly threw back for years the Germanisation of Alsace, and if persisted in might have been disastrous. Happily they have been absolutely discarded and for ever, and the 'Ligue Patriotique' now exists, I believe, more as a pious opinion and a sentiment than as an active propaganda. If you enter a shop in Strassburg, especially if the shopkeeper be middle-aged, it is probable that he will address you in French. This is partly because he thinks it is more distinguished. It also partly arises from the fact that most likely he only speaks Alsatian, and not German, and he is a little ashamed to air his patois before a stranger. I have spoken to many of them, and their testimony is practically the same. "I was born a Frenchman; I have served in the French army; I should like to live and die a Frenchman. Apart from that, I cannot say I have much to complain of. The law is just, and the administration of it

is fair and equal, so we do not pretend to be martyrs." "This is a not uncommon type of middle-aged Alsations, and especially of Strassbourgeois. On the other hand, there is another class, becoming more and more numerous, especially among the younger men, who say, "It is true I was born under the French Government, but I am not a Frenchman now. I was always German by descent, and race, and language, and now I feel myself to be a German, not only politically, but also in feeling and sentiment."

An Alsatian gentleman, having a small estate on a lovely slope in one of the most interesting recesses of the Vosges, met me in Strassburg and invited me to visit him at his country-house. It had been built up upon the vestiges of a convent suppressed at the time of the French Revolution. This gentleman's history is interesting, and typical of that of many of the gentry and nobility of Alsace. Alluding to the good citizen of Strassburg who had said, "I am not a martyr," he said, "But I feel that I am a martyr. I was a schoolboy at Metz when the war broke out. At its close my parents and I, like all the rest of the world, regarded the new order of things as quite temporary. So I went to France, served in the French army, and then was fortunate enough to obtain the position of Secretary to the French Senate, which I held for many years. My father died, and in order to inherit and look after this estate I became a German subject, and here I am; but I feel that my career is broken." "But," said I, "would it not be well to accept the inevitable? Should you not strive to serve your real fatherland of Alsace? Why not become a member of the *Landes Ausschuss*, and there, if such seem to be your duty, oppose the German Government in a constitutional manner?" His reply was, "I have lived in Paris twenty years; by temperament and habit of thought I am a Frenchman; I do not like the Germans or their ways; and, worst of all, I have tried hard, but I cannot master their language."

This is curious, for his actual mother tongue is the Alsatian patois, and while in deference to his wish our conversation was wholly in French, all his intercourse with his domestic and farm servants was in Alsatian. In spite of the difficulty with the language I am not without hopes that he will even yet throw himself into public life to his own great advantage and that of his country. Having mentioned the *Landes Ausschuss*, I may perhaps be allowed to devote a few words to it. It is the means by which Alsace and Lorraine exercise a modified Home Rule. Previous to the German annexation nothing of the kind existed. The two provinces were represented in the Chamber at Paris to the same extent as the other parts of France. They are now represented in the German Reichstag, but the *Landes Ausschuss* is analogous to, though not exactly the same as, the parliaments of the individual States. According to the Constitution of

the Reichsland of July 4, 1879, the Emperor appoints the Statthalter, who exercises power as representative of the Imperial Government. A Ministry composed of three departments, with a responsible Secretary of State at its head, acts under the Statthalter, who also is assisted by a Council of State, comprising the Statthalter as President, the Secretary of State as the head of the Ministry, the chief provincial officials, and from eight to twelve other members appointed by the Emperor, of whom three are presented by the *Landes Ausschuss*, which consists of fifty-eight members, and attends to local legislation. Its seat is Strassburg, but Strassburg is quite other than what it was before the war. The new *enceinte* contains more than double the space occupied by the ancient city, and there magnificent squares and public buildings have arisen worthy of any city in the old or new world. So great is the change that a French lady, a visitor to the Statthalter, who saw Strassburg lately for the first time since 1870, cried out in bitterness of soul: "*Je ne reconnais plus mon pauvre Strasbourg.*" Not very far from the *demi-lune*, the taking of which, in September 1870, made the fall of Strassburg certain, upon ground then occupied by outer ramparts, there now stands a stately square—the Kaiser Platz—one side of which is formed by the Emperor's palace, for it was felt that the Emperor must not come on a visit, but must have a home among his new subjects. Facing the Imperial residence on the opposite side of the square are two stately palaces, the one the new library, the other the place of meeting of the *Landes Ausschuss*. Instinctively the architects felt that anything they could create in the style of Gothic art would be dwarfed and rendered insignificant by that miracle of beauty in which the Middle Ages recorded their devotion—the minster, the joy and pride of Strassburg; and so they have wisely adopted a noble form of classic or Renaissance architecture for all these buildings, as well as for that of the university. Probably no representative body in the world is better housed than is this small and very young parliament. The "foyer," or lobby, if not as gorgeous as that of the Grand Opéra at Paris, is much more snug and comfortable. Its luxurious sofas invite the stranger to pleasing repose while he awaits his "member." The hall of meeting itself is one of the most beautiful quadrangles I have ever seen. Its arrangements are those of the Reichstag at Berlin. The Government face the assembly in a row of fauteuils on a dais on either side of the President. Each member has a comfortable seat of his own, with a desk, and his position is decided, not by any supposed party bias, but by the topographical situation of his constituency. The tribunes for visitors are the best I have seen anywhere, those in the Chamber of Deputies at Paris approaching them most nearly in convenience. The tribune for the Statthalter, Prince Hohenlohe, as the representative of the Emperor, is most magnificent.

Immediately facing it is the gallery for the press. There is one large gallery for the public, free to all comers, and two others to which members can introduce their friends. It is needless to say that all these galleries are open to ladies. The absurdity of fencing off women by themselves, as though we were Mohammedans or Jews, only survives in conservative England. The Chamber is very tastefully and brilliantly illuminated by electricity.

I attended an important sitting at the opening of the Session in January 1894. The members were present almost without exception; the galleries were well filled. A nominative list of the members is before me as I write, and of the fifty-seven names only six are French, mostly from Lorraine. There are only three among the elected members who are "old Germans," that is, not natives of the Reichsland, but immigrants from Germany since 1870. One of these three is the universally respected and beloved Burgomaster of Strassburg, Herr Back. He says he has become an Alsatian, for he has lived here for twenty-three years, and all his children have been born here. The remaining forty-eight are German, and include almost all the old historical Alsatian families.

The financial statement was not altogether unsatisfactory, though there would have been a deficit in place of a surplus but for a fortunate windfall. During the financial year one of the great manufacturers, who now for centuries have been a feature in the industrial life of Alsace, died, and the death duties on his estate brought nearly three millions of marks into the Exchequer.

The official statement was followed by a speech from Herr Spiess, the representative of Schlettstadt. He said that history proved that an agricultural people was only moved to insurrection by three things: (1) Suppression of its religion; (2) excessive taxation; (3) famine. Therefore, in heaven's name, no increase of taxation. He then dwelt upon the great hardship of Alsatian young men not being allowed to return to visit their parents, and concluded a long and powerful speech, addressing himself to the Government: "We ask to be treated as other German lands are treated; and not as step-brothers. The affection of a people cannot be had to order; it can only be won by righteous and benevolent government." The Secretary of State replied, and then a remarkable man stepped into the debate. Dr. Petri is an Alsatian, the head of the most important banking institution in the Reichsland, and for many years he represented Strassburg in the Reichstag in Berlin. There he was a true friend of the German Government, for he helped to constitute his Imperial Majesty's Opposition, and, in season and out of season, he pointed out the injustice and the folly of the system of passports, now happily a thing of the past, which, while it lasted, caused Alsace to be avoided by strangers, as if plague-stricken. In a speech full of force and

fire he called upon the Government to put an end to exceptional measures for Alsace-Lorraine, for which he claimed the same autonomy and political rights as are enjoyed by other German States, as Prussia or Würtemberg. Like Herr Spiess, he raised the watchword Alsace-Lorraine for the Alsace-Lorrainers, alluding to the horde of officials that have swarmed into the Reichsland from all parts of Germany. His short peroration, *Nous maintiendrons*, was received with applause from all parts of the House.

I will now ask my readers to leave Alsace and spend a few minutes in Lorraine. What has been stated about the peasantry in Alsace applies also in equal measure to the peasantry in Lorraine. They are gradually being Germanised. This does not apply to the nobility, gentry, and well-to-do classes in and around Metz. Metz, in spite of its German origin, had become, in the course of centuries, an essentially French city. When, in 1871, my colleagues and I of the War Victims Fund had our headquarters there, the gentry of the city, who assisted us in the distribution of the fund, invited us to return in seven years, when we should witness another siege of Metz, but it would be by French armies. More than three times seven years have passed; no such siege has taken place, but the greater number of those who predicted it have crossed the frontier. They loved France more than even their beautiful home on the banks of the Moselle. They are gone, and German immigrants have taken their place. Those who remain are almost to a man French in sentiment. This applies to the nobility and gentry, but it does not apply to the working classes; and this brings me to the question of language. In 1870, in Metz and the immediate neighbourhood, no one spoke one word of German. During my recent visit I was out on my tricycle every morning at 6 A.M., when I met the workmen coming to their work, and must have conversed more or less with hundreds of them. They all—that is, all under thirty—spoke German perfectly—not a patois, as in Alsace or Suabia, but as pure a German as can be met with anywhere. The old men and old women still only speak French, but they constantly assured me with pride, “I have a son at home who speaks German well.” I expressed my amazement at the linguistic change to a sacristan coming out of a Catholic church of a village close to Metz. He replied in perfectly pure German, “Yes, at the time of the war I was twenty years old, and did not know one word of German.” One evening I asked my way in Metz of a young priest, and, always regarding Metz as essentially French, I asked him in French. He replied very courteously, and then said, “Why do you not speak German?” Surprised at the purity of his German, I said, “You are a German, then; what part of the fatherland do you come from?” He replied, “Of course I am a German. We are all Germans now; but I am a ‘Lothringer,’ and was born a French subject.”

The habitual use of pure German is causing the Germanisation of Lorraine to proceed more rapidly than that of Alsace. In Alsace French was always a foreign and a difficult tongue. The only language of the common people was Alsatian; now good German is taught in the schools, but the influence of the patois in the homes is too great, and a consciousness that their German is very indifferent leads them, if they can, to try and speak French. It is, too, rather the distinguished and correct thing to do. Before leaving Metz I must mention the Abbé Auguste Jacot, *curé* of Fève, who of late has become the best abused if not the most famous man in German Lorraine. Although he knows no language but French, he has for years past vigorously with tongue and pen espoused the German cause. He sees no prosperity or happiness for Lorraine except in loyally accepting the new order of things. His book, "*Vingt Ans Après*," was first shown to me by the Grand Duke of Baden, who was naturally much impressed with it. Like all converts, he is full of zeal, and is more intensely German than any Prussian could be. I was much amused with a venerable colleague of his, the *curé* of a village close to the frontier, the scene of one of the great battles. This worthy parish priest has occupied the cure since before the war and well remembers what the "War Victims Fund" did for him and his people. "M. Jacot," he said, "is a friend of mine, and what he has written is true, but his parishioners and people are not at all pleased with him for writing it. The German authorities are, of course, much pleased with what he has written, but if they had been in his place they would not have said it."

When the Statthalter recently visited Fève, the Abbé Jacot assembled his parishioners in the porch of the church, where they sang a sort of psalm or chant in honour of their governor. It was in French with the German word "Statthalter" brought in, and was as near as possible an equivalent of the famous psalm with which a country vicar in England astonished his diocesan :

"Ye little hills, why do you leap?
Ye mountains, why do ye hop?
Is it because you are glad to see
His Grace the Lord Bishop?"

It now only remains to say a few words about Mülhausen, the great manufacturing centre of upper Alsace. Mülhausen may be said to consist of two classes—millionaire manufacturers and lawyers, doctors and professors, managers and clerks, together with a fair proportion of well-to-do shopkeepers and other tradesmen, who are mostly Protestants; and a vast body of operatives who were almost exclusively Catholic, but many of whom have now given up religion and have become Social Democrats. The latter class are altogether French in sentiment, because they are Red Republicans, and their sympathies go entirely with the Paris Commune. The well-to-do

class have almost all German names, but they entertain a passionate loyalty towards France. A Swiss gentleman, who has resided here for thirty years and is a member of one of the great Mulhouse houses—to use the French name—kindly extended hospitality to me. He was delayed by business and sent his son, a boy of eleven, to meet me at the station. The little fellow received me most courteously, but spoke nothing but French; and upon my remarking this, said emphatically, “I am not a German, I am a Frenchman.” At the entrance of the station his father met us, and also spoke to me in French. “*Je me trouve en pleine France*,” said I. When I reached the beautifully situated country-house my friend has built for himself in the old Alsatian style, my host said to me, “If you make such remarks as that you are altogether in France, you will be a marked man by the police.” Nothing but French was spoken in the family, although German—that is, Alsatian—was the mother-tongue. My hostess informed me that she belonged to an old Alsatian family, and I said, “*Madame, bon gré mal gré, vous êtes allemande*.” The prompt reply was, “*Mais, monsieur, c’est une injure* ;” yet the next day we all went to the Protestant Temple, where the father of my hostess preached to two thousand worshippers in pure German. Later in the day I passed some hours in the company and at the house of the venerable pastor, and found that he by no means agreed with his daughter, but that upon the contrary he cordially accepts the new order of things. Nevertheless, the hostile feeling between German officers and officials and the native Alsatis is stronger in Mühlhausen than anywhere else in the Reichsland. They cannot be said to mix at all in social intercourse. My friend, who is a Swiss, would have no objection to social intercourse with the German officers; but “if I did,” he says, “I should simply lose all my old friends, and I prefer old friends to new.”

So strong is this feeling that Alsatian young men serving their year in the German army, if in uniform, are not recognised by their friends. Some time since a fire broke out in a manufactory in Mühlhausen; the officers of a regiment quartered in the city brought their men to the rescue, and by dint of determined efforts the fire was got under, and the proprietor saved a heavy loss. He was full of gratitude and invited the officers to a banquet; but a few days afterwards he met these same officers in the street and was afraid to recognise them. Had he done so, he would have been cut by his friends. On the other hand, I have been furnished with the following particulars of the membership of a Masonic Lodge at Mühlhausen. The Lodge has been in existence fifteen years, and in 1889–90 it numbered twenty-nine members living in Mühlhausen, of whom eighteen were immigrants from Germany, ten were Alsatis, and one was an immigrant from France. Among the Germans were several

officers; among the Alsatians were three great cotton-spinners, one banker, and a number of merchants. Since then the number of members has doubled. Half the members are German immigrants, the other half Alsatians. Among the Germans are four officers on active service.

This would seem to indicate that the feeling between "new" Germans and "old" is growing less bitter. It is curious also, and consistent with the contrariety of human affairs, that if a man of position in Alsace is specially hostile to the Germans his daughter is sure to marry a German officer. Several instances are personally known to me. One tiny corner of Alsace was saved to France by the almost superhuman efforts of M. Thiers—this was Belfort. Here resides a colony of at least 10,000 emigrants from German Alsace, and here the whole atmosphere, surroundings, and language are French; and I am sorry to say everything seems to breathe war. In the early spring of 1871 I witnessed the march out of the heroic French garrison of Belfort, with all the honours of war, after a siege and bombardment of months. It was only surrendered because Prince Bismarck refused to treat with the French Republic unless it was temporarily put in German hands. It was strong then, but it is infinitely stronger now. All the mountain-tops around are converted into fortresses, and the whole place runs over with soldiers and seems to breathe the spirit of the colossal "Lion of Belfort." This wonderful monument is partly cut out of the living rock at the foot of the castle, and seems always to gaze fiercely forth upon Alsace and upon Germany. A slight index of the tension of feeling that exists on the frontier is, that no sooner was I well out of Belfort than the French police came to my hotel to arrest me as a German spy! It is easy for patriotic Frenchmen living at Belfort to believe that Belfort is impregnable and France invincible; and as a true friend of France I am very sorry to see that the new generation, who know nothing of war, is being fed upon the same sort of lies which proved so disastrous in 1870.

A French general a few weeks back told the young people he was addressing, that France was beaten in 1870 by reason of "unheard-of treachery, and of a combination of circumstances that could not possibly occur again."

A friend of mine, a French pastor, who for some years had a church in Strassburg, and has within the last few months won a great reputation by a singularly successful ecclesiastical biography, was speaking, as I thought, somewhat lightly of a war between France and Germany, when I ventured to say, "You will at least concede that in the event of war it is *possible* that France will not be victorious?" "No," he replied, "*that I will not concede.*"

His sister-in-law, a Strassburg lady, who has never been inside the

new university buildings or the Emperor's palace, and hardly ever goes to the theatre—though devoted to music—because they are German institutions, told me gaily the last time I met her, that she had just been seeing some more gentlemen who held the same opinion as her brother-in-law.

A German, who seriously expressed the opinion that in the event of war it was *impossible* for Germany to be beaten, would be regarded by his countrymen as not sane.

In the neighbourhood of Belfort I was hospitably entertained by a great manufacturer, who, after thirty years in France, continues to be a Swiss citizen. He said, "I can say to you what I cannot say to my neighbours: I believe there is a great deal of humbug and unreality about much of the feeling professed by the Alsatians. They visit their friends in Paris and pull a very long face as they speak of their severance from France, but in their heart of hearts they are not altogether sorry to be under a strong and stable government like Germany. On the other hand, there is much unreality and humbug in the much-paraded sympathy of the French people for the Alsatian exiles; under the surface there is great jealousy felt because of their successful competition for all sorts of official and other berths that the French would like to keep for themselves."

My task is very nearly at an end. I might multiply detail, but perhaps what has been given will sufficiently illustrate the views I have formed. The strong sentiment obtaining at this moment in Alsace Lorraine in favour of France seems to me closely analogous to the Jacobite sentiment which lingered in Scotland until the beginning of this century. It was powerful as a sentiment long after it had ceased to be a motor of practical politics. There is also, doubtless, in Alsace the feeling of patriotism among those who still regard themselves as French. They will speak either French or the Alsatian patois, but German they will not speak. The President of the Evangelical Synod at Metz, who has been there now for twenty-three years, came originally from Mühlhausen. At Metz he preaches in German, and has now little occasion to use the French language. When, however, he visits his friends at Mühlhausen they will not suffer him to speak German. He may please himself whether he will speak French or the Alsatian patois. To speak German would be to show that he had become a "Prussian." On the other hand, the Burgomaster of Strassburg, who is at the Town Hall all day and every day, where he receives all sorts and conditions of men and women, told me his French was growing quite rusty, because he hardly ever had occasion to use it.

One word in conclusion. Alsace has never been other than German. For the first hundred years after the French annexation it was German to the heart's core, and only submitted to the French protectorate because

of *force majeure*. The great principles of 1789 awoke a strong French patriotism in all that was noblest in Alsatian society, and that patriotism was cemented upon a hundred battlefields during the Consulate and Empire. In 1870 all Germany was wild with excitement and enthusiasm at the thought of taking back to her arms the daughter that for two centuries had been under foreign domination. The daughter, however, pouted and resisted, and said she was enamoured of *Liberté, Égalité* and *Fraternité*. To drop metaphor, Germany did herself harm by losing her temper and adopting severe, harsh, and repressive measures. Germany has found out her mistake, and every day brings us nearer the time when all exceptional laws in the Reichsland will be done away with. It was a wise inspiration of the Emperor William to purchase an estate at Urville, near to Metz, and establish a home for himself there in the very heart of Lorraine. The mild and benevolent rule of the Statthalter, Prince Hohenlohe Schillingfürst, is winning many hearts. As he said to me, "You will at least have discovered that I am not a Duke of Alva, as the French newspapers have sometimes been good enough to call me."

I think we hardly realise the extent of the patriotism which led the German princes to proclaim the Empire in 1871. Up to that time each was an independent and Sovereign ruler. This proud position they voluntarily renounced in choosing an Emperor or Supreme Head. It was a noble act of abnegation, for it was done in order that Germany might be one and united and fulfil her great mission in the world. It would have been well for the Reichsland if the patriotism of the smaller German States had gone a little further. What is a "Reichsland"? A land attached by military power to the empire, but otherwise unattached. The very name proclaims it to be a conquered country. This is just what should be forgotten as soon as possible. By geographical position, by language—the same Suabian dialect—and largely also by race, Alsace would seem most suitably incorporated with the Grand Duchy of Baden. Alsace would there find a real autonomy, and in the benevolent and beneficent royal pair, the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, the people of Alsace would find an incarnation of the *res publica* which for most of us is a great help to patriotism. Lorraine would naturally fall to Prussia. The two provinces would no longer feel themselves to be step-children of the German Empire, but bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of particular German States, to which many natural ties bind them severally, and in union with which they could work out their autonomy and their destiny.

From what I heard from inhabitants of all parts of Alsace and Lorraine, this is the solution most likely to promote the entire Germanisation as well as the well-being, contentment, and happiness of the two provinces. Will the other States of Germany be sufficiently

patriotic and magnanimous to assent to such an arrangement? It may be that it is now too late, though I do not think so.

In default of this settlement all exceptional and repressive legislation must be done away with, the autonomy of the Reichsland must be made real, and the *Landes Ausschuss* must become a *Landtag* like that of Prussia, Bavaria, or Saxony. It is in this direction that things are moving, and the representative of this policy is the wise and experienced Statthalter.

SAMUEL JAMES CAPPER.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF LIBERAL REUNION.

WHATEVER may be the soundness of Lord Rosebery's theory that the Liberal schism dates, not from Mr. Gladstone's first Irish Home Rule Bill, but from the County Franchise measure of two years earlier, few persons possessing any knowledge of the inner life of parties will doubt that, for some considerable time before the proposed Irish legislation of 1886, a constant succession of incidents, varying in magnitude, but all tending in the same direction, and most of them equally unfavourable to the continued solidarity of the Liberal party, had been in progress. It is an historic fact that the two great Whig houses of Cavendish and Russell are hereditary rivals, although members of each, beginning with the Lords Cavendish and William Russell of those days in their opposition to Charles II., have not infrequently united and served loyally together at particular crises and for special objects. Mr. Gladstone has, throughout the later stages of his career, received more active support from the owner of Woburn than of Chatsworth; the social *entourage* and environment of the present Duke of Devonshire have not been calculated to compensate for any lack of fire or intensity in his Liberal sympathies, but have rather been of the kind likely, perhaps unconsciously to himself, to undermine them. The turf, whatever may be the ethical significance of the fact, is the most extensively national of English sports, and provides in a peculiar degree rival politicians, amongst others, with a ground for intimate and amicable union to an extent that is supplied by no other occupation or pastime. If the expediency of enlisting this institution and its representatives in the Conservative interest was perceived by so shrewd an observer as Mr. Disraeli as far back as Lord George Bentinck, it was not, perhaps, quite forgotten during his socio-political movements, when, as Lord

Beaconsfield, he became the idol of that aristocracy and fashion which, at the beginning of his course, affected to despise him. Mr. Gladstone has never carried, or thought of carrying, with him "society," in the way in which Lord Beaconsfield did. The present head of the house of Cavendish, as Lord Hartington first and his Grace of Devonshire more recently, has moved a good deal in the most modish and characteristically modern sections of our modern polite life, and though he has assuredly not exaggerated the value of the distinction, he has not been able to avoid being a cynosure and a centre of that organisation of wealth, glitter, comfort, and luxury, which has succeeded the more exclusive *régime* presided over by the historic Countess of Jersey. This superb original of "Endymion's" Zenobia once accused the hero of Waterloo of leading a mob into Almack's. Somewhat in the same vein, the Duke of Devonshire, when speaking on the subject of Hyde Park demonstrations, once publicly observed that he failed to see why, if the park was open freely to very well-dressed mobs on week days, the enclosure around "The Reformers' Tree" should be forbidden to a less well-dressed mob on Sundays. But though his Grace has inherited from his ancestors a strong popular fibre in his temperament, it is "no violation of the sanctity of private life" to say, on the printed authority of the Court newsman, that he has for a long time moved, in London and elsewhere, among a society to which the Gladstonian name and works have been an abomination. Just as the absolute contrast between the social, educational, personal, political antecedents and experiences of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Chamberlain are enough to account, in a manner equally honourable to each, for the separation that, long growing, was consummated finally between them in 1886, so, notwithstanding Lord Hartington's loyal waiving of his personal claims in favour of Mr. Gladstone's after the Liberal victory of 1880, and his subsequent declaration that the then Premier's conversion to Home Rule did not take him, at least, by surprise, the social atmosphere long breathed by the present head of the house of Cavendish has been in many ways antipathetic to the historic idealism into which our late Premier's political creed resolves itself, and, as may be said without the slightest reflection on the Lord Hartington of those days, may have acted as a preparative for the breach between the great leader and the erewhile lieutenant who, twenty years since, filled with self-sacrificing ability the place left vacant by a temporary abdication.

These speculations belong to the past. The question of the future, to which it will not now be amiss to consider the materials for an answer, is whether, since Mr. Gladstone's retirement and Lord Rosebery's succession to the Premiership, there is any reason to suppose that the gulf separating the official leader of the Liberal party with his supporters from the chief of the Whig Unionists and his followers

can ever be bridged over? In other words, what are the possibilities of the reunion of all the Liberal sections into the compact and harmonious phalanx that existed before the disruption of eight years ago.

To begin our attempt at a reply to the question just proposed, some may already see, even among the Unionist-Liberals, a growing desire to gratify the British instinct of equity: to give Lord Rosebery and his colleagues fair play; that disposition will perhaps in the long run operate favourably for the ultimate reunion of the party on other than Budget or administrative details. Nor on his part is the Prime Minister likely to be slow to meet his estranged friends half-way, and to build a golden bridge on which they may pass over into the Ministerial camp. Thoughtless critics and interested partisans are apt to speak or write as if the heads of the houses of Cavendish and Primrose were dis severed mutually by some profound question of political principle on which neither *rapprochement* nor compromise is possible. As a matter of fact, "differences of principle" are much less frequent than might be supposed in our political life, and it may be doubted whether one of these, in the true and real sense of the term as distinguished, that is, from mere difference of degree, has presented itself since the days of Roman Catholic emancipation. Neither the Repeal of the Corn Laws—when, at the outset, Lord John Russell was prepared to meet with a fixed 8s. duty Peel's sliding scale—nor electoral reform, whether in the boroughs in 1867, or in the counties seventeen years later, nor Irish Church Disestablishment, when the friends of concurrent endowment agreed with the enemies of all State religions in admitting the position of the Anglican Church in Ireland to be untenable, involved any fundamental antagonism of political principles. To the same category, whatever may be urged to the contrary, the reconstitution of Irish Government may be added; for practical purposes, it may be said that among all sections of all parties, with the Duke of Devonshire as with Lord Rosebery himself, some considerable extension of local autonomy on the other side of St. George's Channel is admitted to be equitable as a policy and ultimately inevitable as a fact. Unanimous on this point, the various sectional leaders on each side only begin to differ upon points arising out of the extent, the details, the machinery, and the nomenclature which it is expedient to associate with that concession to the sister island; apart from the inflammatory influences of partisan appeals and popular agitation, the business, as the Premier in his speech during the debate on the second reading of the rejected Bill almost suggested, might be settled by a committee of business men in a few days, or hours. It will be said that there is no mean point between the Nationalists, who will be content with nothing less than a sovereign Parliament on St. Stephen's Green, and their opponents, who will yield nothing likely

to impair or threaten the paramount supremacy of the imperial assemblage at Westminster. But whatever the event may prove, these as yet are verbal objections only, no really business-like and patient attempt to arrange the dispute has thus far been made by the contracting parties, and we are up to this day ignorant of the maximum which a united party or Parliament in England may be prepared to offer, as of the minimum which the true representatives of the majority of Irish nationalism are in their hearts willing to accept. The Duke of Devonshire, as a Unionist chief, is pledged, and pledged only, to resist all proposals demonstrably dangerous to the union of the two countries, short of this, his hand is free; he is precluded from assisting no legislation that is not on the face of it violently disintegrating; in speeches and upon occasions needless to recapitulate here, the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain have expressed themselves as strongly in favour of a large extension of local self-administration to the country of O'Connell as even Lord Randolph Churchill. When, therefore, there is, to start with, something definitely in common between political opponents, it ought not to be impossible, one might think, for men of the world, men who, like Lord Rosebery and the Duke of Devonshire, have been nurtured in the same political traditions as they have long breathed, not only at Westminster, but in St. James's as at Newmarket, the same social, not less than the same political, atmosphere, to feel their way to a solution of the problem now dividing the Liberal party, a solution which, while it shall respect the conscientious convictions and cardinal articles in the political creeds of both leaders, shall also be accepted by their followers, and shall receive the sanction alike of Ireland and of Westminster. At this moment, the Duke of Devonshire is of course divided sharply from the advocates of those Irish concessions with which Lord Rosebery is identified, and nothing may seem more natural or simple to superficial observers than that ere long the statesman, who till lately was Lord Hartington, following the precedent of the Fitzwilliam and Portland Whigs exactly a century ago, when, in 1794, his predecessors left Fox and went over to Pitt, should also himself become an avowed seceder from the Whig party, and should in name join the Conservatives under Lord Salisbury. Against that view it may be remarked first, that as was shown by the party sequel between 1794 and 1832, or again by the final distribution of the mixed forces of Sir Robert Peel between 1846 and 1855, there is a constantly overruling tendency in politics to what in physical science might be perhaps called "reversion to type." Between uniting with the Tories, as in a particular session and for a special purpose the Duke of Devonshire has done, and discarding alike all the distinctive tenets and appellations of Whiggism, as by some it seems to be expected that he should do, there is all the difference in the world.

The tone and temper of Lord Salisbury and the Duke of Devonshire respectively in the debates on the Parish Councils Bill, to take only a single example, showed that, notwithstanding all which exists in common between them, they can still regard questions of popular right and of aristocratic privilege from somewhat different points of view.

The practical difficulties in the way of organic change now so lightly spoken of, whether looked at from the Liberal or Conservative Unionist point of view, cannot well be exaggerated, though they may be often ignored. A political party is a delicate and highly complicated organism, not a piece of inorganic machinery. If there existed either among Unionist-Liberals or Unionist-Conservatives an absorbing passion for such a transposition, or rather *bouleversement* of political forces, then indeed it might come within the purview of practical men; but what are the facts—first, so far as regards the Conservative-Unionists; secondly, as regards the Unionist-Whigs, or Liberals? The former have shown unmistakably that the loss of their corporate personality seems to them a high price to pay, even for the acquisition of so accomplished a parliamentarian as Mr. Chamberlain in the capacity of Mr. Balfour's coadjutor; while, so long as the Liberal-Unionists are willing to go into the Conservative lobbies, the present Opposition has every reason to be content with the *status quo*, and cannot possibly wish to increase the list of claimants for office, already embarrassingly large, when the next Unionist administration is formed, for, as has been hinted above, the Duke of Devonshire would not be "received" alone into the Conservative church; some of his followers and friends, like Mr. Goschen, have already preceded him. With very many more his Grace's departure would be the signal for the prompt abandonment of existing party ties and designations; the Carlton Club would be taken by storm, its candidates' book would become indistinguishable from that of the Reform, and the Conservative party, even as the very comprehensive and tolerant organisation that we know to-day, would cease to exist; and *cui bono*,—what conceivable advantage would Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, and their friends, derive from this chaotic process?—they would not have the Liberal-Unionist vote more completely at their disposal than they have already, and in the eyes of the masses, with whom party names and divisions still count for something, their credit for political consistency would, to say the least of it, not be increased. Further, shrewd Conservatives may contend with unanswerable force, that it is to the advantage of their cause that a goodly number of those who bear, at least in part, the Liberal name, should not hasten to declare to the world their conversion to Conservatism. Just as it suited the authorities of the Roman Communion in the days of Elizabeth that many loyal adherents of the Pope should be content

to remain ostensibly members of the reformed Anglican Communion in order that the Catholic leaven might, by means of crypto-papal missionaries, permeate the Protestant mass—so the existence of the Liberal-Unionists within the body of titular Liberalism itself may well be regarded by the Opposition as a potential source of Conservative strength.

The Conservatives having sown the seed of disintegration in Liberal soil, and having witnessed the gradual process of Liberal disruption so far, are not likely to wish to undo their own work with no other practical result to themselves than to multiply Liberal-Unionist candidates for promotion when a Unionist Government may come into power. Again, as matters are, many of the followers of the Duke of Devonshire may flatter themselves that their political self-respect is not impaired, that their allegiance to "plain Whig principles" is in reality maintained, and that the true secessionists from Liberalism are not the Duke of Devonshire and his followers but Lord Rosebery and Mr. Gladstone. There are some at least who would find it impossible to lay this flattering unction to their souls, if they were formally to receive and mechanically obey all the official Conservative whips. *Quieta non movere* seems, therefore, likely to be the principle which the party managers on both sides will try to illustrate and obey as long as possible. But if the precedents of political history are worth anything, they show that such an arrangement can only be provisional and temporary; it may be said with truth that while three parties are often possible at Westminster, only two are practicable in the constituencies. It does not, however, necessarily follow, as some persons seem to fancy, that the inference from this cardinal political truth is favourable to the absorption of the Whig or Liberal-Unionists into the Conservative connection. The Whig party, which in 1794, by the convulsive influences of the French Revolution, seemed incurably broken, shattered, pulverised, and extinguished, revived with more than its pristine energies and efficiency under the leadership of Grey and his friends, long before the Reform Bill of 1832; the Conservative party, which Sir Robert Peel's legislation in 1846 had threatened to dissolve, was a perfectly triumphant organisation five years later; some of the Peelites, like Mr. Cardwell and Mr. Gladstone, drifted permanently into Liberalism, but the greater number of them became the successful and strenuous nucleus of the Conservative party under Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. If, as is said, the growing *rapprochement* of Unionist-Liberals to Conservatism suggests to some of those, once proud to be called Gladstonians, that the most easy and obvious alternative is avowedly to take up the light yoke and easy burden of the exceedingly tolerant neo-Conservatism, there are many others whom the considerations, urged in favour of that choice, will strike as arguments in favour of their

return upon any reasonable terms to the old Liberal allegiance, and with whom they may even operate as a spell to revive the extinguished sense of party duties. If this view is correct, influences favourable to Liberal reunion will increase and multiply, rather than diminish, with time. The proverb that blood is thicker than water may receive constantly fresh exemplifications, and before the process is exactly comprehended, the closing up of the ranks, now to all appearance hopelessly broken, may become an accomplished fact. In politics, if in anything, it is the unforeseen which usually arrives. The subject is one that does not admit of positive prophecy, but a careful survey or approximate forecast of the agencies, now, or likely hereafter to be at work, does seem to justify the conclusion that the obstacles in the way of Liberal reunion are not intrinsically more desperate than those which would bar the incorporation of the Liberal-Unionists into the national Conservative party, about which so much has of late been said. If, therefore, the present condition of things is not, as past experiences would seem to show, likely to prove permanent, the sequel which has so often been witnessed before in party history cannot, it may be said, be found in the long run the less probable now, merely because at the present moment the difficulties besetting its realisation appear as great as those opposed to Whig reunion in 1791, or Conservative reunion in 1846.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

THE PAPAL ENCYCLICAL ON THE BIBLE.

A REPLY.

IF, to lead off the following observations, which are meant to give a hearing for the proverbial "other side" of this question, I felt in need of a motto correlative to the

"Nostra damus cum falsa damus, nam fallere nostrum est,
et quum falsa damus, nil nisi nostra damus,"

with which the author of the papers on "The Policy of the Pope" heads his article on *The Papal Encyclical on the Bible*,* I might take the words of the laughing philosopher of Abdera, "All contention is stupid; for while it regards what will hurt an adversary, it does not look at what is advantageous for itself." If, *quum falsa dat, nil nisi sua dat*, the reason is in himself, and therefore not far for him to seek. On the principle, apparently, that the Pope and his own fellow-religionists are dogs, and that anything is good enough to beat a dog with, his aim has been to plant as many blows as possible with whatever weapons would serve his momentary purpose; forgetful, or careless under the shield of anonymity, how all would inevitably

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April 1894, pp. 576-608. The title of the Encyclical was, I scarcely need say, misstated. It was not "On the Bible," which would have suggested a comprehensive review of the whole subject of Holy Scripture, but *De Studio Scripturæ Sacræ*, on certain courses of lectures which Leo XIII. counselled the bishops to institute in their seminaries, if they had not already done so. The scope of these lectures would, of course, be conditioned by circumstances and opportunities of time and place; and the Encyclical or circular letter was addressed not exclusively to the bishops in Germany, France, or England (with whom, had they been separately written to, a somewhat different tone might have possibly been adopted), but equally to those of Italy and Spain, and to the missionary bishops of India and of China. What selections of books would the seminary students have been anxious to obtain from Calcutta or Hong Kong if they had heard that the Pope himself had recommended the study of the "Higher Criticism"? The author (as for brevity's sake I shall call the author of "The Policy of the Pope") considers that the "Higher Criticism" is abundantly justified by "the unshaken conclusions of historical and philological research." But even if he were right, he ought not to forget that *noblesse oblige*. He should not be petulant because every one does not walk at his own speed, and must not expect the central authority to take a break-neck pace.

recoil upon himself. His article, by its very sharpness and bitingness, will help to wake our people up; and (it need scarcely be said where there is question of a religious communion embracing, above all others, all sorts and conditions of men) some of them must want it. He has hit some blots, as, that Catholics (to whom, by the way, the Bible is not all in all, as it is to many Protestants) do not sufficiently study the Bible, and that they do not pay sufficient attention to the Oriental languages; and, though the usual way of dealing with blots is not to strike out at them (which no fairly reasonable person thinks of doing unless he has lost his temper), but to erase them, strong words on the subject may be productive of good, because, although too strong to be taken by themselves, they are sure to become mixed with a great many words of another character. But there is more than this.

I.

“We”—*i.e.*, Roman Catholics—says the author, “hinder the propagation of the Bible, and strenuously discourage its study.”* “We magniloquently call upon all Catholic theologians to study it under the guidance of qualified Professors, and we reserve these Professorships for men who, besides the drawback of crass ignorance, lack the conviction that however deftly science may be ultimately harmonised with religion they will both remain for ever incompatible with unverity. We applaud those vigorous champions of tradition who publicly teach and uphold doctrines which they privately reject and abhor; we look askant at the few who possess the courage to abstain from professing as true and salutary what they are too timid to stigmatise as false and baneful. If these things are false, let them be denied.” Rather, one would have thought, if they are true, let them be proved. Any ecclesiastics (if such there are, and the world is wide) who teach in public what in private they abhor, and appoint as Professors of Holy Scripture men less competent than others doctrinally as sound,† who are available, belong merely to the class of rogues and rascals who, when they are found out in other avocations, are sent to hard labour or are decorated with broad arrows. Such people only want finding out. No body of men desires to be connected with them; every one knows that they uniformly end by throwing a shadow of public discredit and disgrace over all they have succeeded in associating with themselves. But are not the moral aspersions which the author thus anonymously scatters broadcast, at

* Under circumstances where, as we think, it is likely to be misunderstood in such a way as to result in practical mischief being done. The accommodation of the various “Books” and parts of Books of the Bible to the understanding of those to whom they were severally addressed carries with it the implication of their being difficult to those who breathe a different mental atmosphere.

† The Abbé Loisy, to whom the author refers, p. 584, *note*, appears to have carried the theory of partial inspiration to dangerous lengths.

best, indications that he is so narrow-minded as to be unable to believe that those who disagree with him are honest, and at worst on a level with the sweeping and unsupported charges, in general terms, made by an anonymous "Naval Officer" in his "British Navy in the Present Year of Grace?"* No one out of his salad days hesitates five minutes what to think when such tactics are adopted. If, however, Catholics have been backward in the study of the Bible and of the Oriental languages, does Leo XIII. approve of this? The very purpose of the Encyclical was to insist on an opposite course of conduct being followed. His office compels him, says the Pope, "to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible," not only to the pastors, but "to the flock of Jesus Christ." "More especially, those whom divine grace has called to Holy Orders should, day by day, as their state demands, display greater diligence and industry in reading, meditating, and studying it." "To be ignorant of the Scripture is not to know Christ." A considerable portion of them, he proceeds, is commanded to be read by the ministers of the Church in the daily office; their exposition in cathedral churches and elsewhere, where this can conveniently be done, is ordered by ecclesiastical authority; the Council of Trent has directed that "the people shall be fed with the saving words of the Gospel at least on Sundays and solemn feasts"; "from the beginning of Christianity, all who have been renowned for holiness of life and for sacred learning have given their deep and constant attention to Holy Scripture"; what the Fathers began the Schoolmen carried on, and the universities assisted; and "Clement V. established chairs of Oriental learning in the principal universities of Europe." In view of all this, and of the attacks made by Rationalists and unbelievers on the authenticity and inspiration of Holy Writ, it ought to be the first care of Pope, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops alike, that in seminaries and academical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its own importance and the circumstances of the times demand. Incompetent professors are by no means to be appointed; the teachers "must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of, and their long familiarity with, the Bible, and by suitable learning and study." In their interpretations they are to use the Word of God for the advantage of religion and piety. But they are not to confine themselves to this. They are also to vindicate the trustworthiness and authority of the sacred records. In this, "the first means is the study of the Oriental languages and of the art of criticism," so that "it is most proper that professors of Sacred Scripture should master those tongues in which the Sacred Books were originally written, and it would be well that Church students should also cultivate them."

* See the *Times*, June 13, pp. 3, 7.

These topics occupy the first two-thirds of the Encyclical.* So far it is evident the author of "The Policy of the Pope" has the Pope entirely with him. Why, then, his obvious animus against this Encyclical?

II.

One of the two principal reasons is that, after enjoining the study of sound criticism, the Holy Father proceeds as follows:

"There has arisen, to the great detriment of religion, an inept method dignified by the name of the 'Higher Criticism,' which pretends to judge of the origin, integrity, and authority of each Book, from internal indications alone. It is clear, on the other hand, that in historical questions, such as the origin and the handing down of writings, the witness of history is of primary importance, and is to be amassed and analysed with the utmost care (*quam studiosissime*); while the internal evidence is for the most part (*plerumque*, usually, commonly) adducible only as confirmation. To look upon it in any other light will be to open the door to many evil consequences. It will make the enemies of religion much more bold in attacking and mangling the Sacred Books; and this vaunted 'Higher Criticism' will resolve itself into the reflection of the bias and the prejudice of the critics. It will not throw on the Scripture the light which is sought, or prove of any advantage to doctrine; it will only give rise to disagreement and dissension, those sure notes of error, which the critics in question so plentifully exhibit in their own persons; and seeing that most of them are tainted with false philosophy and rationalism, it must lead to the elimination from the sacred writings of all prophecy and miracle, and of everything else that is outside the natural order."

The question-begging epithet, "Higher Criticism," was introduced into modern theological literature by Eichhorn, taking occasion from an obscure passage in the writings of a certain Dionysius, an Alexandrian "grammarian." Some of the so-called "Higher Critics"—Kuenen among the number—decline to employ it; and, indeed, it would be difficult to say why careful and learned discussion on grounds of internal evidence should be called "Higher" than equally careful and equally learned discussion on grounds of external evidence. Both, evidently, are capable of fully exercising

* They are travestied in pp. 578-9. For instance, "He reserves his enthusiasm for the Scholastics who invented the manifold ways in which a difficult passage may be interpreted in order to suit the varying needs of times and persons," merely travesties the correlative passage in the Encyclical: "With the age of the Scholastics came fresh and welcome progress in the study of the Bible. That the Scholastics were solicitous about the genuineness of the Latin version is evident from the *Correctoria Biblica*, or lists of emendations, which they have left, but they expended their labours and industry chiefly on interpretation and explanation. To them we owe the accurate and clear distinction, such as had not been given before, of the various senses of the sacred words, the assignment of the value of each 'sense' in theology, the division of books into parts, and the summaries of the various parts, the investigation of the objects of the writers, the demonstration of the connection of sentence with sentence, and of clause with clause; all of which is calculated to throw much light on the more obscure passages of the sacred volume." The clause about the various senses of the sacred words—the literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical—with which modern readers are least likely to agree, is singled out for exclusive mention. The Pope "reserves his enthusiasm" for the Fathers.

the highest powers of the human mind, though it is easier and cheaper to conduct the former badly, and a more delicate and difficult matter to perform it well. Internal criticism, as we may call it, is like tearing out the title-page of Macaulay's or of Alison's history, and asking the reader to guess who wrote it. External evidence criticism gives him as the basis of his investigations an un mutilated copy of the book, together with the reviews it met with on its appearance, and any other outside evidence of its authorship that may be available. External evidence of the authority of a book is such as that it is propounded, or that it is used, as authoritative, by the Church, by the Fathers, by the Apostles, by our Lord, by the Synagogue in pre-Christian times, or by all together. Internal evidence of authority is that such and such a book seems to this or that person to be authoritative; that it has a divine flow or energy in it, and was written in the full vigour of his faculties by some one who possessed a valid claim to be heard. Integrity may denote either of two things. It may mean *literary* integrity, that the whole book is by one author, or it may mean that (apart from mistakes of copyists) it is to be taken as integrally authoritative, one part as much as another, though the work of different sacred authors may have been conjoined in it. External evidence of authorship is such as antiquity of manuscripts, quotations and references in other writings, and the like. Internal evidence of authorship is such as style, tone, standpoint, and the occurrence or non-occurrence of anachronisms, of contradictions, of mistakes in geography, natural history, or other matters which one writer might have made but another could not be supposed to fall into. The supposititious Dares the Phrygian, for example, committed innumerable blunders which to the real Dares the Phrygian would have been impossible. It is perfectly intelligible that German Lutherans who thought little of the Fathers should have attempted to discuss the authenticity of the New Testament writings on a basis of internal evidence. It is equally manifest that the Pope, who stands at the head of a system whose essential claim is that it is that of historical Christianity, must feel himself entirely debarred from encouraging such an idea. But, observe, he by no means repudiates internal evidence. He is perfectly willing to admit it in what he considers to be its place, and, if it is more solidly cultivated in the future than in the past—for its exact study is as yet a plant of very tender growth—other Popes may go farther. He does not even say that it is never decisive solely and simply by itself. Though he is speaking, not exclusively of the Old Testament, where (on account of the greater lapse of time and the utter ruin of the Jewish economy of which the Old Testament is a fragmentary record) the external evidence is weaker, but includes in the scope of his observations the much more important New Testament, where the external evidence is

far more copious and more forcible, he only declares that *plerumque*, for the most part, internal evidence is no more than a confirmation. There is no repudiation of internal evidence criticism when reasonably and moderately pursued; and, in cases where there is no external evidence—as, with respect to the age and authorship of the Book of Job, for example—internal evidence is of course the only kind of evidence we have to go upon. The “Higher Criticism” is taken in the concrete, and Catholics are warned against it, not only on account of the one-sidedness of the method, but also because the works of its principal devotees are infected by the rationalism and unbelief of their authors.

Most Christians, whether they are Roman Catholics or not, will, I venture to think, regard this attitude of the Pope, chilling and repellent though it is, as by no means uncalled for under the concrete circumstances, and certainly not erring on the side of illiberality towards the “Higher,” Inner, or Subjective, and chiefly German criticism. The author of “The Policy of the Pope,” apparently a disciple of the critical “Extreme Left,” is naturally indignant at it, and, as naturally, exaggerates it in his indignation. “I now proceed,” he says at p. 584, “to offer a few remarks on [one of] the two main propositions of the Encyclical . . . that it is as possible as it is necessary to study the text scientifically without ever being confronted with any of the inconvenient problems of ‘Higher Criticism.’” The examples occur later, on pp. 601–605. One is to the effect that the Septuagint text of the First Book of Samuel—commonly called the First Book of Kings—is more trustworthy than the present Hebrew text, especially in chapters seventeen and eighteen. The other is that an older text than that of the present Hebrew Bibles has been followed by the Septuagint in Genesis xlvii. 1–7. The idea that either of these examples, or that of Saul and David adduced on p. 585, tells against the Encyclical, is based merely on careless reading of that document, in which the proposition just quoted is nowhere to be found. For while, as we have seen, Leo XIII. cautions professors of Holy Scripture and others as to the general character of this internal criticism, he nowhere tells them that nothing useful is included in the bulky tomes which (to use a mixed metaphor) have issued from the workshop of the crude and savage Cyclops, who (it is to be hoped) will, like Naaman the Syrian, some day wash in the now despised waters of Jordan, and be clean. He nowhere forbids them to revert, in its regard, to the traditional catholic policy of sifting the precious from the vile, which the Scholastics employed with such conspicuous success as to the Aristotelian philosophy. The document theory of the Pentateuch, the supposition that there is in the Hebrew text of the Books of Samuel a plurality of sources distinguishable by internal evidence, the hypothesis of a Deutero-Isaiah, the assertion that verses

9-20 of the last chapter of the Gospel according to St. Mark were not written or dictated by that Evangelist, are not only not authoritatively condemned, but are not even mentioned or alluded to.

But why, our author may protest, are they neither mentioned nor alluded to?

"In a former article [he says*] I enumerated the most important theses of Biblical critics, about which perfect unanimity prevails among scholars of all denominations, *not excluding Catholics*; and having embodied them in a series of propositions, I expressed the hope that theologians would refute, or his Holiness expressly tolerate or condemn, each on its own merits. If our contention is false, let it be publicly refuted by arguments; if heretical, let it be solemnly condemned by an infallible decree. Out of the present difficulty there is no third issue."

These are words not of an essentially unreasonable, but (at the same time) of an impatient man; for, as a matter of fact, there is a third issue—the very old and familiar one, "Let it be threshed out." "Then why do not the theologians thresh it all out straightway?" But is it not he himself who has said: "The Catholic Church of to-day numbers but very few scholars, laymen or ecclesiastics, who are qualified, by their training and by their knowledge of the Bible and its history, to form an independent opinion on the subject." Here (as usually happens in controversy) he has exaggerated. But even *dato sed non concesso* that the very exaggeration itself is true, it is not an attack on but a defence of this "Papal Encyclical on the Bible," the essential purport of which is to encourage and stimulate these partly neglected studies. "But why does not the Pope pronounce an infallible decree one way or the other?" Because the Pope has not had any of the divine attributes loaned out to him. The author of the essay on the Pope's Policy seems to imagine the doctrine of Papal Infallibility to mean that the Pope for the time being has nothing to do but to send for a secretary, to ascertain from him what is the usual beginning and end of an authoritative Papal Bull, and fill in the middle with whatever comes into his head, with the result of pronouncing an infallible dogmatic declaration. Such a notion would be a mere music-hall skit on Catholic teaching. The doctrine of Papal Infallibility is, on the contrary, that Divine Providence—which even average Christian men in merely private capacities acknowledge to supervise, as it were, the leading actions of their lives—prevents in one or other of the innumerable ways in which we are all prevented from doing things we thought of doing, a Pope from issuing, so as to bind the Church, a decree on faith or morals of which the *punctum definitionis* is false. Is there doubt or perplexity whether

* P. 583, after dilating on some other—he does not say what—letter or other document proceeding from the pen of the present Pope, in which, in the expression "science of comparative history," *scientia* seems to have been generically and popularly translated by "science."

a false or ambiguous decision has been formulated? If so, the Holy See does not die. It can always explain itself. But, for the exercise of the prerogative it is required that the points in question should have been sifted out; not necessarily sifted out to the satisfaction of outsiders who may possibly proceed on anti-Catholic or even anti-Christian principles, but sufficiently discussed and elucidated on Catholic principles, for a decision, binding on all who hold those principles, equitably and properly to come forth.

III.

The other principal reason of the assault is that one of "the main propositions of the Encyclical is that the Bible is wholly free from all admixture of error, because error must spring from a human source, and all human sources are excluded by the doctrine that God is not merely the Inspirer but the Author of the Scriptures." I quote our author's account of it to correct a minor slip; for the dogmatic formula that God is the Author of Holy Scripture *inspirando*, by inspiring it, does not of course deny the agency of human writers who were authors *scribendo*, by writing it. But the ordinary Catholic teaching about inspiration is that these two authorships, so far from interfering or as it were colliding one with the other, were united together after the fashion of an incarnation; so that on the one hand the human sacred writers had as much the use of the whole of their natural faculties as if they had been writing from themselves and without any inspiration whatever, and so that, on the other hand, God Himself would have written what they wrote had He appeared in the semblance and taken the place of each in turn. Hence differences of style and manner of expression, of theological, scientific, and historical and literary standpoint, of almost everything, in fact, in which differences can exist, according as God spoke in many declarations and in many different ways by the prophets and by those who followed them. So, "How crass," says St. John Chrysostom in one of his sermons on the Hexæmeron, "is the language of Holy Scripture! How He accommodates Himself to those He is addressing." Phraseology which would have been impossible on the lips of the princely Isaiah, came with native pith and point from those of Amos, *pastor, et rusticus, et ruborum moru distringens*.* Nor, passing from words to knowledge, is it in the least necessary to imagine, nor, as far as I am aware, has any one ever supposed, that each sacred writer knew the whole providence of God; but it was sufficient for him to know enough to deliver his own message and to perform his own work. The author of "The Policy of the Pope" thinks (pp. 559, 600) he finds contradictions in the book of Amos, and draws

* St. Jerome, *Prologus Galeatus*.

the conclusion that the whole of it as it at present stands is not by the same hand. According to a Baraitha in the treatise Baba Bathra in the Babylonian Talmud, the books of the Minor Prophets, Amos included, were "written"—by which is apparently meant were edited or redacted into their present form—by the men of the Great Synagogue; and if this Baraitha is correct,* mistakes may have been made in the arrangement of MSS., a prophetic fragment by one author may have been tacked on without a separate heading to a prophecy by another, or declarations made by the same prophet at different times and under different circumstances may have been made to follow on without giving notice of the distinction. "There is no contradiction between any two things the sacred authors delivered," is not, the Holy Father expressly lays down in the Encyclical, to be confounded with "there is no contradiction between any two things contained in our Bibles": not only because what we call "our Bibles" are only *versions* of the Bible, by far the greater part of English-speaking people being unable to read a word of the Bible itself; but also because the Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek texts as they at present stand even in the best editions, have, as almost everybody is aware, suffered from reiterated retranscription, more especially in the earlier books, which *ceteris paribus* have been more frequently transcribed. Nor is it barely a question of the accidental errors of copyists. It is also one of revising and re-editing under conditions of which we are in the main ignorant, and on principles which we can only conjecture. The variants in the Hebrew Bibles are far fewer than would have been the case had there not been a later recension by the Rabbis—a recension no doubt conscientiously made, for they venerated every letter of Holy Scripture; but not for that reason a recension altogether trustworthy. How extensive the differences are in the Old Testament may be seen by comparing the Septuagint, not only of the books of Samuel, but to take better examples, of those of Kings and Jeremiah, with the same books as represented in the Douai or in King James's, or the Revised Version, which are based upon the Hebrew. In topics of this order, though not in the spirit of antagonism to the written and the unwritten Word of God in which he treats them, the author, though he does not let it be perceived, again has the Pope on his side. Besides, prophecies of temporal blessings or calamities, whether to Judah, to Israel, or to outside nations, were in the nature of the case conditional on obedience or disobedience, and (as we see from, for example, the book of Jonah) have from Old Testament times been regarded as being so.

Even where the above principles do not apply, there are numerous whole classes of instances where divergences may be admitted with-

* If it is not correct they were collected later, so that the argument is the same.

out trenching on the plenary inspiration of the sacred authors and consequently on the teaching of the Encyclical. In the first place, the Bible is not a secular revelation either of art, or science, or anything else; but these outside subjects were taken as they stood at the time the several books and parts of books were written.* An excellent example—that of the hare and the hyrax being incidentally mentioned as chewing the cud, and their flesh being prohibited, not on that account, but because they do not divide the hoof—is related by the author, not, however, as an example, but as if it were a difficulty. To chew the cud is, physiologically speaking, to eructate the food after it has been soaked in one division of the stomach and made into little pellets in another, to chew these pellets again, and swallow them down into a third division of the stomach, from which they pass into a fourth, where the pulp thus prepared is digested. Now hares do not chew the cud in this sense. They belong to the zoological “order” of rodents, to which mice, rats, beavers, and squirrels also appertain; and rodents have, like the “coney” or hyrax mentioned along with the hare, incisor or front teeth which continue to grow during the whole of the animal’s life and have to be kept down by grinding something or other against them. Hence it is that animals of this “order” often gnaw substances which are not edible; and if from age, weakness, laziness, or fracture of the opposite tooth, they do not do this sufficiently, the incisors (as may occasionally be seen in old rats) grow into tusks which impede the taking of food. Rodents usually support themselves on hard food—squirrels, for instance, on nuts. But hares, which consume the shoots and soft parts of grasses and other plants, are an exception; and, as I know from personal observation, they keep down their incisors by grinding them together when they are not eating, though they often then have food still in the mouth. They therefore present every appearance of chewing the cud, and Linnæus, in fact, imagined that they do so; though they certainly do not chew the cud in the same sense as oxen

* “The sacred writers, or to speak more accurately, the Holy Ghost, who spoke by them, did not intend,” explains the very document our author is assailing, “to teach men these things (that is to say, the essential nature of the things of the visible universe), things in no way profitable to salvation. Hence they did not seek to penetrate the secrets of nature, but rather described and dealt with the objects of which they spoke in more or less figurative language, or in terms which were commonly used at the time, and which in many instances are in daily use at this date, even by the most eminent men of science. Ordinary speech primarily and properly describes what comes under the senses; and somewhat in the same way the sacred writers—as the Angelic Doctor [St. Thomas of Aquino] also reminds us—went by what to the senses appeared, or put down what God, speaking to men, signified, in the way men could understand and were accustomed to. The unshrinking defence of Holy Scripture, however, does not require that we should equally uphold all the opinions which each of the Fathers or the more recent interpreters have put forth in explaining it; for it may be that, in commenting on passages where physical matters occur, they have sometimes expressed the ideas of their own times, and thus made statements which in these days have been abandoned as incorrect. . . . The principles here laid down will apply to cognate sciences [*scientias*, branches of knowledge], and especially to history.”

and the other animals classed by him and other naturalists as ruminants, and though they never, perhaps, eructate the food they grind up between their teeth, but only move it forwards from the back of the mouth. *Læ ex iis quæ videntur pronuntiat*; and the Mosaic law classes hares and conies as ruminants, as the law of England ranks whales and porpoises as fish.

Then, again, the character of the rhetoric of Holy Scripture has to be taken into account, and the way in which this is affected by the Oriental character of those who were addressed, and by the genius of the Hebrew language. And, again, the Bible is the record of a progressive revelation in faith and morals, starting from Paganism,* and going on to apostolic Christianity. Old-world David might say much that could not rightly be said by us. And, obviously, we have to examine what the sacred writers really intended to do. Sometimes (eg., Ps. cxvi. 11) they recite what they had previously said or felt, not as organs of inspiration, but simply as human beings. Sometimes they quote, and when one quotes, one commits oneself to the substance of what was said being accurately given, but by no means as a matter of course to the truth of what the quotation asserts or denies. Very often they compile, and, as may be seen by comparing Kings with Chronicles, they do so without the slightest attempt at concealment or disguise; and if the author of "The Policy of the Pope," or anybody else, were to compile a book about the history of England by making extracts from different historians, and gave a Cavalier and a Roundhead account of the Great Rebellion, and a Whig and a Tory account of the Revolution, he would, I imagine, be justly indignant if silly creatures, who were accepted as "Higher" critics without having an inkling of the art of criticism, persuaded a too gullible public that he continually contradicted himself. So, to take another class of facts, numbers must be expected to be used Orientally. All those seventies and forties, for example—as where Absalom is said to have rebelled against David for forty years—cannot possibly be meant numerically.

IV.

The theory of Plenary Inspiration, then, is that there is a human element† in the Bible, and that it was pre-calculated for by the Divine. The horses that were chosen were those which it was known would obey the charioteer. Or, to take the metaphor from the vision in the first chapter of Ezekiel, "whithersoever the spirit was to go,

* "Your fathers dwelt of old time beyond the river, even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods" (JOS. xxiv. 2). The pre-Abrahamic traditions must therefore have traversed a period of Paganism, and they were afterwards put down with only absolutely necessary changes of language.

† We ought rather to speak of human *elements*. There are as many as there were writers.

they went"; so that there is no distinction between the course into which the reins guided them, and that which they took. With this is contrasted the theory of partial inspiration, according to which the guidance was incomplete, and the steeds rebellious. Sometimes this second theory is put in this way: "The sacred writers made mistakes in chronology, in secular science, in history, but they did not do so in matters of faith and morals." But that is only a paper theory. In the history of religion there is not a line which tells of its achievements. The connection of the faith and morals with the history, science, and so on, is so close that, however an individual theologian or a theological school may begin, the end uniformly is that either the principle of reserve, which is that of the Encyclical, or the principle of mistakes, which is that of the partial inspiration theory, is applied to both alike. The principle of St. Augustine, which the author honours with a few passing sneers, is the old and wise one of weighing the evidence, and the case of Galileo may serve as a reminder that to fight may involve the risk of being beaten; but no campaign was ever won on the system of military tactics which consists in deserting every post from which the enemy is visible. Those who defend the Bible walk in the teeth of a storm, and have to throw themselves against the wind in order to keep their balance. But the theory of partial inspiration destroys the authority of Holy Scripture, by leaving it open to any one who meets with anything he does not like, to say, "Oh, this is not one of the best passages; the sacred author was not inspired here." Nowadays we want short and comprehensive answers to everything. But if replies could be given one by one to each of the innumerable difficulties of detail which can be urged on the Bible history, only the modernness of the Old Testament would be proved. In an age of *Ni Dieu ni maître* and of the man in the street, the *Zeitgeist* is in favour of partial inspiration, and weak-minded or indolent people are inclined to sail with the stream. But, *ubi fortiter insistitur, tu fortius obsta.*

"We find," says the author of "The Policy of the Pope," "many contradictions in the Bible on secondary matters." Of the kind of seeking which results in this finding, I shall in a moment have something to say. First, however, let it be remarked that on "secondary" matters the use of the partial inspiration theory always begins. As long as it is employed only on trifles, such as whether St. Paul left his cloak at Troas with Carpus, or elsewhere with some other person, it is as incapable of doing harm as it is of being of any real utility, not because it is in itself innocuous, but because it is applied to trifles alone. But taking to it is like taking to drink; after it has been practised a while on minutiae, it is carried farther; and once thoroughly alight it is ready to burn the house down. "Jahveh," proceeds the author, "does not know exactly what is going on at the

Tower of Babel, or what wicked lives the men of Sodom are leading, until he has visited them in person and inquired into their doings on the spot." The Monotheism of the Prophets was new-fangled, though they were "utterly unconscious of the all-important element of novelty"; and "Jahveh himself confessed at last that he had formerly lent his name to the very imperfect religious system he would now no longer tolerate: 'I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live; and I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through the fire all that openeth the womb.'" * Are these *secondary* matters? And if the Bible is of such a character as is implied by the above declarations and others which accompany them, why should the public trouble its mind about it? The truth is, the "Higher Critics" of the Extreme Left are organisms parasitic on the Bible. When a tuberculous patient dies his bacilli die with him; and if it really collapsed, their occupation would be gone. Their criticisms would excite no more general interest than the similar criticisms about the Iliad and the Odyssey.

I shall conclude by some observations on objections not already noticed. These refer to names, numbers, and a few outside matters.

V.

As to proper names, whether of places or of persons, their superficial form is the slightest and most fugacious foundation on which to raise an argument or a difficulty. Names and numbers "have no sense," or, at least, have none likely to strike a succession of rapidly writing copyists. The scribe cannot steady himself by his general knowledge, or by the context; and, in addition to the mistakes in transcription which necessarily hence arise, not only may the same person, or place, have borne different names at different times or in the mouths of different speakers, but there may have been choice of synonyms at the same time and even from the same lips. The proper name, in fact—the uniform designation, such as Charles Smith or Henry Brown—which we use as a mere label irrespective of the

* Ez. xx. 25, 26: "Gave them"—i.e., as may be seen from the context, gave them up, or abandoned them to—"that I might make them desolate, to the end that they might know I am the Lord," by realising the veritable character of the Moloch worship which was the alternative to the service of God. The prophet had previously said: "I gave them my statutes and showed them my judgments, which if a man do, he shall live by them," but, he goes on, they rebelled, &c. Nothing certainly was farther from Ezechiel's mind than to say that the Baal worship which was brought upon them as a punishment was, as the almost incredible levity of the author represents him to say, a prior divine legislation succeeded by the "My judgments, which if a man do, he shall live by them" of verse 11. As to the Monotheism of the Prophets, anti-historical criticism is naturally inclined to judge of the East by the West, and of the old world by the change and hurry of modern life; but if we reflect on the immovableness of the Eastern world and the enormous power of tradition, it will not seem too much to say that the utter unconsciousness of the prophets that their doctrine was novel is an irrefragable argument of its antiquity.

etymology and the original meaning of the words composing it—is a comparatively modern invention. The old names are appellatives. They are such as “blessed,” “black,” “butcher,” “beloved,” two or more of which might be given to the same individual. Where, as in the case of Abraham or David, the owner of the name was well known, some one of his many designations would be likely to overcome the others, and to stick to him; but it would be likely to be otherwise with obscure and rarely mentioned individuals, scraps of whose names would crop up here and there. Taking, then, the author’s arguments from names in the order in which the correlative passages are read in the Bible, the first is drawn from divergences as to the names of the wives of Esau (who is also called Edom, by the way, as Abraham is called Abram; Jacob, Israel; Simon, Peter; Pul, Tiglath Pileser; and so on), who is said (Gen. xxvi. 34) to have taken to wife, when he was forty years old, “Judith the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, and Basemath (or Basmath) the daughter of Elon the Hittite.” The next we hear of him is that “he took unto the wives which he had, Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, Abraham’s son, the sister of Nebaioth, to be his wife” (Gen. xxviii. 9). And then thirdly, in the account of the three lines of the descendants of Esau (Gen. xxxvi. 2, 3, where the women are presumably spoken of no longer by their maiden names, but as wives and mothers of children), we are told that Esau took his wives of the daughters of Canaan: Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and Oholibamah the daughter of Anah, the daughter” (or rather, as the Septuagint has it, the son) “of Zibeon the Hivite,” or villager; “and Basemath, Ishmael’s daughter, sister to Nabaioth.” At sea even as to the general bearings of his selected instance, the author of “The Policy of the Pope” here introduces a series of jokes, winding up with the story of the man who went mad on discovering that having rashly married the daughter of his son’s wife, he became, in consequence, his son’s son-in-law and his son’s grandfather. “The sources,” he says, contradict each other; and yet according to the critics the passages are all from the same “source.” The names are appellatives, and their interchange testifies to the antiquity of the source of the three passages. Judith (the feminine of Judah, him whom his brethren would praise, Gen. xlix. 8) means simply praised or to be praised; Oholibamah seems to signify “My tent is pitched on a high place,” from *’oholi*, my tent, and *bamah* (cf. Ez. xxiii. 4). Her father Anah is said (Gen. xxxvi. 24) to have found hot springs in the wilderness, and Beeri, the name given to him in Gen. xxvi. means “My spring,” or “The spring is mine.” Basmath and Adah, the two names of the daughter of Elon, “The high or mighty one,” are also descriptive, the first signifying “The fragrant, balsamic,” and the second (with, like Oholibamah, a suggestion of appropriation), “a jewel,” or more generically, something with which one adorns oneself.

Mahalath, the name of Ishmael's daughter in Gen. xxviii. 9, denotes a zither or sistrum ; * nor was there anything extraordinary in Mahalath taking on her marriage the name Basmath, if an earlier wife, perhaps dead by that time, had previously been called by it. Finally, names which are simple epithets are still common in the East, and frequently (if not as a rule, *chardin*) women receive new names on being married. In later times no interest would have been felt in the names of Esau's wives ; and if they had been given at all they would at least have been harmonised.

The second difficulty, less artificial than the preceding, is taken from Aaron, the brother of Moses and the first high-priest of the Jews, being in one set of passages (Num. xx. 22-29, P. ; xxxiii. 38, P. ; Deut. xxxii. 50, P.) said to have died (and, by implication, to have been buried) on Mount Hor, and in another passage (Deut. x. 6, 7, "a fragment from an uncertain source," Reuss) to have died and been buried in Mosera—no doubt the same place or district as Moseroth, one of the forty places of encampment catalogued in Num. xxxiii. That the Jews, whether in Judæa or in Egypt, saw no even seeming contradiction between the two accounts, is manifest from their appearing without gloss or comment both in the Hebrew and in the Septuagint Bibles ; though the Samaritans, who lived farther north, thought they needed reconciling, and altered Deut. x. 6, so as to bring it into superficial accordance with the three other passages. Living thousands of years later, we are ignorant of the exact position of most of the stations in the wilderness. But Mount Hor is an exception. It is almost universally believed to be the *Jebel Nabi Harun*, a western outlier of the Mountains of Seir, which run almost north and south between the eastern fork of the Red Sea and the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. West of this range, and parallel with it, lies the *Wady-el-Arabah*, with the wilderness of Zin and Kadesh toward the north and west, and the harbour of Ezion-Geber, on the Red Sea, to the south. Now, on examining the list of encampments—Hashmonah, Moseroth, Bene-Jaakin, Hor-hag-gigdad, Jotbatha, &c.—in Num. xxxiii. 30-35, it will be seen that, in the route described, the Israelites were moving from one to another down the Arabah southward, till they reached the sea at Ezion-Geber. They would thus pass Mount Hor on their left ; and the mistake of the Samaritans seems to have been that they imagined the journey to have been continued onward, in which case Mount Hor would have had to lie farther on in the same direction. We read, however, in Num. xxxiii. 36, that at Ezion-Geber they turned round, and went northward to "the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh," and thence sent the message to the King of Edom, asking permission to pass through Idumæa, which alone lay between them and Palestine. His

* *Sistrum irruptum, virgo intacta?*

refusal compelled them again to march to the Gulf of Akaba, "and they journeyed from Kadesh and pitched in Mount Hor,"* *i.e.*, in the vicinity of the mountain, and not, of course, on the peak itself. The stations of this last journey down the Arabah which are mentioned in Deut. x. 6, 7, are the wells of the children of Jaachin, Mosera, "where Aaron died and was buried," Gudgoda (evidently the same as Hor-hag-gidgad), and Jobath (or Jotbatha). From the nature of the case, these must have been localities in the Arabah. They have not as yet been identified, but it is mere perversity to assert that Mosera, where—*i.e.*, in the neighbourhood of which, for his cairn could not have been raised within the encampment itself—Aaron died and was buried, was not in the vicinity of Mount Hor.†

"Let us take another instance. In Chronicles (II. xxi, 12) we read that the prophet Elijah forwarded a letter to Jehoram, son of Jehosaphat and king of Judah, while the inspired book of Kings informs us that Elijah had left this world before Jehosaphat died and his son Jehoram could have become king of Judah." Not in the least; the expression in Chronicles is that "there came a writing to him from Elijah the prophet," which might have been written before his death, and sent afterwards when the occasion arose, and Jehoram was associated with Jehosaphat on the throne while his father was still living.‡ "The storming of Samaria by Sargon in 722 B.C. is ascribed by the book of Kings to Salmanasar, who was mouldering in his grave at the time." This is equally inaccurate. Shalmaneser, the predecessor of Sargon on the throne of Assyria, made an expedition into the west, and besieged Samaria, but died or was murdered in the second year of the siege. Sargon, whom Mr. Sayce ("The Higher Criticism and the Monuments," p. 417; *cf.* Schrader's "Keilinschriften," Giessen, 1883, p. 271) thinks may be the Jareb of Hosea, v. 13. usurped the throne, taking the names of Sarukinu, the established, appointed, or

* Num. xxxiii. 37. *Cf.* xx. 12-22; Deut. i. 46; ii. 8. On reaching Ezion-Geber they turned to the north-east, along the eastern side of the Mountains of Seir, and through Moabitis to the Jordan.

† The Hebrews would, of course, move, not in a straight line, but according as water and pasturage were to be found, and found unoccupied. Jaachin is mentioned in Gen. xxvi. 27, as a son of Ezer (one of the chiefs of the Horites) and grandson of Seir. Of Moserah, or Moseroth, nothing is known except that the name means bonds or fetters. The prefix Hor, in Hor-hag-gidgad, is also connected by Aug. Dillmann (in his commentary on Numbers) with the Horite country, and in Robinson's map Wady Ghudighidh is shown on the west side of the Arabah, a little north of Mount Hor. Jotbatha (*i.e.*, the good, excellent) is stated to have abounded with water-streams; which would be true in the wet season of many places in the Arabah.

‡ The eighteenth year of Jehosaphat was also the second year of Jehoram (IV. [II.] Kings ii. 17; iii. 1), and the former was still king when the latter began to reign (viii. 16). The last recorded public act of Elijah's ministry was his message to Amaziah, king of Israel, then in his last illness: "Thou shalt not come down from that bed on which thou art gone up, but shalt surely die. . . . So he died;" and his successor reigned in his stead "in the second year of Jehoram, the son of Jehosaphat, king of Judah." The first recorded act of the separate public ministry of Elisha was in a subsequent (IV [II.] Kings iii. 2, 3), though undated, campaign against the Moabites. It is, therefore, perfectly gratuitous to say that Elijah left this world before Jehoram became king of Judah.

predestined king, and Sarukin, "He (*i.e.*, Ashur, the god of Assyria) has appointed the king." Sargon in his annals attributes to himself the actual capture of Samaria. What the book of Kings says is that Shalmaneser "came up against Samaria, and besieged it; and at the end of three years they," the Assyrians, "took it. . . . And the king of Assyria" (without saying what king, whether Shalmaneser or his successor) carried away Israel into Assyria.* "But," insists the author of "The Policy of the Pope," "the book of Tobias affirms that Sennacherib was the son and successor of Shalmaneser," omitting Sargon. This turns on a various reading, for while the Latin text (Tob. i. 18) has Salmanasar, the Greek has Enemessar, which Oppert conjectured might stand for Anu-masir, "Anu is gracious;" or it may be equivalent to Ennam-Ashur, "He whom Ashur oracularly designated," from the Assyrian *ennam*, an oracular response or decree (Fried. Delitzsch, "Ass. Gram," in Petermann and Strack's Series, 1889, pp. 29 and 44 *), and Ashûr. In this last case it would be a synonym for Sargon, whose lack of hereditary right presumably impelled him to pretend a divine appointment, and to take the name of the older Sargon of Akkad. The familiar Salmanasar was more likely to be substituted for Enemessar by a copyist acting on the supposition that this last was a corruption of the text, than Enemassar was to grow out of Shalmaneser by accidentally omitting the l, accidentally transposing the m and the n, omitting the initial sibilant, and thus accidentally arriving at a synonym for Sargon. Sargon was succeeded by Sennacherib, who, after his disaster at Jachish, "returned to Nineveh, and dwelt there" (IV. [II.] Kings xix. 36) for a length of time unspecified in Holy Scripture,† till he was murdered by two of his sons, the third, his favourite son, succeeding him.

The book of Judith, according to our author, declares that Nebuchadnezzar reigned at Nineveh at a time when the Assyrian empire entertained continued relations with the kingdom of Judah; the book of Baruch (i. 11) calls Belshazzar Nebuchadnezzar's son and heir; and the book of Daniel ridiculously makes Nebuchadnezzar say that Daniel's name was changed to Belteshazzar, "according to the name of my God"—*i.e.*, Bel. But is it conceivable that the Nebuchadnezzar king of *Nineveh* in Judith, in whose time the temple is represented as still standing, and, though there was no king, a Jewish

* This, comments Mr. Sayce (p. 420), shows how scrupulous was the compiler of the book of Kings "to reproduce his authorities just as he found them. They spoke only of 'the king of Assyria,' without specifying his name; the compiler has done the same. It may be questioned whether many modern historians would have been equally reticent and exact. The temptation to conclude that 'the king of Assyria' who finished the siege of Samaria was identical with the one who commenced it would have been too strong for most of them, and we should have been told that Shalmaneser took Samaria, and carried Israel away."

† In Tobit i. 20, 21 [Greek text], the immediate *terminus a quo* of the fifty (?) days is the capture of Tobit's goods. About the length of the period there are various readings.

population was still gathered round Jerusalem (Judith iv., &c.), refers to Nebuchadnezzar king of *Babylon*, by whom every Jewish man, woman, and child, down to the present day, knows that Jerusalem was destroyed, the temple burnt, and the people taken away into captivity? If this were the case it would be a warning, placed by the author at the beginning of his book, that, as Oppert supposed, it was intended to be read as a parable. Though familiar to us only in connection with the destroyer of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar or (the *n* standing for an earlier *r*, from which it is almost indistinguishable in the Eastern Aramaic inscriptions) Nebuchadrezzar—*i.e.*, Nabu-chuduru-utsur, “Nebo, preserve the chuduru,” was a name of at least three other known monarchs—of a Chaldean who reigned in Babylon about B.C. 1150, the first mentioned after an Assyrian dynasty; of another Babylonian Sovereign who was also called Uraschuduru-utsur; and of Bilu-chuduru-utsur, an Assyrian king of B.C. 1225. It may have been a name of others, and in particular of any great builder and restorer, the Babylonian edifices made of sun-burnt bricks needing frequent repairs. Its meaning depends on that of “chuduru,” which is usually translated “crown.” But the Babylonian, Assyrian, and Persian kings did not wear crowns in our meaning of the word, but stiff caps or “tiaras”; and according to Friedrich Delitzsch (F. D. and S. Baer, “*Libri Danielis, Ezræ et Nehemiæ*,” Lepsia, 1882), “chuduru” signified “a felt cap, or helmet-like covering for the head, resembling a tiara, such as was worn by slaves who were employed as labourers, to enable them to carry burdens more easily, and to protect them from the sun’s heat.” Delitzsch sees in the giving of the name to the Nebuchadnezzar *par excellence*, an allusion to the restoration of Babylon in which Nabopolassar his father was engaged when he bestowed it on his son. Esarhaddon, another of whose names was Assur-ebil-mucin-pal (Budge, “Esarhaddon,” p. 2), may likewise have been called Nebuchadnezzar, for in his father’s lifetime he was made regent or sub-king of Babylon, and was one of the great restorers of that city. “The special work which signalises him more than all his warlike enterprises, though these were in no way inferior to those of his predecessors, was the restoration of Babylon, and the reinstatement of the ancient city of Bel in her former rights. The command to rebuild the temple of Bel was one of the first acts of the government” (Winckler, “*Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*,” Leipzig, 1892, p. 260). The state of things in Palestine described in the book of Judith is verified only in the reign of Esarhaddon, who carried Manasseh king of Judah into temporary captivity, but left the city and the temple standing. That the expedition of Holophernes or Olophernes is not chronicled in the inscriptions is conformable to the general principle that unsuccessful expeditions—which would have

been regarded as of evil omen—are mentioned only on occasion of their being avenged.

And now to turn to Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. He took Jerusalem B.C. 587, and dying in B.C. 562 at an advanced age, was succeeded by Evil-Merodach, his son, according to the Greek writers, but detested on account of his debaucheries and incompetency. After a short reign of less than three years Evil-Merodach was murdered. Neriglissar, a Babylonian noble who had married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, ascended the throne. He was followed, after a reign scarcely longer than that of his predecessor, by a king whom the Greeks denominated Labarosoarchod. Labarosoarchod is related to have been assassinated nine months afterwards. Nabonidus, a usurper, the last king of Babylon according to the Babylonian annalistic tablet discovered fourteen years ago by Mr. T. G. Pinches of the British Museum, then (B.C. 556) succeeded. How he came to do so is rather a puzzle, for he was an antiquarian who spent his time grubbing up the foundations of the temples to obtain ancient records, while Belshazzar, his son, was the effective head of the military administration. Seventeen years later the empire was attacked by Cyrus, whose lieutenant Gobryas took Babylon on the 16th of Tammuz, B.C. 538, and Belshazzar died "when he was probably about fifty-seven years old."* If this conclusion of Mr. Pinches is correct—and it is presumably founded on Babylonian contract tables or other documents—Belshazzar would have been of about thirteen years of age in B.C. 582, the fifth year of the Babylonian captivity and the date of Baruch i. 11. Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar. Our author is aware, he says, "that some of our shifty apologists have suggested a heroic way out of the difficulty . . . that Nebuchadnezzar was not exactly a relative of Belshazzar's, but at least he was his distant predecessor." It is difficult to discover what the motive of these unquestionably shifty critics could have been, inasmuch as Canon Rawlinson (Herodotus, Essay viii. § 25) gave about a quarter of a century ago the very reasonable explanation that Nabonidus must, like his predecessor Neriglissar, have married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar's, which would account both for his coming to the throne and for the general tenor of his conduct afterwards; and though Belshazzar would not in that case be the son of Nebuchadnezzar in our modern and restricted application of the word "son," he would be his grandson, a meaning in which "son" is also used (*e.g.*, Gen. xxix. 5; Ezra v. 1). The bad character of Evil-Merodach renders it not altogether unlikely that Nebuchadnezzar may have adopted him as his heir, though the words "and heir" are to be

* T. G. Pinches, Art. Belshazzar; "Dictionary of the Bible." 1893.

found neither in the Greek nor in the Latin text of Baruch as far as I have consulted them.*

Of the name Belteshazzar, given to Daniel according to the name of Nebuchadnezzar's god, two etymologies have been suggested. One is by Delitzsch and Sayce, "Preserve his life," when the name, beginning with the syllable Bel or Bal would contain merely a pun on the king's favourite deity, Bel Merodach, Bel the preserver and restorer of life. The other is by Dr. F. W. Westcott, "The Prince of Bel." The first is unquestionably right, and is as unquestionably short for "Bel," *i.e.*, Bel Merodach, "Preserve his life."

VI.

The difficulties respecting numbers—the differences, for instance, between the figures in Kings and those in Chronicles, and the 22,273 first-born a month old or upwards, among 603,550 males of twenty years of age or over—are still more instructive. As 603,550 is, in round numbers, twenty-seven times 22,273, the statements in the first three chapters of the Book of Numbers look at first sight as if they meant that for every twenty-seven adult males, there was only one eldest son, even when all the male children down to those of only a month old who were eldest sons had been counted in to swell the numbers of the first-born. The disproportion is thus much greater than it seems, for there must have been males who were not eldest sons, and were *under* twenty years of age. If, then, roughly speaking, these were half as numerous as those who were over twenty, there would be only one eldest son among every forty living males. Female children, let us not forget, are as likely as those of the other sex; so that an average household would comprise eighty living sons and daughters. Neither the genealogical lists, nor even a passing reference, *e.g.*, to the dimensions of the tents which would be necessary, give as much as a hint of such extraordinary prolificness; nay, the numbers towards the end of the forty years' wandering are stated (Numbers xxvi.) at a lower figure (601,730) than shortly after the beginning. Again, for there to be eighty children alive, a very much larger number—say, at a very moderate estimate, half as many more—would have to be born. The average father would be father of one hundred and twenty; and the average father would include newly married men, and men who died shortly after marriage. If one had

* Van Ess's Septuagint, Lipsiæ, 1824, and the Paris Quarto Vulgate, of 1837. Nor are they in the Douai version. A point not mentioned by the writer of the article in the CONTEMPORARY but often brought forward, is that the Babylonian Chronicle (which was written after the accession of Cyrus, and in his interest) never gives the title of king to Belshazzar, who resisted Cyrus, but reserves it for Nabonidus, who, according to the Greek writers, made a composition with him and received a province. It does not, however, follow that Daniel, who had been long and intimately associated with Nebuchadnezzar, would use the same terminology.

only one child, some one else would have to have had at least two hundred and thirty-nine; and families of five hundred or a thousand or two, must have occasionally occurred. Now, *qui nimis probat nihil probat*; when other features of the case—such as the duration of gestation—are taken into account, it becomes obvious that this way of looking at the matter—and it is that of the author of “The Policy of the Pope”—is utterly preposterous. If the writer of the book of Numbers had meant such things as these, he could not be excused on the plea that, “after all, perhaps he was not a family man.” It is impossible to believe in the existence of such a dolt as he would have been.

The explanation is almost ridiculously simple. It is that the first-born are those born after the Exodus, a year or so before.

VII.

In Leviticus, urges our author, we read: “And if ye offer a sacrifice of peace-offerings unto the Lord, ye shall offer it at your own will. It shall be eaten on the same day ye offer it, and on the morrow” (Lev. xix. 5, 6). And in another passage of the same book (Lev. xxii. 30) we find this very clear injunction regarding the very same peace-offerings: “On the same day it shall be eaten up; ye shall leave none of it until the morrow.” The blunder is extraordinary. The two kinds of peace-offerings are distinguished by their titles, which he has omitted; and the two laws are to be found together in Lev. vii. 11–21. The flesh, to be consumed on the same day, was that of the peace offering of thanksgiving, obligatory under certain circumstances; the second was the votive or freewill peace-offering.

From the standpoint of sensational effectiveness it is to be regretted that replies to objections are, if any serious attempt is made to render them really satisfactory, almost uniformly longer, and therefore to casual readers more tedious, than the objections themselves. But it cannot be helped; not merely because in framing an answer one has also to say what it is an answer to, but also because objections are objections only on account of their overlooking points in the supplying of and insisting on which the reply essentially consists. From the nature of the case, moreover, the points in question are not those which are the most striking at first sight—for even a rapid objector would perceive these, would be warned off the ground by them, and would select some other passage to argue from—but are issues which are not obvious at first sight, and require at least a sentence or two of further explanation. I shall conclude with this, that “according to Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, ‘Moses’ enacted numerous laws regulating burnt-offerings and sacrifices, which laws we must”—we must, he means, according to the Encyclical—“believe to have been

inspired by God. And yet Jahveh himself, speaking through his prophet Jeremiah, declares most emphatically that he never gave any directions whatever about burnt-offerings and sacrifices." "Add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat flesh. For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices: but this thing I commanded them, saying, Hearken unto my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I command you," *'atsavveh*, that I shall command, or am in course of commanding, "that it may be well with you."* But this is only Hosea's, "I desire mercy, and not sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings; but they are as men who have transgressed the covenant" (Hos. vi. 6). It was addressed to hearers who thought that if they offered sacrifices, all was well, no matter what else they did; and who offered them not only to Jehovah, but in the cruel and licentious worship of Baal and Ashtoreth besides (Jer. vii. 2-20). The two ideas were connected together; for that ritual worship is everything is the very essence of heathenism. Moses, again, enacted laws about sacrifices and burnt offerings not only in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but also in Deuteronomy (Deut. xii.-xiv. 19; xv. 21; xvii. 1), though not with the same detail, for the obvious reason that Deuteronomy was on the whole a popular exposition, addressed to the multitude at large, and appointed to be read to them every seven years (Deut. xxxi. 10, 11), while the books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were for the most part a special Priestly Code, in the hands of the priests, instructing them in the particulars, and even in minute particulars, of their official duties in the regulation of the service of the sanctuary, and in matters connected therewith. Our author may question whether this Priestly Code, and the Priestly history associated with it and dealing chiefly with the history of the sanctuary service and with genealogies which determined the status and precedence of those who came thither to worship, were in the hands of Jeremiah, who did not belong to the sacerdotal order; but at least Deuteronomy, which (as we have just seen) also contains sacrificial precepts, must have been familiar to him. Indeed, he quotes either Deut. xiv. 12, or Ex. xxi. 2, xxiii. 10, E, in Jer. xxxiv. 13, 14, "I made a covenant with your fathers in the day that I brought them out of

* Jer. vii. 21-23. The reference is to Exodus xix. 3-5, E, the introduction to the Law given from Sinai: "And Moses went up unto God, and the Lord called to him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say . . . Ye have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagle's wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant"—the covenant which was about to be made—"ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me, more than all [other] peoples (for all the earth is mine); ye shall even be unto me a kingdom of priests, even a consecrated nation." Then follow the ten commandments (Exodus xx). Sacrifices and burnt-offerings are spoken of later; they were not the first enjoined and primary duties.

the land of Egypt." The covenant here referred to relates to the releasing of slaves, which had just been re-enacted with the solemnity of a votive sacrifice, but was nevertheless presently disregarded (Jer. xxxiv. 17-19). The prophet repeatedly refers (Jer. xxxi. 14, xxxiii. 11) to sacrifices as normal and authorised parts of the Hebrew religion. It is incorrect, therefore, to say that Almighty God declared through Jeremiah that He never gave any directions whatever about sacrifices. The reader will have perceived from the quotation given that what is said is that He did not give such directions in the day they were brought out of Egypt—*i.e.*, the sacrifices were secondary matters, and not the primary cause of their deliverance. This might be enounced even of the sacrifice of Calvary itself; in which what was primarily in view was our redemption and sanctification. "*Neque enim Evangelium propter crucem, sed et ipsa crux propter Evangelium.*" The expression translated "concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices" means rather "on account of burnt offerings or sacrifices."

ROBERT FRANCIS CLARKE.

INCIDENTS OF LABOUR WAR IN AMERICA.

THE ruins of Finchale Abbey, on the river Wear, still remain to attest the sanctity of the north-country ascetic whose shrine it was in days of old. In his hot youth the saint, before he became a saint, was permitted by the grace of God (so runs the ancient legend) to see a vision of Hell. The sight transformed his life. From that moment he abandoned his sins and endeavoured by the cruellest mortification of his body to testify to the sincerity of his repentance. When he had looked into Hell he saw that it was the Hell of Extremes. Side by side with the conventional blazing fiery furnace there was a place of intense cold, full of thick-ribbed ice, and driving hail, and biting winds, so bitter that he could not say which was worse to bear, the Hell of Heat or the Hell of Cold. But ever afterwards he sought to inflict upon himself at Finchale some foretaste of the doom of the damned. In high noon in hottest summer he would lie blistering and scorched on the heated rocks. In midwinter he would sit up to the neck in a hole broken in the ice of the frozen Wear. And when the country folk would expostulate with him as he lay baking in the sun, he answered nothing but "I have seen greater heat." In like wise when in winter they adjured the saint to come out of his bath-hole in the icy river, as the cold was too great for mortal man to bear, he would murmur, "I have seen greater cold."

This north-country tale comes back to me when I hear Englishmen groaning about our labour troubles. For I have been in the United States, and when I hear our labour men declaiming against the tyranny of capital, the despotism of employers, and the grievances inflicted upon workmen, I reply, with the saint of Finchale, "I have seen greater tyranny." So, in like manner, when employers denounce the violence of high-handed unionists and the unreasonableness of

strikers, I shrug my shoulders and reply, "I have seen worse violence." For, as I have said, I have been in the United States, and in industrial matters our American kinsfolk are where we were forty or fifty years ago when rattening was the first word of an outlawed unionism and murder the ultimate argument against the blackleg. What Sheffield was in the palmy days of Broadhead and Crookes, before the Royal Commission was appointed which revealed the secrets of a unionism resting upon the foundation of assassination—preached as a virtue and practised as a necessity—so Pittsburg is to-day, and when we say Pittsburg we say Chicago, Denver, or any other great industrial centre. Hence, when an Englishman returns from the United States to the worst strike region in the United Kingdom he is conscious of an immediate and unmistakable change for the better. Our difficulties are bad enough, but they are as moonlight is to sunlight, as water is to wine, compared with the industrial feuds which rage on the other side of the Atlantic.

I can best illustrate this by briefly stringing together a few of the incidents of the labour war which has been raging for the last month or two in the coke and mining industries of America. As my object is to describe the temper of the disputants rather than to discuss the merits of the dispute, I will not confuse the issue by details as to the points of difference between the parties. Nothing is more misleading than the dissertations upon rates of wages in one country addressed to readers in another land, where no one knows anything about the purchasing value of the money discussed. It may be taken for granted in every case that the workers and their employers are at variance because they differ as to their respective shares of the profits of their industry. Times are bad in the United States; the unemployed are numerous, and the employers, confronted by cut-throat competition between themselves, seek to cut prices by cutting wages. Against this the workmen rebel, and an industrial war ensues, which is called a strike or a lock-out, according to the sympathies of the speaker. This may be taken for granted as the ordinary groundwork of all the disputes to which I am about to refer. A very interesting article might be written describing the points in dispute and the final settlement of the great strike in the bituminous coal trade, which began in April, paralysing the industry of nearly 200,000 miners, and a far greater number of others, whose work depend upon coal, but for that I have no space, nor would it be so useful, on the whole, as the illustrations which I proceed to give of the mode in which industrial warfare is carried on in the land of "Triumphant Democracy."

Here, for instance, is an episode culled from the newspapers, describing the strike in Mr. Carnegie's country—the State founded by William Penn on principles of peace, brotherhood, and good-will.

It is interesting in many ways. It shows the ordinary methods of compulsion employed by strikers, the means of resistance resorted to, and the results which follow. When the strike was declared, the men in several mines refused to join in the movement. They preferred to continue at work; they had no quarrel with their employers, and they went down the mines as usual. The strikers decided that they must be brought into line. This was effected by methods hardly distinguishable from those of civil war.

The strikers organised a small Army of Intimidation, about 500 strong, at Uniontown, Pennsylvania. This army was as destitute of uniform and of discipline as the first tumultuary levies of the French Revolution, but, like the *sans-culottes*, it had grim resolve in its heart to use the weapons which it held in its hand. The Army of Intimidation, operating from its base at Uniontown, had its plan of campaign, its leaders, and its arsenal. Its soldiers were armed not merely with clubs, according to the ancient tradition of all such irregular levies, but also with revolvers. With these they marched from mine to mine to "persuade" the men at work to join the strike. Arguments as to the holy cause of the brotherhood of labour, which might otherwise have fallen upon deaf ears, became singularly persuasive when accompanied by the click of the revolver. The mere sound of their approach sufficed in some cases to close the mines, the miners flying to the open country to escape with their lives. In other places, where they did not rightly appreciate the moral earnestness of the strikers, conviction was borne in upon them by clubbing. The Army had closed several mines in this way when the mine-owners thought it necessary to act on the defensive. As there are no police to speak of and no soldiers, the sheriff, to whom they appealed for protection, enrolled deputy sheriffs or, as we should say, special constables, and despatched them to protect life and property at the threatened mines. These deputies, armed with Winchester repeating rifles, garrisoned the mines. What followed bears a curious resemblance to the skirmishes that marked the beginning of our civil war in the seventeenth century, when Roundhead and Cavalier in turn made sallies upon each other's strongholds, and either carried the place by a sudden rush or were beaten off after an exchange of shots with a man or two killed or wounded. The Army of Intimidation on April 4 marched from Uniontown to Fairchance, closing with violence all mines that lay on the line of march. Rainey's mines, however, they were compelled to leave working as they were guarded by a strong detachment of deputies armed with Winchesters. At McClure's works shots were exchanged, some of which slew a Hungarian in the intimidating army. Another intimidator was shot at the Donelly and Mayfield mines which were garrisoned by Englishmen. At the Davidson Mine, a little further on, the army was more successful. They looted the works, drove the

miners out, destroyed the engines and buildings. A shot was fired which enraged the conquerors. Bent on vengeance, they dashed up the tip, where the chief-engineer Paddock was standing. Paddock tried to escape amid a fusillade of stones and bullets. He fell shot in the back of the head. His pursuers pounded him with stones and clubs, and then to "mak' siccar," three of them carried the bleeding body to a window, and flung it out on to the ovens, forty feet below. The army then, glutted with vengeance and flushed with victory, evacuated the wrecked mine, and marched on. But the sensational incident of the murder of chief-engineer Paddock succeeded in doing that most difficult of all things, it roused phlegmatic and apathetic American sentiment. Telegrams announcing his death were despatched all over the district, and at Connellsville, where they possess a lock-up, "conservative citizens began to talk lynch law." They did more than talk. A body of citizens, armed with guns and revolvers, started in pursuit under the county detective, to avenge the death of Paddock. After a hot chase, they came up with the rear guard. A skirmish ensued, in which the Avengers shot two of the Intimidators dead, and took eleven of them prisoners, whom they brought back in triumph to the lock-up. Another batch of fifty-three were brought in later. "A large crowd gathered and loud cries went up for the blood of the captives." But they were safely housed in the lock-up. Thirty more were captured, and then the president of the Miners' Association was arrested at Uniontown. Altogether 150 men were placed under arrest.

The Army of Intimidation was by no means intimidated. The same telegram that reported the arrest of the miners' president, added that 3000 strikers were on the march to the Moyer works. At Broadford, two strikers were killed and one fatally wounded, "bringing the total to six men killed by bullets in one day." At night the scene in the mining region resembled a seat of war. 1500 strikers, mostly Hungarians and Poles, encamped near Scottsdale, and through the night the blaze of a hundred camp fires marked the bivouac of the intimidating force. Rainey's works, bristling with the Winchesters of determined deputies, were menaced by 1200 men; but ultimately it was decided to place them under guard. At this time it was computed 10,000 men strikers were encamped for purposes of intimidation around the Rainey Mines. All this occurred in the early days of April, before the great coal strike had begun. A month later, on May 4, another ugly outbreak occurred. At the Painter Coke Works in Fayette Co., the strikers stormed the place, knocked down the engineer, beat him into insensibility with heavy clubs, and were on the point of cutting off his head with an axe when they were driven back by officials armed with Winchesters. A dozen men and women were wounded before the works were

cleared. Connellsville, the scene of the rally of conservative citizens a month before, was still in a disturbed state. The prompt action of the Coal Company in arming a large force with Winchesters somewhat discouraged the strikers, who, instead of attacking the works, contented themselves with marching backwards and forwards before the works displaying red flags. But although discouraged, the strikers were not cowed. On May 23, the Army of Intimidation was got together again in Uniontown, as may be seen from the following entry :

"Nine hundred miners started at midnight of the 23rd for Stickle Hollow to attack the Washington Coal and Coke Company's works. Several contingents joined them, making altogether 2000 men with bands, guns, and clubs. Waited for the men to come up from the mines, and as they appeared, they summoned them to quit work. As they were doing this, the deputies appeared from ambush behind a car, and poured a volley into the midst of the strikers. They fled, but were pursued by continuous volleys from the deputies, who numbered seventy-five. Five strikers were shot dead, and several wounded. Deputies say the strikers also fired.

"At Fairchance the Frick Company have manned their pit with armed deputies."

In such fashion, in the Pennsylvanian coke region in the year of grace 1894, do employers and employed seek to adjust their differences.

It will be said, and with justice, that the Pennsylvania coke district has been stuffed with foreign immigrants, and that it is unfair to refer to this strike as a typical American labour dispute. It is no doubt true that the most of the intimidatory armies of Pennsylvania were Hungarians or Huns, as the Americans style them, and Poles. The American Protectionist of those parts, having secured a heavy duty on all imported goods by pretending that a high tariff was necessary to enable him to pay high wages to American labour, no sooner secured his tariff than he imported thousands of Huns and Poles, on whom there was no import duty, in order to undersell the American workman. Hence the presence of these foreign elements which undoubtedly contribute considerably to the bitterness of the industrial war. An ugly illustration of this occurred at Detroit in April. A wages dispute between the Detroit municipality and their workmen led to an attack by 700 Poles upon the sheriff and his deputies, which resulted in the killing of two men and the wounding of fifteen others. The sheriff himself was almost killed. He was knocked down and hewed at with pick and shovel on his head and body. An artery in the leg was severed, and he was not expected to live. But although it would be a mistake to debit all the outrages to the foreigner's account, there is no doubt that he is always an element of danger. This comes out very clearly in the history of the great coal strike, which was declared on April 11.

The struggle in the bituminous coal trade attained the dimensions of a national dispute. The States involved were sixteen in number, but the chief seats of the strike were in Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia. Of 189,000 miners 178,000 came out on strike, "voluntarily or otherwise. The Union ordered a universal strike. Mines that were working at Union rates were laid idle equally with those where reductions had been made. "The fight for living wages is a general fight, and no local settlements will be authorised or recognised," was the dictum of President McBride. Until a general settlement has been declared, "coal must not be loaded at any price, or for any purpose." Naturally many miners who were working at Union rates did not see the sense of coming out. Hence the necessity for the tactics which were employed, and very generally employed, to enforce obedience to the orders of the Union. The following are a few of the incidents in the course of this strike extracted from a diary compiled from the *Chicago Herald* :

"April 23.—Mob of 1500 miners marched to La Salle, Ill., to prevent the miners working. A riot ensued. Most of the men carried revolvers, stilettos, and daggers.

"Two hundred miners crossed over into Western Virginia from Ohio, and forcibly took the men from the pits.

"April 26.—Acting-Governor Gill ordered out five companies of the Chicago Militia to be in readiness to protect the mines. The miners marching on La Salle had seven brass bands, a drum and fife corps, and seven commissary waggons. 100 teams of people followed them, making a procession three miles long.

"April 27.—3000 miners, chiefly foreigners, marched into Teluka, Ill., carrying pistols and clubs, and armed with dynamite bombs. They came in six divisions of 500 men each. The coloured miners work; the Unions do not protect the blacks, who are denied admission to the Unions. The miners were persuaded away from Teluka.

"May 3.—Mesaba Iron Company, fifty-eight, mostly Finns, secured explosives, with the avowed purpose of blowing up people in Virginia, Minn., and the neighbourhood.

"At Peoria, Ill., 600 miners, armed with clubs, and followed by twenty-five carriages, compelled several mines to close.

"Finns ugly at Virginia, Minn. 1000 strikers met the regular troops, who had been called out, at the depôt.

"May 5.—Strikers shot by Marshal Free at Mountain Iron, Minn. Twenty minutes after the Marshal left the town a mob of 500 strong, armed with crowbars, axes, Winchesters, and ropes, took possession of the place.

"May 6.—The Coal Company at Stanton, Ill., received a consignment of arms. A fence built round the collieries, and other fortifications made in anticipation of trouble.

"May 7.—At Birmingham, Alabama, 200 strikers went to Price's mine. Put dynamite under the boiler and engines, and blew them up, then destroyed the property of the mining company. They then marched on, blowing up a car loaded with timber on their way. They let the other cars down a hill, and wrecked them.

"May 11.—The strikers at Pana, Ill., broke into the powder house, filled sections of the gas-pipe with powder, and then exploded it under the windows

of the working miners. Notices, 'If you don't quit work it will be murder,' posted over the town.

"May 12.—At Oskaloosa, Iowa, 500 strikers, with brass band and leaders on horseback, marched in double file, ordered the American Coal Company's men out.

"May 20.—At Birmingham, Alabama, a mob of strikers went to a miner who refused to come out. As he unfastened the door they fired a volley, riddling him with bullets. He died instantly. The mob then entered the house, firing right and left.

"May 21.—Strikers, 200 strong, each carrying a heavy club, called at all the smaller mines at Danville, Ill. They said, 'Now, you fellows, look out! After this no more talk goes. We will fix you if you take another pound of coal out.' All the tools in Beard's mine were stolen, and thrown into the Vermilion River. The tools and cars at another mine were destroyed, and the track torn up.

"At Breeze 250 miners arrived, with two waggons and provisions and tents, and camped near the West Mine, to see that no one went to work.

"At Stanton the Consolidated Coal Company ordered a shipment of Winchester, 100 shells containing 5 drachms of powder and several ounces of shot, all that could be had at St. Louis. A like shipment ordered from Chicago. The Citizens' Defence Organisation is organised in squads, each under its leader. Drilled daily.

"May 23. 600 strikers on their way by train from Missouri to Leavenworth, Kan., to induce 800 miners, whose wages were increased, to join the strike. Alarm bells will be sounded; 500 citizens with arms will meet the sheriff at the Court House, and receive strikers.

"At Pana, Ill., 800 men are at work in the mines: 1000 strikers massing in the district to turn them out. The Coal Companies received shipments of revolvers, Winchester, and ammunition. Guns kept in the mine. Miners all armed and prepared. Citizens organise to defend the miners.

"At Danville, Ill., 1000 strikers compelled 200 men to leave work and join the strike. The 1000 miners were armed with knives, pistols, and clubs. They also had a covered waggon filled with rifles. Principally Hungarians, with bottles of whisky in their pockets or in their hands. The sheriff had only 35 deputies. The deputies collapsed; 188 men took an oath to join the strike; the remaining two were dragged over the ground, and beaten nearly into insensibility. When the injunction was read to them, they said they were not afraid of all the sheriffs and Circuit Court judges in Illinois. In the evening they had a parade with bands and banners, shouting, 'We made them stop work. We whipped them. The deputies are not in it.' Governor Altgeld refused to call out troops on the ground that the sheriff could enrol as many deputies as he required.

"At Evansville, Ind., 200 strikers attacked 30 workers, severely beating and bruising the non-Unionists. The strikers came with waggons laden with provisions and Winchester rifles. After a fight, in which two men were killed and five wounded, the mine was shut down. The strikers camped at its mouth, supplied with six weeks' provisions and firearms.

"May 23.—At Pana, Ill., 500 strikers threatened to kill the men engaged in putting out the fires in the mines. Striker arrested and liberated from prison by the mob.

"At Kangli, near Streator, Ill., 30 strikers attacked six workers. The manager fired on them, whereupon the strikers hunted them into the woods, threw the boiler and engine down the pit, and smashed everything they could.

"May 24.—At La Salle, Ill., Sheriff Taylor, while protecting the County Cabon Coal Company, was attacked by several hundred strikers with revolvers, stones, &c. The sheriff, two deputies, and five miners were

wounded. Many arrests made. Telegraphed for militia. 500 miners, armed and organised in Spring Valley, marched to release prisoners. Sheriff removed in closed carriage to escape murder.

"At Centralia, Ill., Sheriff Helmes arrested 75 strikers for destroying property. Was defending pits at Sandover and several other places with 200 armed men. Could not defend them all and protect miners. The strikers had smashed the Big Four mines.

"At Pana the Citizens' Protective League of 600 members organised. 2000 strikers threaten to attack. Injured the electric light plant. Town in darkness. Preparations made to receive them with three volleys from a thousand Winchesters.

"250 strikers, with pistols, knives, and clubs, marched from the neighbouring mines to Carterville. Superintendent of Police, supported by a crowd armed with Winchesters, rifles, muskets, and pistols leave Carbonville for the scene of action.

"At Danville, Ill., the Consolidated Coal Company say they are at the mercy of the mob. The sheriff is entirely unable to give them any help. Strikers expressed contempt of the judge's injunction and the sheriff.

"May 25.—At La Salle six companies of the National Guard encamped on the hills. 600 strikers attack but are driven back with fixed bayonets. Militia occupy a position of great strategic strength.

"At Stanton, Ill., the last of the forty-eight mines of the Consolidated Coal Company closed as the forces at the disposal of the Company inadequate to protect mine. Train derailed by strikers near Mount Olive.

"200 strikers on their way to Ottawa, Ill., hunt miners from Gorfat mine, burn waggons, tools and clothes, knock in props at the main entrance, pits cave in. Every road leading into Ottawa is now picketed with heavily armed men. If the strikers approach fire bells will be rung and hundreds of citizens will rally with rifles and shot guns.

"Miners congregate at Pana, Ind., from all sides. 2000 from the South, 1600 North. 300 deputies, composed of the best citizens, bankers, merchants, journalists, &c., prepare to receive them. 700 men still at work."

"At Birmingham, Ala., 700 State troops ordered out.

"At Brookside, strikers try to blow up a water-main, were fired upon, six wounded.

May 26.—At La Salle at ten o'clock at night five explosions heard. An attack expected, but nothing occurred.

"At Lad, Ill., 400 drunken armed strikers seized Burlington freight train and came on to Spring Valley towards La Salle. Six companies of troops marched out to capture train. They had their sides 'bulging' with ball-cartridge. Dispersed the strikers, capturing three prisoners. Police report that the strikers have thousands of pounds of dynamite. Mine owners unable to account for fully ten tons. None of the local papers publish the news, the *La Salle Tribune* saying that if anything appeared reflecting upon the foreign element they would be blown up with dynamite. Governor Altgeld all day receiving telegrams for troops, arms, and ammunition.

"In the Covell Creek and Vermilion River districts strikers roam the country searching for small mines worked by farmers. When found they burn waggons, sheds, and everything to the ground.

"May 30.—Strikers burned the Carter Coal Mine Works at Rood House, Ill., for supplying the Burlington Railway with coal."

Until the middle of May the tactics of the strikers had been chiefly confined to intimidating non-Unionists and closing mines by force. The last weeks of May saw a new and very serious development in

the shape of a blockade of the railways. No one who has not been in America can adequately realise the extent to which civilisation is an affair of railroads. Railways in England were conveniences of communication. In the United States, especially in the Western States, they were necessities of existence. The miners' strike, by creating a coal famine, threatened society with a danger which was enormously intensified by the action of the miners. Finding that, notwithstanding all their efforts, some mines continued in operation, they decided to institute a coal blockade of the railways. Their leaders repudiated the policy, but it was none the less carried out.

Gangs of miners encamped upon the main lines of railway in Indiana and Illinois, piled railway tires across the track, and compelled every train to pull up for examination. If there was no coal on board, it was allowed to proceed. If there were any coal cars, they were side-tracked or ditched before the rest of the train was permitted to pass the obstruction. Here are a few entries relating to this portentous development of industrial war :

" May 25.—At Evansville, Ind., the strikers stopped coal trains.

" At Shelburne, the strikers will allow no more coal to pass.

" At La Salle, an Illinois Central freight train was wrecked by strikers piling railway tires on the rails. It was intended to wreck the express train, because the Illinois Central was using coal from the La Salle shaft. English-speaking strikers unable to control the Russians, Poles, and Belgians.

" Thirty car loads of coal side-tracked on the East Illinois Railway at Lifford, Ind., by the strikers.

" At Minonk, Illinois, the strikers decide to stop coal on the Illinois Central.

" May 26.—At Brazil, Ind., strikers capture a car of coal, side track it, and leave it in charge of fifty women.

" May 27.—At Minonk, Illinois, 200 miners, Poles, Belgians, and Hungarians, encamp at junction of Santa Fe and Illinois Central. Only trains without coal allowed to pass. Bonfires are blazing at the crossings within a block of the sheriff's headquarters.

" May 28.—Two hundred militia men arrive and go into camp. They form up on either side of the junctions at Minonk, so as to allow a coal train heavily guarded with deputies to pass. A man attempted to alter the switch, and was fired on by the deputies.

" Miners at Wenona, Ill., chiefly Poles, placed rails on the track, and prevent the passage of any coal train. The sheriff at first powerless to prevent them. But at night he fired on the strikers, and dispersed them. The miners pulled out the pins from the couplings.

" At Mount Olive, Ill., the strikers tore up the Maddison Coal Company's track, and destroyed the line.

" May 29.—At Mont Olive, Ill., the Chicago express was almost wrecked by obstructions placed on the line by strikers.

" At Yellow Creek, O., miners attempted to board the night express. The sheriff, however, with over fifty deputies, guarded the train, and beat them back seven times before the train could start again."

So ruthless were the miners that it was with the utmost difficulty

permission was secured for the miners to extinguish a fire which broke out in Spring Valley mines. The English-speaking miners rushed to put the fire out; the foreign element resolved upon letting them burn. Permission was refused to the town of Des Moines to obtain the coal necessary to keep the city waterworks going. The Illinois Lunatic Asylum at Kaukaee, in which were 1100 inmates, ran short of coal. To save the miserable lunatics from perishing of cold, the strikers at first permitted them to have some coal; but, on second thoughts, strike policy triumphed over humaner considerations, and the permission given on the 21st was rescinded on the 29th. *Per contra*, permission was given to McBride, the president of the strikers, and also a brewer, to obtain coal for his breweries, where he had 15,000 dollars' worth of beer which would have spoiled if no coal could have been procured.*

The state of latent civil war which these industrial disputes bring to the surface was most vividly illustrated in the strike among the gold and silver miners of Colorado. The dispute began about the eight-hours day. The miners were working nine hours. They demanded an eight-hours day, with three dollars wage. The owners offered them a day of eight-hours and twenty minutes. This the men rejected, and then added to their original demand a claim to be allowed to elect their own superintendent, or, as we should say, manager. This being clearly inadmissible the strike was declared.

In recounting the incidents of this local struggle it is difficult to believe that we are writing of an industrial dispute. The whole story is one of war and of the incidents of war. We read of forts and cannon, of Gatlings and of Winchesters, of revolvers and of dynamite, of cavalry and militia, and even of the formal exchange of prisoners of war. Certainly nothing more closely resembling actual warfare of the old-fashioned sort ever got itself recognised among men under the *alias* of a strike.

When the strike was declared 1200 miners in the neighbourhood of Denver, Colorado, withdrew to the level summit of two hills named respectively Bull Hill and Battle Hill, and there they threw up two regular forts, which they armed and provisioned for a siege. Bull Hill is described as a lofty peak commanding the whole country. The top is quite level, and several mining towns are within artillery

* The last number of the *Chicago Herald*, to hand as I am correcting the proofs, is dated June 7. The following are some of the headings: "Two miners shot. Deputies guarding the Ohio River Bridge fire into an approaching party. Besides those killed, four of the strikers are wounded in the fusillade. Twelve hundred State militiamen ordered out by Governor McKinley to quell the riotous workmen. Lawless bands are stopping trains, and defying officers. Other conflicts expected." That relates to Ohio. The news from Indiana is as follows: "Fighting in Indiana. Fusillade near Farmersburg. Engineer stoned to death by miners. Martial Law proposed." Illinois is no better: "Killed in a riot. One man slain and three fatally wounded in a fight with strikers near Peoria. Desperate gang charges a barricaded mine. The invading army applies the torch, and destroys property worth \$30,000.

range of the fort. It is well supplied with food, giant powder, dynamite, and ammunition, but report was doubtful as to water..

From this position of vantage the miners made war upon the mines in their vicinity which continued at work. The manner of their warfare may be gleaned from the following extracts from the diary of the campaign :

"May 24.—At Cripple Creek, Col., seventy deputies left to guard the mines at Victor, four miles distant. Twenty were surrounded and disarmed by the strikers. Twenty-three reached the Independence mines, where they were surrounded next day by 300 strikers. The alternative was offered them of surrendering, or to be blown up with giant powder which was enclosed in beer casks with fuses attached. They surrendered.

"May 25.—One hundred and twenty-five deputies came from Denver to Cripple Creek. They found the shaft-house blown up with giant powder, machinery ruined and shaft house burned. The deputies fortified themselves with timber near the railway track awaiting attack. Strikers have 400 Winchesters and 800 revolvers of an improved pattern, with abundant ammunition.

"May 26.—At Denver, Colo., seventy-five strikers at early dawn stole a construction train, and coming upon a bridge guarded by seven deputies, a fight began in which two men were killed and several injured. Governor Waite ordered out the entire militia of the State, including the light artillery, with Gatling guns and smooth bores. The deputies, 350 in number, have a cannon. Miners threaten to hurl dynamite down upon the deputies.

"May 27.—President Calderwood of the miners proposes an exchange of prisoners. Miners had captured the superintendent of the Spring mines, and two men, holding them as hostages. Six hundred armed deputies with two Gatlings have arrived.

"May 29.—The miners at Cripple Creek descended from their fortress and raided two towns for firearms and hostages. They have placed pickets round their camps and refused to allow strangers to pass the lines. A miner had his horse shot under him for not halting when summoned.

Heavy firing occasionally was exchanged between the miners and the deputies, but to little purpose. At last, on June 4, the deputies, with a Parrott and a Gatling gun, decided to storm the strikers' camp. But what would almost certainly have been a bloody and desperate battle was averted by the Governor of the State. He undertook to mediate between the miners and the deputies, and the quarrel was ultimately arranged, the miners undertaking to give eight hours' full work, exclusive of twenty minutes for lunch.

Such is a brief and very fragmentary list of some of the incidents of the industrial war in the United States. It is a melancholy and an alarming record. The mere brute violence which is everywhere rampant is bad enough, but that is, by no means, the worst feature of the story. What is far more appalling is the utter paralysis of public and moral authority. Arbitration neither side appears to have thought of. The public contented itself with keeping a ring, watching with pitiless curiosity the combatants worrying themselves to pieces like wild beasts in the arena of the Colosseum.

So far as can be seen from the American papers, the Christian Church made no effort to compose this fatal strife. No one who read the record of the strikes would imagine that these incidents occurred in a Christian country, or even in a country where Christian missionaries had ever penetrated, for, from first to last, no pressure appears to have been brought upon the disputants by the ministers of the Cross. This is perhaps due to the recoil from the old doctrine of the union of Church and State, but if so, the recoil has practically paralysed the Church, while the State bereft of its conscience is practically heathen.

Where moral authority is not, resort to Gatlings and dynamite seems to many the only alternative. The great mischief in America is the absence of trust, the rooted disbelief in the honesty and good faith of anybody. Rightly or wrongly American workmen seem to be convinced—I have heard picked leaders of American labour assert it again and again—that no award, no agreement is ever respected by their employers a day longer than it suits their interest to keep it. Bad faith on the part of the employers is balanced by murder and outrage on the part of the employed, while the Church, which should be the conscience of the community, is seared as with a hot-iron by a conventional indifferentism to the affairs of this world.

The Pope in his famous Encyclical on Labour, laid down doctrines which all Christian Churches everywhere would do well to lay to heart. But nowhere is there greater need of the preaching and the teaching of that sound doctrine than in the United States to-day. Catholic or Protestant it matters little which so long as there is a Church which will assert the eternal law of righteousness and justice and brotherhood in all the affairs of men. Blessed are the peace-makers, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven, does not seem to offer a sufficient inducement to Christian men to compose these industrial feuds. Perhaps they will wake up to a sense of their duty and their responsibility, when they discover that the failure to make peace not merely forfeits the kingdom of Heaven, but inevitably turns the kingdom of this world into a kingdom of Hell.

W. T. STEAD

THE MESSAGE OF ISRAEL.*

TWO questions have for some time been pressing heavily on the Christian mind. One is: Does evolution leave us a God, such a God as a Christian can earnestly believe in? The other is: Does criticism leave us a Bible containing a special, exceptionally valuable Message in the sphere of religion? Till these questions are satisfactorily answered Christians must either remain in ignorance of evolutionary theories and critical investigations in order to enjoy the comfort of an undoubting, undistracted faith, or they must be divided against themselves: on the intellectual side of their nature sceptics, while on the moral and religious side painfully striving to be believers.

Among the literary contributions recently made towards aiding faith by an affirmative answer to these questions, two which have just appeared claim special recognition. These are: Professor Henry Drummond's "Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man," and the work which is to form the subject of this article, "The Message of Israel," by Miss Wedgwood. It is no part of our plan to discuss the merits of the former of these two publications. We simply content ourselves with saying that any one who needs and desires help to believe that the Father-God of Jesus and the God who made the universe are not two but one will find it there. The prominence given by the Lowell Lecturer to the place taken by the struggle for the life of others, in connection with the reproductive instinct, in the evolutionary process, helps us to reaffirm with emphasis a faith "lost awhile" through the one-sided emphasis laid on the struggle for existence, and to say with the Psalmist, "Yea, God is *good*"; the earth, not less than the teaching of Jesus, is "full of the goodness of the Lord."

* "The Message of Israel in the Light of Modern Criticism." By Julia Wedgwood, author of "The Moral Ideal." London: Isbister & Co., Limited. 1894.

Not less valuable, as an aid to faith, than the "Ascent of Man" is the "Message of Israel." There may be room for difference of opinion as to the comparative importance of particular lines of thought in the book, and there will doubtless be more or less pronounced inclination to call in question some of the author's verdicts. But there will be no doubt anywhere among candid and thoughtful readers as to the seriousness and reverence of the attitude assumed by the writer towards the problem in hand, or as to the freshness and originality with which she has treated it, the wide range of knowledge which enables her to illuminate her arguments by many a comparison drawn from other peoples, and last, but not least, the *curiosa felicitas* of style which one has occasion to admire on every page. In all these respects Miss Wedgwood's new work is a worthy successor of "The Moral Ideal."

The position taken up by the author in this book is, in brief, that Israel's election stands, and that she has a message, criticism notwithstanding. As to the election, there need be no difficulty about that, if, with our author, we hold that every nation has its special vocation, could we only discover it, and very notably the great classic nations of Greece and Rome. In that case the only question is as to the nature of the vocation, the purpose of the election. Israel's vocation has always been understood to lie within the sphere of religion, as that of Greece in the sphere of art, and of Rome in legislation and government. If Israel has a message of permanent value for the world, it is one relating to God and the Eternal. And the contention of the writer is not only that Israel still has a message, but that the message has been made clear by all that modern criticism has discovered in reference to the Hebrew sacred literature.

This is a very important position if true, and of its truth Miss Wedgwood is very confident. Her belief is that criticism has given us our Bible. It is right to let her state so important a conviction in her own words:

"It is in the belief that the work of criticism is fitted to restore to us our Bible with the freshness of a new Reformation and the preciousness of an ancient faith, that one who has no pretensions to the title of critic here undertakes to set before the public the results of criticism as they bear on the value of the Message of Israel. The critic has his part, and no mean one, in the work of revelation. His office is destructive; but what it destroys has hindered and disguised, not transmitted the message of the Old Testament. He sets us free to read as the contemporaries of the prophets were free to hear. He can give no spiritual insight, can ensure no harmony between the inspiration of the seer and the aspiration of the learner; but by the mere fact that he removes inconsistencies and repetitions, that he gives us the work of many instead of the work of one, he brings us nearer an appreciation which is made impossible by the endeavour to read as a single consecutive narrative the whole collection of a nation's legendary and mythical lore" (pp. 28, 29).

It will be evident from these sentences that the writer has no sympathy with the notion that an inspired book is above criticism. On the contrary, it is her deliberate conviction that no writing needs criticism so much as that which is the result of inspiration. It is necessary to distinguish between the precious and the vile, to find the Bible within the Bible. For where there is inspiration there is also "intermission," "interruption," lapse from the divine to the human. Refusal to see this, and resolute determination to treat the whole contents of the Bible as of equal importance, forming together a consistent harmonious revelation, has for its inevitable result that the pathos, the dramatic interest, the profound spiritual teaching of the Old Testament are all hidden from the eye. The highest and best in the book is levelled down to that which is least valuable, and the whole becomes a volume which it is our religious duty to read, and which we do read with a uniform listlessness and "devout inattention." How vain the attempt "to carry on into Leviticus the reverence with which the story of Joseph had at first been heard, ending by associating that also with tedium and disgust." How necessary, if we would really profit and enjoy, to recognise degrees of interest and value.

"Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark what discord follows, each string meets
In mere oppugnancy."

After quoting these lines the author goes on to charge Protestant Christendom with the sin of taking degree away from its idea of inspiration, with the heavy penalty of losing the clue to the meaning of inspiration. 'This is one of the verdicts which many will not only question, but resent. Yet it behoves the most conservative to keep before their minds the ominous miscarriage of the Jew with the veil on his mental eye in the reading of his Sacred Book. A high idea of inspiration and a lamentable failure to gather the meaning of the inspired literature! And it is worth while to consider calmly whether we gain or lose most by anxious endeavours to harmonise discrepant narratives, whether in separate writings, as in the case of the Gospels, or in writings composed out of separate documents no longer existing, as in the case of the Book of Genesis. Our gain is that we are able to retain a cherished *a priori* theory of inspiration with its implications and consequences. But what if our loss be, as is alleged, that we forfeit the power of vivid apprehension, clear vision of the reality as set forth in the narratives we are so anxious to harmonise?

Israel's message made clearer by criticism: such is the thesis of the work before us. What, then, is Israel's message? In general it is *that unity belongs to the Eternal*; in other words, that God is one, not many. A very bald message, we may be inclined to think, but the commonplaces of later generations were great originalities in earlier times, and it is the duty of a student of the religious history

of mankind to endeavour by a sympathetic effort of imagination to transfer himself to the time when monotheism was a grand startling revelation to a world accustomed to polytheism. It was Israel's honour and privilege to be the medium of this revelation. Her one God was her glory. Her own unity lay in steadfast witness throughout all her generations, and through all her representative men, to this truth. In virtue of this witness-bearing she was the prophet among the nations. Her long-continued prophesying, with the unity of the Eternal for her august theme, accounts at once for the grandeur of her literature, and for the strange state of confusion in which it has been transmitted to us, with an utter disregard of dates and historic order. For the eye that is fixed on the Eternal is indifferent to the distinctions of time.

"The distinction of first and last loses its importance. A history which depends for all its value on the revelation of the unseen is comparatively indifferent to chronology. A parable has no date. . . . The seer stammers when he seeks to define between *is* and *shall be*; he often blunders when he seeks to define between *shall be* and *was*. His history is a part of his prophecy. He is not conscious of fiction in explaining his vivid consciousness of a national tendency as an event in the past for which no evidence can be produced, except the very vividness of this consciousness and its resemblance to a memory" (p. 58).

This apology for the historic disorder of the Old Testament might be employed in explanation of some of the peculiarities of the Fourth Gospel. There also all things are regarded *sub specie aternitatis*, no progress being recognised, no distinction between beginning and end. Words are put into the mouth of the Baptist concerning Jesus, at the commencement of His public career, which express a developed doctrine concerning the significance of His death such as we expect to find in a Pauline epistle.

More specifically the Message of Israel is that the proper beneficent relation of man to God is one of *trust*. The honour of accentuating this lesson is assigned to the Jehovist contributor to the Pentateuch, who is described, after Westphal, as the St. Paul of the Old Testament. "The singer of early legend, the painter of traditional character, is also, and even more emphatically, a preacher of the great truth, that only in its dependence on what is above itself can humanity attain independence of what is below itself. He sets forth, with not less emphasis than St. Paul, the all-absorbing character of the duty of Faith." In saying this of the Jehovist, the writer says it in effect of all the prophets. For the work of the Jehovist is a prophetic history, and it is the work, not so much of an individual, as of a school. "It breathes the spirit of a brotherhood." Faith in God the supreme duty and felicity of man, clinging to the Eternal in conscious incompleteness and weakness the source of peace and

strength, such is the common message of that goodly fellowship of the prophets which it is the greatest glory of the Hebrew race to have produced, and its greatest disgrace to have so poorly appreciated and so unworthily treated.

We may here note a great contrast between Miss Wedgwood and the late Mr. Matthew Arnold in their respective conceptions of the Message of Israel. That message, according to the latter writer, is embodied in the familiar phrase: A power in the world, not ourselves, making for righteousness. *Righteousness* is the great watchword of the Hebrew Books according to Mr. Arnold; according to the latest interpretation, it is *Faith*. The difference is very sharply defined in the manner in which the two writers treat the life of Abraham. Mr. Arnold admits that the story of the patriarch, as told by the Jehovist, gives great prominence to the virtue of faith. But he thinks that in the real religious history of the founder of the Hebrew race, lessons in righteousness must have played a prominent part. This amounts to saying that the actual message of the life of Abraham as told, is the importance of faith, but that it ought to have been the importance of righteousness. On the new reading of the story the actual lesson is the true and the valuable one. The important fact about Abraham is not that he was a great moral hero, with a noble passion for righteousness, which he indeed, to all appearance, was not; but that he trusted God, conscious of his need of trust, and finding in that trust the key to the "true possibilities of achievement." Which reading of the patriarchal story and of the Hebrew books throughout is the truer? Or are they both right in their affirmations and wrong only in their implicit denials? The latter view probably is the correct one. Both readings are characterised by one-sidedness, though there is no evidence that the writer of the "Message of Israel" has been influenced by reaction against the teaching of "Literature and Dogma," to which, so far as we have observed, there is not a single allusion in the work now under review. Two things characterise the writers of the Old Testament: a passion for righteousness, and a sense of the supreme value of faith. They proclaim a God who is at once a Power making for righteousness and a Gracious Power dealing with men not after their sins, but overcoming evil with good. Of the two possible forms of one-sidedness in interpretation, that which omits reference to the gracious aspect of the divine character, and to the corresponding attitude of believing reciprocity in man, commits the graver mistake. For grace and faith are great keynotes in the Old Testament, and he who omits these in his interpretation gives us the play of "Hamlet" without the principal character. And Miss Wedgwood has done good service in pointing out how prominent is the note of faith in the Jehovist document, and how much we are indebted to criticism for making that note more audible, by disentangling that document from others of a different tone with which it is mixed up,

especially from the Priestly writing which throughout breathes a diverse religious spirit, legal as distinct from evangelic.

Adequate treatment of the important theme of the work now under review demands that Israel's message be not merely indicated in a summary manner, but carefully traced in detail through all the main divisions of the relative literature. This accordingly has been done with a fulness that will satisfy the most exacting reader. In the present article we can only touch a few of the more salient points. The interest revolves mainly around the Jehovist element in Genesis, the book of Deuteronomy, the Priestly Code, and the Psalter.

The Jehovist gives a second account of Creation (that in Genesis i. being from the Priestly Code), but his proper theme is the *Fall*. His leading aim is to recount the failures by which a sifted race is qualified for fulfilling the ideal originally meant for humanity at large. The great tragedy is presented under various editions, including the expulsion of Adam from Paradise, of Cain from Eden, of the angels from Paradise, and the wholesale destruction of the Flood, which are to be regarded not as the representation of a progressive deterioration of the race, but as independent embodiments of one and the same idea, "renewed attempts to find some fitting parable symbolising the strange metamorphosis by which the creature of the Divine has become a rebel against Him." Parables these sombre stories are one and all, the fall of Adam not less than the fall of the angels. The narrative in Genesis ii. is "a sublime allegory of the birth of conscience." It tells not what happened once in the beginning of human history, but what happens in the experience of every individual member of the human race. Following her favourite method of comparison Miss Wedgwood seeks light on the successful temptation in Eden from the baffled temptation of our Lord in the wilderness, the narrative of which in the Gospels she also regards as in the main parabolic. The juxtaposition of the two events suggests an inference as to the transcendent significance of Adam's temptation for the destinies of mankind which nevertheless is disallowed. It is contended that the narrative in Genesis does not justify the portentous construction of traditional theology. The first pair though driven out of Paradise still remain in Eden. In the story of Cain there is no hint that he has ever been in a less favourable position towards Jahveh, independently of his own actions, than his father was. These facts tend to minimise the consequences of the first transgression. And what of its antecedents? On this aspect of the subject the writer has not commented at length, but it is involved in her view of the Fall as a parabolic representation of the beginnings of moral evil in every human being that she would not accept the theological conception of the state of original righteousness as justifiable. And it is, indeed, a

fair question whether that conception can be vindicated by strict exegesis either of the story in Genesis or of the comments on its religious significance contained in the Pauline Epistles. The whole subject of the Fall requires rehandling in the method of modern Biblical theology, and in view of the evolutionary theory of the universe; and it will be the wisdom of the Church to be very forbearing and even indulgent in her attitude towards those who attempt the delicate task, and to regard them with a benignant eye even when they blunder.

To one thing the Church cannot be expected to be indifferent—to a deliberate attempt to eliminate from the theory of the universe the notion and the fact of sin. With that goes the Christian idea of God as a moral Personality to whom the distinction of right and wrong is real, and with whom men stand in relations of fellowship or antagonism. Believers in such a God cannot afford to treat moral evil as mere imperfection, to be got rid of, of course, but not to be too seriously mourned over or too severely condemned. Miss Wedgwood does not so treat it. She admits that we must keep the word *sin* if we would understand the problem presented to the Hebrew mind. But it is very evident that she feels keenly the difficulty of retaining the idea represented by the word while maintaining solidarity with the modern scientific spirit. Her language at this point becomes hesitating and it might almost seem half-hearted. When she speaks of the conception of a "relation between God and man in view of which certain actions should be not merely errors to be corrected by increased enlightenment, not merely faults to be punished by the legislator, but that repudiation of an implied bond of mutual adhesion between God and man which revolutionises the whole order of creation—a moral earthquake which changes, as it were, the course of rivers and the place of mountains," as "a provisional hypothesis"—she can hardly expect to gain the approval of the theological dogmatists. And yet it is precisely to such writers as Miss Wedgwood—earnest, believing, yet open-minded and sympathetic towards all legitimate, though apparently incompatible, interests—that even conservative theologians should be willing in the present day to give a very free hand, for none but such can hope to play successfully the part of reconcilers or to speak a word that shall be generally accepted as helpful.

We should have liked, before leaving the Book of Origins, to have noticed briefly the suggestive observations in the volume before us on the question whether the patriarchs were historical persons or merely impersonations of tribes. But we must pass on to the next topic of engrossing interest—the book of Deuteronomy. The chapter devoted to this theme is entitled "*The Problem of Deuteronomy.*" The problem arises from the fact of a book of such intrinsic value, and

enjoying weighty New Testament attestation, having so questionable an origin.* In its moral teaching it rises to the highest level attained in ancient times by any people, and breathes a spirit of sympathy with the weak not exceeded by the philanthropy of our own time, and in its humane consideration for the lower animals is even in advance of modern moral standards. In its professed character as a record of the last words of Moses it suggests a comparison with the Fourth Gospel, whose most valuable part consists of the chapters containing the farewell words of Jesus, and it does not suffer by the comparison. It appears to have been one of the books of the Old Testament which more than all others appealed to the spirit of our Lord. The Scripture oracles with which He is represented as repelling the assaults of the Tempter are all taken from it. The problem is, how could such a book be associated in its first publication with circumstances suggestive of pious fraud? The perplexity does not lie in the mere fact that the legislative programme it contains is ascribed to Moses. This fact ceases to trouble us when once we have mastered the truth that all Hebrew literature tends to gravitate to ideal personal centres, Solomon becoming the typical author of wisdom, David of lyric poetry, and Moses of law. The difficulty arises in connection with the alleged *finding* of the book. The book found, according to the views of all modern critics, was written not more than between sixty and seventy years before the time of its discovery. Some critics—e.g., Professor Ryle*—are of opinion that the finding was a *bonâ fide* recovery of a work which, though not more than seventy years old, had fallen out of sight in the evil times of Manasseh and Amon. Miss Wedgwood sympathises with those who do not believe in a real finding, even in this restricted sense, not to speak of the far more momentous finding of a book as old as the time of Moses. In disproof of the latter she makes a most interesting comparison between the book of Deuteronomy and the recently discovered treatise of Aristotle on the "Constitution of Athens," the conclusion arrived at being that all the notes of genuineness exhibited by the one are lacking in the other. The "finding," then, being an unreality, whether viewed on the large scale or on the small, the question comes to be, "How can a book written after 696 B.C. have been produced thirty years before the conclusion of the century as a legacy from hoar antiquity without trickery?" And how is trickery or guile to be reconciled with the high character of the book, or, to put the matter differently, with its inspiration, and with the hypothesis that it contained a real message from God, of grave concern for the well-being of Israel? Of course, the only possible refuge here is a diversity in the moral standard. We must distinguish between immorality and crude morality. Immorality is transgression of a standard recognised by the transgressor,

* *Vide* his excellent work, "The Canon of the Old Testament," pp. 56, 57.

crude morality is conformity with a low moral standard prevalent in any particular place or time. Whether inspiration be compatible with immorality is a question not to be too hastily decided in the negative in view of such a phenomenon as Balaam. But it certainly may confidently be affirmed that inspiration is compatible with crude morality, for crude morality is compatible with a good conscience. If the inspired man, utterer of lofty religious truths, be consciously in his conduct conforming to the moral standard of his age, he is not likely to feel any trouble in his conscience that shall seriously dim the clearness of his prophetic vision. It may, indeed, be asked, What is inspiration good for if it do not place the recipient in advance of his time in respect of the moral ideal? In point of fact, it does that in the moments when the prophet is set upon his watch-tower. But it is difficult to live always at that high level when all the influences of contemporary environment tend to drag one down. Then one may now and then, in an elevated mood, see a bright, pure vision, and afterwards descend to the common moral level, and have recourse to what, from the view-point of a later age, appear questionable methods of making the vision tell as a practical force in human affairs.

Such things have happened often in the history of religion. Whether anything of the kind happened in connection with the book of Deuteronomy is a question which reverence will keep many from answering in the affirmative. Miss Wedgwood has no hesitation in the matter, and readers must judge for themselves how far she has been successful in solving her problem. Her solution is along the lines of thought which we have indicated in our own words. She pleads for those concerned in the "finding" that "variance from fact was not an offence against truth, and also that an offence against truth was not necessarily a sin"; and she alludes to an incident in the life of Jeremiah, a contemporary of the finders, possibly one of them, to illustrate the strange blending of truth and fiction, parable and history, in the ancient Oriental way of thinking. The prophet gravely relates how, in obedience to a divine command, he made a journey of 600 miles to the Euphrates to deposit his linen girdle in a hole of the rock on its banks.* It is held to be incredible that this actually happened. It is but an instance illustrating how "the truth of parable haunts the Hebrew genius throughout its whole career." Another and a still bolder example might be found in the representation of Ezekiel, that the hand of the Lord took hold of him by the hair of his head and lifting him up between earth and heaven brought him to Jerusalem to show him what was going on there.† The prophet does indeed indicate that it was "in the visions of God" that he made the journey, but though he had omitted that hint his story would have created no difficulty for his fellow-exiles.

* Jer. xiii. 1-7.

† Ezek. viii. 1-3.

The *Priestly Document*, consisting of the legislation in the middle books of the Pentateuch, with a historical preface still traceable in the book of Genesis, raises two problems: one being common to it with the book of Deuteronomy, the other peculiar to itself. First, assuming that it contains a God-worthy message, how account for the form in which it is given, an ideal presented as a history, not without consciousness on the part of the authors, the code being "manifestly a spurious account of something supposed to happen in the deserts of Arabia about the fifteenth century before our era," while it was "really the invention of priests living at Babylon some eight or nine centuries later"? On the principle that historical problems are, to a large extent, explained by being multiplied, Miss Wedgwood seeks and finds a parallel case in the history of Sparta. Lycurgus, as now viewed by critical historians, was for the Spartans what Moses was for the Jews of the Exile, the supposed author of regulations which, so far as they were carried out at all, were the result of a secular development of which his labours were but the seed. Here, too, "the present idealised was mistaken for the past, and the goal of endeavour confused with its starting-point." According to Grote, the genesis of the belief in the communism of Lycurgus is to be traced to the ardent reforming zeal of two kings of Sparta who lived in the third century B.C., Agis and Cleomenes. It is not alleged that they practised any deception to gain for the useful belief currency; but their case is brought into line with that of the Jewish priests by the assumption that they would not have discouraged the rise of a legend which represented Lycurgus as a fellow-worker in social reform, or even have hesitated to take advantage of a forged writing fitted to further their designs. Granting the parallelism, some may be inclined to ask what comfort or help can one derive from the reflection that pious fraud, or something approaching it, is not confined to Jewish religious history? The only answer that is forthcoming is that the repetition of a difficulty is sometimes the only solution that history supplies, and that in all such cases the temptation is great. "The ideal was bound up with the fiction, and to the famished hearts that craved a national centre the two became inseparable."

The other problem connected with the Priestly Code is of graver import. The vital question with regard to it is, Does it contain a God-worthy message at all? does it not rather present to our view a mere degeneracy of the Hebrew religion with which it is hard to conceive God having anything to do? Mosaism, as represented by the Decalogue, we readily acknowledge to be divine; Prophetism lays a claim to inspiration which is irresistible; but Judaism, the religion of ritual, steadily tending towards Pharisaism, can it have been from heaven? Is it not too manifestly from men only, men of honest purpose and pious spirit, doubtless, yet men of narrow sympathies

and artificial ideas of holiness, to whom ritual was of equal importance with ethics, if not even more? It is vain to understate a difficulty with a view to making the solution of the problem it presents easier, and Miss Wedgwood certainly cannot be, accused of that folly. She puts the case against the Priestly Code very strongly. "Scrupulous ritualism," "narrow, hard, elaborate outwardness," are among the phrases employed to describe its character in her pages. Its presence in the narrative of Genesis is discerned wherever interest slackens, and the deadening oppressive influence of a stiffly official, sacerdotal mind is felt, and the fresh tale of national life is replaced by the preaching of a sect. Even in its account of Creation as compared with that of the Jehovist the spirit of a new degenerate time is discernible. Instead of poetry and parable we have Rabbinical lore, pseudo-science, a crude attempt at an evolutionary theory of the origin of things from the hand of "some premature Lyell or Darwin, living under the shadow of an aged civilisation and melting into his picture of the dealings of God with man such views of Nature as were current among his surroundings."

To find a place for God, or for inspiration, or for a message worthy of the Hebrew religion at its best, in a document describable in such terms is not, one would say, easy. Yet the writer of the work under review makes a strenuous and, on the whole, successful attempt. A redeeming feature in the new movement associated with the name of Ezra is found in its close connection with the idea of a *covenant*, or of an intimate relation between God and Israel resembling that between husband and wife. The idea of an espousal gives soul to what is in itself external and trivial. "A scrupulous observance of rules, in themselves unimportant, is of the very essence of that symbolism which expresses the fidelity of a spouse in a world of adultery." This may seem sentimentalism doing duty as argument, but the meaning may be expressed otherwise. We may conceive Mosaism, Prophetism, and Judaism as successive stages in a religious development, all having one general aim. The message of Moses was one God; the message of the Prophets, as embodied in Deuteronomy, one sanctuary; the message of Ezra and the scribes, one carefully formulated system of worship. Each step, by the logic of events, led on to the next. Experience proved that in order to have one God in Israel, it was necessary to have a single central sanctuary. Further experience showed that to exclude the leaven of idolatry it was necessary, not merely to have one sanctuary, but to have the forms of worship as there celebrated carefully fixed. Hence the Levitical system, and herein lay its apology. Its aim and guiding principle was fidelity to the God whom Moses proclaimed. It might err in its selection of means for that end, and by its elaborate ritual and ceremonial lay the foundation for a new idolatry more subtle and deleterious than that

which it strove to suppress. But its intention was altogether worthy, resembling that of a wife whose whole desire in all things, even in the minutest detail of dress, is to please her husband and assure him of her entire devotion. And we must look at the system in the light of its intention and romantic ideal, and so find a vital God-worthy element even in its outwardness, rigidity, and monotonous detail. One cannot forget, of course, that a similar line of thought might be used to apologise for institutions whose legitimacy and wholesomeness are far from generally recognised. Monasticism originated in the best and purest intentions. The nun forsakes the world that she may be married to Christ. Is this a sufficient defence for life-long vows of celibacy, and for an ascetic system that has been proved by a long history to have a very dubious bearing on morals?

Another apologetic line of thought is sought in the conception of Judaism as the sheath to a seed. A degeneracy compared with what went before, it was a protecting husk for something better than even Mosaism, for the best possible in the sphere of religion. It produced Pharisaism, but it also prepared the way for Christ. For Christ is not to be regarded as a mere antagonist of Judaism. If He be the ideal Israelite, He is also the ideal Jew. He denounced the Pharisees, but He did not denounce the Law. He declared that He came not to destroy, but to fulfil. There was that in the tendency of Judaism with which He could sincerely sympathise. If its formalism was alien to His spirit, its individualism, combined with its unconscious drift towards universalism, commended itself to His sympathies. In spite of its narrowness, and hardness, and outwardness, the later phase of Hebrew piety seems to have had that in it which fostered a religion of trust and intimate personal fellowship with God. The proof of this is the *Psalter*, viewed as mainly the product of the post-Exilian times. And because the *Psalter* serves this purpose, those who are concerned to find God in all the various phases of Old Testament religion have an interest in accepting the critical hypothesis as to its date. We can then regard the Book of Psalms as the star-light of the night of legalism. Such in effect is the view taken of the *Psalter* in "The Message of Israel." In the Psalms "we have the blossom of the fruit of Judaism, in them the seed of Christianity." It is, indeed, open to any one to raise the question whether the *Psalter* be not connected with Judaism by way of reaction rather than of direct result. Is it not the protest of the spiritually minded in Israel against the dry, dreary religion of legalism, as Moravian pietism was a protest against the fossilised Christianity of Protestant scholasticism? It is a sufficient answer to this question to say that, as a matter of fact, there is no trace in the *Psalter* of any such antagonism. On the contrary, we find a religion of trust and a passionate love for the Law living together in unity and peace. Witness the eighty-fourth

Psalm, with its longing for the courts of the Lord and the worship there carried on, and its celebration of the blessedness of the man who trusteth in Jehovah!

The foregoing suggestions are, we think, really helpful as an aid to faith in the Old Testament as containing a divine revelation, when read in the light of modern criticism. Thanks are due to the writer of this book for presenting them in a fresh and forcible manner. Thanks are still more due, perhaps, for the clear insight exhibited as to where the real difficulty raised by criticism for the believer lies. Some worthy persons have found it in the view criticism requires us to take of our Lord's references to Old Testament Scriptures. While treating such scruples with all due respect, Miss Wedgwood rightly regards them as indicating a very superficial view of the situation. The real question, as she states, is: Can the hypothesis of a divine education of the Hebrew race be reconciled with the gradual development of the spirit which rejected Christ? At first sight, it does seem as if the religion of the Hebrews ran the same course as many other religions, such, for example, as the religion of the ancient Persians, beginning well, ending ill; beginning in simple pure thoughts of God and human duty, ending in ritual and angelology. That natural religions should run this course does not surprise us, but may we not reasonably look for something better in a religion supposed to rise above the plane of Nature? Help here may be sought from New Testament verdicts on Old Testament religion, a topic scarcely touched in the work before us. Broadly put, the New Testament view of the Old Testament religion is that it was an unsuccessful experiment that had to be made to prepare the way for Christ. We cannot rightly judge of the Hebrew religion without taking Christ into account. The simple fact of history is that from the people that produced Pharisaism He came who introduced the perfect religion of the spirit. It is also a fact that Pharisaism supplies us with a contrast necessary to a full understanding of the spirit and work of Christ. The environment shows us the unique Man, it even helped to produce him. We could not duly value Jesus of Nazareth without taking into account the religious conditions of His time. On the hypothesis, then, that a divine hand was guiding to its ultimate goal the evolution of Israel's religion, we must hold that God produced the environment of Jesus not less than Jesus Himself. He provided that there should be a foil to set off the supreme worth of the Son of Man; He so guided the course of things that a depressing sense of failure in the past should help to make the Great Teacher and Redeemer welcome.

We finish our brief study of this work with a thorough respect for the sincerity, earnestness, capacity and tact it throughout evinces. It is an eminently interesting volume. Yet it cannot be described

as a merely popular book supplying matter for easy holiday reading. It calls for study and repeated perusal. It will be specially helpful and suggestive to clergymen who know something of criticism and feel the need of aid in interpreting Scripture along the new lines. They cannot go on much longer dealing with the Old Testament literature in the old-fashioned way, as if nothing had happened. They must find out a way of popularising critical results, and of making the people feel that the Bible still remains a divine book. The "Message of Israel" will help them to help their people. It may not have spoken the last word, or disposed of all questions in a final conclusive manner. But it abounds in fruitful hints and stimulating suggestions, and it contains some lines of apologetic thought that will stand the severest tests.

A. B. BRUCE.

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

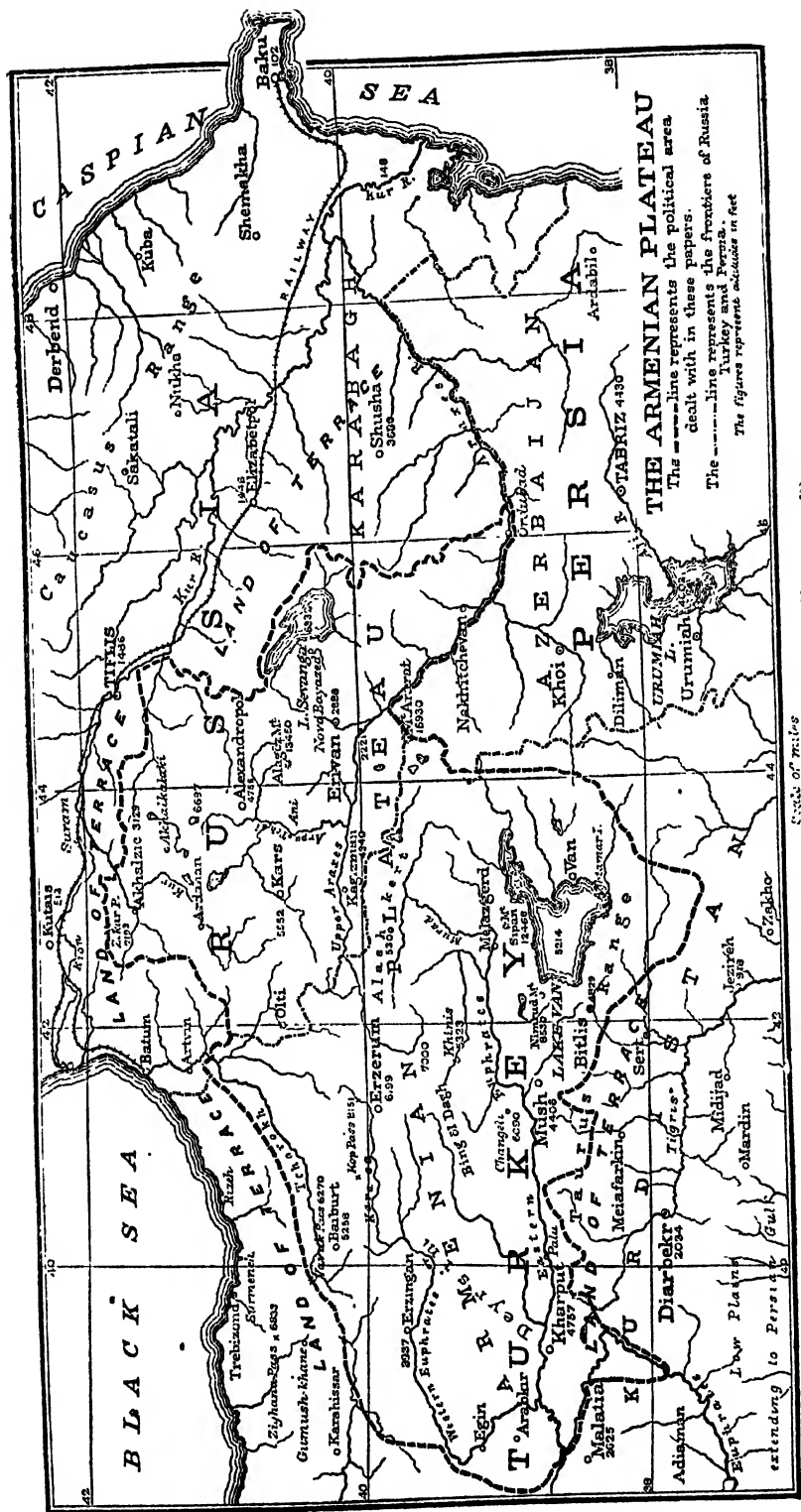
II.—IN RUSSIA.

THE close of the preceding paper was occupied by an analysis of the elements of the population inhabiting the plateau under the rule of Russia: it remains to measure the political system, under which the subject peoples live, both with reference to their dispositions towards it, and to the results material and moral which it may be considered to have achieved. It is also necessary, in order to obtain some clearer and more definite conception of the political condition of the Armenians in Russia, to proceed to an examination of the contemporary position of the Armenian Church, an institution which is at once a spiritual organisation, and the centre and stronghold of Armenian hopes, and which constitutes a factor of the highest importance in the consideration of the Armenian question as a whole.

The administration by Russia of Armenia has been brought to deal with races whose more recent political history consists in their passage from one domination to another; and the presence of discontent in certain quarters may be regarded as the inevitable outcome of the change. The Mussulman adherents of the Turkish dominion share with their neighbours of Turkish origin the humiliation of a fallen state, and their Turkish sympathies and connections, while they excite the suspicions of the Russian Government, dispose them to yield to the lightest pressure, and to cross the border into Turkish soil. The Armenians, who have supported Russia both in her Persian and in her Turkish wars, whose lands were swept by the tide of battle, and who can recall the memory of conflicts which extended even to the walls of their sanctuary, the cloister of Etchmiadzin, are inclined to temper their sentiments of gratitude with the consciousness of the services which they rendered, and which many among them may be disposed to consider have scarcely been adequately repaid. North

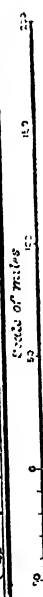
of the plateau the Georgian races, whose kingdom harassed by Mohammedan peoples was driven to seek assistance outside, have not yet forgotten the disappointment of the hope which many among them had cherished that Russian intervention might assume the form of a protectorate rather than of a complete absorption of the Georgian element into the Russian State. But such regrets and disillusionments are but the familiar sequel to the constitution of empire upon a new soil, and human nature, under such circumstances, is more prone to count the loss than to recognise the gain. Nearly twenty years have now passed since Russia completed her subjugation of the Caucasus, whose peoples, untamed for so long a period, menaced the base of her advance; order and peace have been given to the country, and life and property are safe. Georgian children are no longer sold into slavery, and a middle class is forming amongst that people whose traditional relation to one another was that of noble and serf. An experienced traveller, who visited the Armenian provinces in 1868, and passed through the more fertile regions of the country between Kars and Kagizman, has left on record a striking picture of the misery of those times. He was crossing the district of Shuragel, the ancient Shirac of the Armenians, and he speaks of deserted towns and villages, of Armenian peasants who clung to their ruined homes with a pertinacity of affection which neither poverty nor oppression could subdue, of the dispossession of the Christians by the Turkish Beys, and of the exactions and forays of the Kurds, which had curtailed agriculture and stifled industry, and had reduced both to the extreme limit on which human life is able to subsist. If, at the present time, the Armenian peasant gathers for himself the crops which he has sown, and the restless Kurd consults his safety by a sober respect for the law, it is to Russia that the people owe this deliverance from the license and anarchy of former years.

Had the Russian Government confined its energies to the amiable and disinterested task of establishing and maintaining public order as the guardian of a distracted country and the knight-errant who clears the land of thieves, it would have received the ungrudging gratitude of the Armenians, until, in the maturity of time, they had learnt to walk unaided and to cope alone with those lawless elements which might still resist the yoke of law. When that happy state had been accomplished it might only be natural to suppose that the progressive tendencies of the Armenian would lead him to take counsel with his neighbours and friends, to thank his protectors for past benefits, and to submit that the continuance of foreign tutelage was neither necessary nor desirable in the interests of the further advancement of a country to whose welfare they had contributed so much. To the Russians such a possible outcome of all their strenuous efforts was scarcely calculated to present so rosy an appearance as their ingenuous



THE ARMENIAN PLATEAU

The --- line represents the political area dealt with in these papers.
 The line represents the frontiers of Russia and Persia.
 The figures represent altitudes in feet



wards might have expected or hoped, and, if the advantages which the Russian empire offered were not sufficiently apparent by themselves, it was necessary to reform and to educate a perversity which sooner or later would yield. The Russians are not a commercial people, and would be content to see the Armenians conduct the commerce of their native country and develop its vast resources could they only collect the means; but only on one condition could they approve and encourage such activity: that their subjects should become Russians, and that the province should be joined to the Russian empire not only by the slender thread of annexation, but by the abiding tie of a common patriotism founded on a community of sentiment with themselves. But just at this point the real difficulties of empire arise. Races who stand on a low scale in nature have become absorbed into the Russian system by the exertion of little further energy than was required to ingrain in them that wholesome respect for their northern conqueror which the first sharp conflict had inspired; and the broad, expansive Russian character has been able to assimilate them to itself. It is different when, whatever the degree of degradation to which foreign oppression may have reduced them, a people is conscious of elements of vitality which impel them to higher ideals and standards than those which guide the powerful protectors under whom they have commenced to breathe. An empire which is confronted with such a situation has few alternatives among which to choose: if it cannot attract the subject people towards it, if it cannot accomplish that task of self-change which is more difficult than any which the exercise of empire may present, it will sooner or later be driven to adopt the more forcible expedients of coercion and repression and to lower the plane of civilised life by arresting the race for progress in which it was unfitted to compete.

Such a political situation can best be gauged and appreciated if we approach it from several different points of view. The nature of the Russian system, the attitude of the Armenians towards it, the true significance of such struggles in the larger issues of the outside world—such are various aspects of the general subject which it may be well in the interests of clearness to select. The kindness and hospitality of the Russian people, the amiable disposition which, in spite of official exigencies, makes them wish the traveller well, the real desire which a large and increasing number among them cherish for social progress at home, are features in the Russian character which the shortest acquaintance will recognise with respect, and which make for the true advance of Russia as a civilised nation among her peers. But the moment that the elements of progress in Russia have asserted their right to rule, the Russian system, as we know it, will die and disappear, and the laws which govern its existence will be subject to new conditions which may make for closer

national concentration rather than for expansion abroad. Such reflections, although not new, are pertinent in this place. The element of finality, always relative, may justly appear in the eyes of many Armenians to be wanting to the political system, and to the Government under which they live; and the abhorrence which that system inspires tempts them to convert the thought into a wish. The ultimate outcome of any revolution in the affairs of Russia is too uncertain, and the present evils of her Government are too substantial and apparent to induce them willingly to cast in their lot with the Russian people, and to abandon their hope of fulfilling their destiny in their own manner and by themselves.

A people whose commercial activity has brought them into contact with the most progressive races of Europe, and whose natural instinct renders them eager to assimilate Western thought can scarcely be blamed if they chafe under a system which assumes to establish the opinions they shall hold and to select the books which they shall read, and which subjects every action of their daily life to an inquisitorial control. Such methods are only the manifestations of a settled and uniform plan. The Armenian must sink his individuality and resign his initiative into other hands. He must imbue himself with the ideas which his rulers have prepared for him, and which may be opposed to the tendencies and the capacities with which he has been endowed. In such a prospect he recognises nothing to admire and much to fear. He sees the more capable races either driven from the Russian Empire or made the object of a constant jealousy and antipathy rather than of increasing respect. He feels the grip of an organisation which is founded on European methods, and commands all the resources which those methods provide, but he distrusts the hands which wield these weapons, and he is indifferent to the objects to which they are turned. Even the material results of such a system leave him little to hope beyond what he has attained. The resources of the country still lie dormant, and the Government seems to lack the means or else the will to turn them to account. He sees the rich forests of the terrace land, which might yield a considerable revenue in return for an outlay which would be comparatively small, left unexploited and neglected, while shiploads of wood are entering the ports to supply the requirements of the oil industry. That industry itself he sees promoted by foreign capital in Russian guise, while the jealousy of all foreign capital has closed the door to its beneficent action in the provinces of his home. Not a mile of railway traverses the plateau, and there is scarcely a road upon it except such as are rendered necessary by the exigencies of the military arm. A few examples of the economical condition of these provinces may emphasise and explain such statements of a general kind. The two principal towns on the plateau

are Alexandropol and Erivan: yet the road which joins them makes the colossal circuit by the northern shore of Lake Sevana where it meets the main avenue of traffic between Tiflis and Erivan. From a point further west on this roundabout line of communication a road has been cut with the laudable object of shortening the distance between the two points; but the same contempt for the smaller and more irksome duties of life, to which we become accustomed in purely Eastern countries, has allowed it to fall into ruin by neglect, and we are met by the sight, so familiar to the traveller in the East, of yawning culverts and broken bridges and parallel tracks which have diverged and avoided the perilous surface of the metalled way. In Erivan itself, the chief town of a district where capital might be turned to the greatest advantage both to the people and to itself, it is impossible or difficult to find a foreign newspaper, while the industrial skill of the advanced races of Europe is not represented by a single foreign enterprise or, so far as I know, by a single foreign man of business or industrial employee. Persons who know the country well have told me that from the point of view of irrigation, so important a requirement in a land which suffers from want of rain, it has gone back since the times of the Persians, who are experts in such arts. As a consequence of this economical stagnation the spectacle is often presented in a country which enjoys security and repose of miserable villages, pinched by the scantiest resources and in appearance scarcely more prosperous than those on Turkish soil. I cannot help thinking that many of these evils are due to excessive centralisation in the Russian capital. When the Governor of the Trans-Caucasian provinces was a Grand Duke residing at Tiflis he was able to gratify his personal interest in their welfare by the exercise of a large measure of independent initiative and control; at the present day the smallest projects are referred to St. Petersburg, and are made subservient to the general economic policy which governs the empire as a whole. But such an explanation serves only to display and emphasise the character of the Russian system itself; how small are the prospects which it offers in return for the leaden yoke which it brings.

But the time has not yet come when Russia might consider it opportune to apply more drastic methods, and to impose upon the newest of her adopted children the full measure of a disciplinary régime. The larger part of the plateau still belongs to another master, whose lessons are not so attractive as to turn his pupils from the hope of change. It would be the worst policy to alienate by the example of severity sympathies which in former wars have stood her in such good stead. Meanwhile the Armenians have shown no signs of natural inclination to adopt Russian ways of thought. On the contrary, they have made use of the greater material prosperity of

their country to draw more closely together and to apply themselves, now that they can better afford it, to the study of their national history and literature and of the purer language of former days. On the practical side they may well be satisfied with what they have already achieved. In every trade and in every profession, in business and in the Government services, the Armenian sees himself without a rival and in full possession of the field. He equips the postal service by which you travel, and if you are so fortunate as to find an inn the landlord will be an Armenian. If the local governor attaches to your service the head of the local police it will be a stalwart Armenian in Russian uniform, who will either find you a lodging or a shady garden in which to erect your tents. If you remark on the way some well-built edifice which aspires to architectural design it will be the work of an Armenian builder from Alexandropol. In that town itself, where the Armenians are most numerous, the love of building, which was so marked a characteristic of their forefathers, has blossomed again among kinder circumstances : a spacious cathedral and several large churches stand among new stone houses fronted with ambitious façades. In Erivan each richer merchant has lodged himself in an agreeable villa, whose Italian architecture will rise from the shade of poplars and willows and fruit trees laden with fruit. The excellent wine which is found in Erivan is made according to the newest methods by an Armenian who has studied for two years in Germany the most modern appliances of the industry in Europe. The monetary transactions of the country are in the hands of Armenian bankers. The skilled workmen, jewellers, watchmakers, carpenters, are Armenians. Even the ill-miened officer of mounted frontier police, whose long association with the wilder elements, Kurds and robbers of small and large degree, has lent him the appearance of a chief of brigands, will bear, not much to its honour, an Armenian name. The large majority of the people do not speak Russian, or speak it very imperfectly. Indeed, were it not that the governors and chief police officials of large districts were Russians, and that Cossacks and Russian regular soldiers may here and there be seen, the traveller would not suspect that he was in a Russian province, and would go the way he listed with the most serene composure until he was rudely awakened by some abrupt collision with the Russian system and brought to his proper mind. As it is, the Armenian has edged out the Russian, and if peace were allowed its conquests unhindered he would ultimately rule in the land.

Such a situation is suggestive ; and it ought not to surprise us if the Armenian has exercised his oriental imagination upon it in a manner less prudent than may be calculated to appeal to the slower veined races of the West. The idea of a modern Armenian kingdom has set the spark to that national enthusiasm which the perusal of his

historical records has fed. The example of Eastern Europe has seemed to justify his speculations. When I come to deal with the Turkish provinces, I shall endeavour to analyse the premisses on which such speculations must rest; but I do not believe that any such details have influenced his somewhat more general conceptions, and they are not pertinent here. I shall only remark that if we could leap all political obstacles and be given the run of the plateau as a whole, we should find, as a basis for our political calculations, that the Armenians number about one-half of the total population with which we should have to deal. The vision of an independent Armenian State, could it ever, indeed, be realised, will not appeal to all minds alike. Many will see a real danger to human progress in the creation of these small States. The national sentiment they would place among those realised ideals upon which, as our civilisation widens, it is necessary to build anew. The magnitude of the conflict, should any of the greater nations enter the arena of war, acts as a wholesome preventive to ambitions which the small State is prone to indulge on the least pretence. The gratification of such ambitions causes bad administration and ends in bankruptcy, while few of the advantages which are offered by a great European empire can the people of a little country enjoy. Such considerations have great weight, and it would probably be well if, whenever it were practicable, our political actions were founded upon them; yet they scarcely apply to the present case. The Armenian, who is a convert to such views, might justly ask in what quarter he should look. The Turkish Empire will not even protect him, and thwarts his activity wherever it may; while, if he turns his eyes to Russia, he sees no prospects of material advantage which would enable him to rise above the economic stage to which he has already attained, and fails to find there, under present circumstances, any hope of moral or intellectual gain. Confronted with such an outlook, he seeks refuge within himself; and, if he consults his more sober perceptions, he will labour in silence and without ostentation to supply the requirements which his race still needs; to raise the peasant from his present degradation, to purify the Church, to promote the interest of his richer neighbours in work for the common good. These are the more legitimate ambitions which, however tedious, are certain of success, and which will establish, whatever be the revolution of politics, his right to influence the history of his country as the only stable element of progress in the East.

If, before concluding these reflections, we turn to the broader issues upon which such questions bear, and, having examined the comparative failure of Russia in Armenia, consider its significance to the larger world, we may find that the very strength of the Russian system as a powerful factor in international life derives from the

same character which has denied her victory here. Had Russia through a natural process of attraction been able to draw towards her the higher races who stood on her path she would have been a greater nation, but perhaps a less formidable force. Round her she groups the less cultivated peoples, the nomads of Asia, the wanderers of the steppe, and arms them with the might of a European organisation which the intellect of Europe, impressed into her service, perfects as a weapon for her use. The dangers which such results threaten can only imperil the improvident and those whose nervous powers are unstrung; but the world has not yet advanced sufficiently to render those dangers unreal. The indolence of mind which shrinks from facing difficulties and leaves them to solve themselves is not the least element of weakness in her neighbours by which she profits and through which she grows; but the victory will now as always be given to those who unite with a higher civilisation a spirit of enterprise still healthy and powers still unimpaired.

I shall now pass without further preface to the second division of my subject, the bearing of which, on the general question, I have endeavoured at the commencement of this paper to define—namely, to a brief examination of the national Church of the Armenians, its relations to the Russian authority, and its place in the national life.

The supreme ruler of the Armenian Church—the Catholikos Megerditch Khirmian—has for many years been in the forefront of the Armenian movement, and has more than any man inspired the Armenians with a sense of their own dignity and of the worthiness of their past. A people whose spirit has been crushed and whose manhood has been degraded gather new life from such a teacher and learn to become men. If some of his newest proselytes have displayed a zeal for self-assertion at which many have been inclined to smile, they may at least console themselves with the reflection that they are superior to those of their nation who, where possible, have denied their origin and pandered to a misplaced shame. The teacher in mien and person justifies his own lessons, and the race may well be proud of the example which in him is offered of itself. At the interesting ceremony of his consecration, which took place at Etchmiadzin in October last, it seemed as if at the foot of Ararat the ancient spirit were still alive, and that the oil which descended upon that venerable head from the beak of a golden dove anointed a law-giver to his people who announced the divine word. The stately figure, the handsome and engaging face, fine brown eyes, and bold but regular features, above a full beard grown grey, are typical of the great personal beauty which distinguishes some Armenians, but which is often spoiled by a certain coarseness that grows with the advance of age. The refinement of a high purpose is written in every line of this interesting face, and few men unite to a

nobler appearance a greater personal charm. Through a long life he has exercised a magnetic influence upon his countrymen, and, while he is loved and esteemed by all, he is the object of an almost superstitious veneration on the part of the humble and the poor. When I visited his native province, and, as it happened, was winding up the slopes of Mount Varakh to the ancient monastery where he lived so long, teaching in the school which he had founded, and often taking this very path from the cloister to preach in the little church of Hanguessner, on the outskirts of the gardens of Van, I was shown a spot where several years ago an assassin had lain in wait for him, deputed by his enemies to kill him as he rode unaccompanied towards the town. The story is told that when the man saw him and raised his rifle to his shoulder a sudden fear seized upon him, his arm shook like a wand, and he fell on his knees before his victim whose look he had been unable to bear. The simple surroundings among which his life has been passed recall the setting of a Bible story and place us in another age. As I alighted before the house which he once occupied in Van, and which he has now devoted to a school for girls, a man with the appearance and the clothes of a peasant offered to hold the reins of my horse; this was the nephew of the Catholikos and the brother of the refined and charming man who has accompanied his uncle to Etchmiadzin. At the time when within the walls of that famous monastery the ceremonies in connection with his accession to the patriarchal office were being celebrated, and the courts were occupied by the staff of the Emperor's representative, generals and Russian officials of high degree, I remember one evening to have been called into his bedroom where he had retired after the fatigues of the day. I entered a bare apartment: beside the wooden Eastern couch a single rug was suspended upon the whitewashed wall. The simplicity, which in our complex Western life, although often affected, seems unreal and untrue, sits naturally upon a personality which has grown upon this soil. As a writer he has expressed, through the vehicle of a prose which is full of poetry and emotion, conceptions of Scripture and thoughts upon the troubles of his times which might have sprung from the warm imagination of the early Christians in the East. The strong reality which he has given to the old Armenian history is shown by an act which those who are wanting in sympathy with such a character might almost regard as childish. In his cloister of Varakh are buried the remains of Senacherim, king of the Van country, who abdicated his kingdom at the will of the Greek Emperor, and retired to the town of Sivas, in Asia Minor, which he received in exchange. Over his tomb a wooden altar had been built and decorated in a manner befitting royal rank; but such honours, paid to so unworthy a monarch, shocked the keen sense of the patriot in him; he stripped the frame of its ornaments, and the structure stands bare

to this day. His activity has not been confined to the less contentious sides of life ; it was he who pleaded the Armenian cause at the Congress of Berlin. He has often suffered for the fire of his sermons, and he was the easiest and most graceful speaker during the festivities which followed his elevation to the patriarchal throne. But perhaps the most striking quality in a character which presents much to admire and love is the ever-willing kindness and open-armed sympathy with which he shares the troubles of his fellow-men. As the throng pressed round him, the holder of their highest office, and endeavoured to kiss his hand or gain a glimpse of his face, the mind travelled back to that solemn scene in which the old Greek king receives his stricken and distracted people : " Oh ! my poor children, known to me, not unknown is the subject of your prayer ; well I know that you are sore afflicted all ; yet, though you suffer, there is not one among you who suffers even as I. For the grief you bear comes to each one alone—himself for himself he suffers—and to none other else ; but my soul mourns for the State and for myself and you."*

The Church over which he has been called to rule is at once remarkable for its great antiquity and for the steadfastness with which through times of great trial its adherents have clung to it. It is not part of my present purpose to enter into an historical disquisition concerning the Armenian Church ; but it is important to the student of modern politics to obtain some clear conception of its dogma and religious standpoint as compared with the Greek Church, the Church of Russia, on the one hand and that of Rome on the other. Both these Churches have endeavoured with much persistence to effect a union of the Armenian Church with themselves ; but, while the Church of Russia, still nourishes the hope that the whole body will come over to her, and, following the example of the neighbouring Church of Georgia, will seek within her bosom both spiritual and political repose, the Church of Rome has been obliged to content herself with the less splendid ambition of making individual proselytes chiefly upon Turkish soil. Without hazarding myself or the reader for too long a time on the tight-rope of religious dogma, the following account, which I received at Etchmiadzin of the distinctions and differences which separate the Armenian communion from those of Greece and of Rome, may serve to present a notion which will be more imperfect than untrue. While the Armenian Church was represented at the Council of Nice and accepts both its dogma and its canons, it, on the other hand, expressly rejects Chalcedon in which Council it took no part. It therefore differs both with the Greek and with the Roman Church on the subject of the natures of Christ. It holds that in Christ there is one person, one nature, one will, and one energy,

* Sophocles, " *Œdipus Tyrannus*," l. 58.

and its liturgy expresses this dogma in a striking manner in the Trisagion, which runs: "Oh! God, holy God, mighty God, everlasting God, who wast crucified for us." The Armenians have therefore been branded as monophysites; but they reject the heresy of Eutyches with as much warmth as the Chalcedonists themselves. Except on this point their disagreements with the Greek Church are few: for instance, they mix no water in the wine and eat the bread without salt. It is rather in the part which religion takes in the daily life of the people that an important difference exists: you will not find in Armenian rooms those religious pictures, set in encrusted metal, which the Russians, children of the Byzantine Church, place in conspicuous positions and honour with daily reverence as emblems of their tutelary saints. On the other hand, as regards Rome, the dogmatic breach is deeper: the Armenian Church, in common with that of Greece, rejects the *Filioque*. Nor do the Armenians admit any cult of the Virgin Mary, although from the number of the churches in their country which are dedicated to the Mother of God it might be supposed that they also participated in this particular homage of the Church of Rome. The infallibility of the head of that Church they, in common with others, deny.

The relations of the Armenian Church to the Russian Government are regulated in a long document which received the signature of the Emperor Nicholas on March 23, 1836, and which, while reciting the internal constitution of the Church and the rules which govern the conduct of its own affairs, defines at the same time its privileges and its duties in connection with the Russian State. By this document Russia accords freedom of worship to the Armenian Church, and recognises her as the equal of the other religious bodies which subsist under the Emperor's rule. The clergy are exempt from all civil burdens; but of course they are subject to the civil law in purely civil affairs. The spiritual supremacy of the Catholikos of Etchmiadzin is recognised; but Russia emphasises and develops the constitutional position of the Synod in the government of the Church, and then very wisely frames regulations which aim at making the Synod subservient to herself. This Synod consists of four archbishops or bishops and four archimandrites all residing at Etchmiadzin; the Catholikos, if present at the sitting, presides. The Emperor fills up any vacancy in the body, two names being submitted to him by the Catholikos from which to make his choice. The Synod is to meet at least twice in each week; it addresses itself to the multifarious business which pertains to the general government of the Church. In matters which are purely spiritual, such as the proper doctrine of the Church on a particular point or its ritual, the Catholikos takes counsel with the Synod, but need not necessarily accept its advice; and such matters cannot be settled by the Synod during a vacancy in

the patriarchal chair. But in all the other business of Church government which comes before the Synod the Catholikos has only the casting-vote, which his position as president confers. It is true he might act by Bull, and it is also true that according to the traditions of the Armenian Church the members of the Synod would be expected to obey him as the inferior obeys the superior priest. But such action, were it contrary to the resolutions of the Synod, would create a situation of great tension, and would in any case be a departure from the usual custom by which the supreme Patriarch acts through his Synod in the general government of his Church. The Synod must conduct its affairs according to the Russian laws which govern colleges, and it is under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior. The Russian Government also appoints a *Procureur* or Controller who speaks both Armenian and Russian and whose business it is to reside at Etchmiadzin and to supervise all the decrees of the Synod and pronounce upon their legality and their consonance with the powers which that body holds. These decrees are headed "By the order of the Emperor of Russia," the Emperor being the titular head of the Synod. The members of the Chancellery, who conduct the clerical work of the Synod, must be chosen with the approval of the Russian Controller, and at present they work under him. Nor is the Catholikos in a position of complete freedom even when he acts with his Synod. He cannot punish a member of Synod or even a diocesan bishop without notifying his intention to the Emperor and receiving his consent. If he happens to have any matter pending with any foreign State he must communicate with the Emperor through the governor of the province of Erivan. If he wishes to leave Etchmiadzin for more than four months he must obtain the permission of the Emperor through the Minister of the Interior; nor can he sanction the absence of a bishop abroad for more than the same period without having previously consulted the Imperial will. Every bishop of a diocese is appointed by the Emperor, to whom the Catholikos presents the names of candidates. But perhaps the most serious, because the most insidious, weapon against the independence of the Armenian Church is the provision which enacts that a year shall elapse between the death of a Catholikos and the election of his successor. This clause was accepted with singular want of foresight in a time when travelling was even slower than it is now, and when it was difficult to collect the delegates, who elect the two candidates among whom the Emperor chooses, before a considerable time. In practice it is difficult for a Catholikos to take up his position immediately after his election even if the Emperor confirms with the greatest promptitude the candidate who has most votes, and, as a consequence, a long *interregnum* ensues during which it is possible for the Government to play off one party against another,

and to obtain those concessions which might be resisted during the occupancy of the chair.

The method of electing the supreme Patriarch is set forth in the same document. On the decease of a Catholikos the Synod sends invitations to all Armenian dioceses in Russia and elsewhere, calling upon them to name each two deputies, one clerical and one lay, who shall repair to Etchmiadzin within a year. There, in the Church of the Illuminator, they first elect four candidates, and then proceed to choose two names from among this number, which are submitted to the Emperor through the governor of the Caucasus. There are only six dioceses in Russia, and the number is not specified of those in foreign parts. As a general rule, there are fifty-two dioceses in Turkey and two in Persia—namely, those of New Julfa and Tabriz. The Armenian communities in other parts of the world have not as yet sent delegates. In addition to these deputies from the dioceses the members of the Synod and seven of the oldest archimandrites in the community of Etchmiadzin are *ex-officio* members of the elective assembly. In that assembly, therefore, the balance of power lies with the clericals. The Emperor, having signified the choice which he has made and in which he is influenced by the number of votes which either candidate has received, confirms the new Patriarch in his office and receives his oath of allegiance through a representative whom he sends to the patriarchal seat. The Patriarch is then consecrated according to the customs of the Armenian Church.

I have dwelt upon these matters at the risk, perhaps, of becoming tedious, because the Armenian Church occupies a position of a special and peculiar nature in the life of the Armenian people, and is a factor of the first importance in the politics of the country at the present time. In the first place it is the only stable institution which the Armenian people possess. In the next place it provides them, speaking generally, with whatever leaders they have. If we allow our historical sense to correct and temper our democratic tendencies we must recognise the salutary influence which a ruling class must exercise upon the life of a nation by reason of its permanent traditions, by the habits of mind which it inherits rather than acquires, and by the appearance at once glamorous and solid which it presents to the outside world. No people, perhaps, have stood in greater need of such a class of natural leaders than the Armenians. How much of the harassing friction, how many of the silly annoyances to which their daily life is subjected might have been mitigated or even avoided had they been able to follow men who, while intimately bound up with their interests, could speak with the authority of a recognised position and act with the experience and discretion which long exercise of that authority had ingrained! Nothing is at first sight more surprising than the complete want of tact with which so intelligent a

people have conducted their relations with the powerful States under whose protection—or oppression—they live. It may be too general a statement, but it is nevertheless materially true, that those who have assumed to speak for them are either cringeing time-servers who inspire contempt, or windy fanatics who excite resentment in their rulers and promote an ill-founded alarm. Nor are the conditions favourable for the rise to eminence of an individual behind whom might be ranged the solid ranks of the strong and prosperous middle class. The Church alone, at once an asylum and a stronghold from which to move, is capable, if provided with the proper material, of guiding and controlling the people and of leading along the surest channels a movement which must necessarily be peaceful and which must look to moral progress for success. But however patriotic the Armenian clergy as a body may be, and however keenly they may share the national hopes and fears, it can scarcely be denied that they compare most unfavourably with the better among their lay brethren in capacity, in education, and in the grade to which they belong. In the country they are ignorant peasants chosen by the villagers from among their own ranks; in the towns they are not the most promising scholars whom the schools send out into the world. On no better task could the present Catholicos bestow an assiduous activity than on the reform of this dangerous state of things. To no more essential object could the richer Armenians both in Russia and Turkey contribute some necessary support. The career must be made a little more attractive than present circumstances permit it to be. If ever in every larger village there should reside an enlightened teacher who is able to raise the life of his congregation and to minister to their new needs, not only would the social welfare of the whole people be promoted, but an organisation which is of the greatest contemporary value to the Armenians and on which the fabric of their nationality is based would be saved from the extinction which must ultimately overtake it should it continue as it is to-day.

Intimately bound up with the Church and deriving their organisation and permanent revenue from it, the Armenian schools present an exception to the general school system of the Russian Empire, but amply justify their separate existence by the good work which they do. Although the advantages which they offer are as yet very imperfectly extended to the country districts, still, where they exist, their lay teachers are usually the best educated among the Armenians, while many have received their instruction in Europe, principally in Germany, and are men of far higher attainments than the standard of teaching, which is limited by Government, requires. It will not surprise us, when we consider the uniformity at which continental educational methods aim and the intimate connection between public instruction and the State which the Russian Empire requires, that the

career of these schools has been chequered and that their prospects of continued existence are not bright. These schools are recognised in the long document which I have already cited in connection with the Armenian Church, and they, therefore, stand upon a constitutional foundation in the Russian State. But the nature of the education which they offer is there defined to be religious and moral, although it is added, presumably with reference to the seminaries, that it is *most* important for the clerical calling to know the language, the history, and the geography of Russia. Whatever the intention of the framers of this document may have been, it is certain that for a long period after its promulgation, and until the Government took measures to limit their scope, the schools which are attached to many of the Armenian churches provided a high standard of elementary education which was by no means confined to religious instruction or to the preparation of candidates for the Church. The degree of instruction which a school offers in Russia is defined and understood by the number of classes which it has. Each class represents a standard and not a convenient numerical division of pupils, and of these classes the lowest is the first. Schools of five classes were often attached to the Armenian churches, and the scholars who desired to pursue their studies still further passed to the so-called religious seminaries which each diocese is permitted to maintain. In this manner it was possible for an Armenian youth to receive all but the highest university education in his native language and in the schools of his own Church. In 1884, during a vacancy of the patriarchal chair, a Ukase was promulgated which aimed a serious blow at these schools. Every Church school which has more than two classes is placed on the same basis as a private school, that is to say, the whole of the instruction which it gives is required to be conducted in the Russian language. In the case of a school of two classes only the lessons may be given in the Armenian language, but it is obligatory to teach the Russian language and, where general geography and history are included, the history and geography of Russia must be taught in Russian. The *curriculum* of a school must be submitted to, and approved by, the Russian educational authorities, who are also invested with the right to apply to the Armenian spiritual government for the dismissal of a teacher of whom they do not approve, and, failing redress in this quarter, they can place the matter before the governor of the Caucasus, who can order as he thinks fit. The seminaries, one of which is attached to each diocese and which provide a higher education, are exempted from the provisions of this decree, but their object is defined to be the preparation of clergymen to meet the requirements of the Armenian Church.

The bitter feelings which this decree aroused among the Armenians have not yet subsided, and the policy it foreshadows is plain. Yet

the Armenians are not altogether without blame in the matter, and their whole treatment of this question has been deplorably wanting in skill. The Synod did not accept the decree, but represented that its consideration should be allowed to stand over until the new ruler had been chosen, and had taken possession of the vacant chair. The Government replied by closing the schools. Nor were they again opened until, in 1886, the new Catholikos Makar consented to agree to its provisions with some small concession as to the meaning which should be attached to the limit of two classes which had been imposed. It could scarcely be expected that the Government would for long sit quiet while Armenian children were being brought up in ignorance of the Russian language and of the institutions of the Russian people; yet no adequate but voluntary measures had been taken to supply them with this necessary need. At the present day an order is on record, which, although neglected on a former occasion, has been renewed, that every teacher in an Armenian school shall be furnished with a certificate from the Russian pedagogic seminary, and shall have passed in the Russian language the necessary examination which entitles him to receive this award. This order will come into force during the present year, but how many of the teachers will have complied with its provisions, or be within measurable distance of complying with them is a matter upon which I prefer not to speculate, but to guard in silence the impression which I received. Meanwhile, the Russian school system is extending itself in the country, and you may visit schools in which the teachers, although Armenians, have been students in the Russian pedagogic seminary at Erivan. In these schools the instruction is given in Russian, and is governed by the general regulations which are in force in Russian elementary schools. The Armenian Church schools are limited to two classes, and the higher schools which formerly existed have not been re-opened under the new conditions which have been established by the decree.

If, from this plain statement of fact, I may be permitted to proceed to a suggestion, it will be that the Armenians should to a far greater extent make use of their educational organisation to supply the undoubted requirements of their Church. It is not enough that the members of their monastic order should have received a seminarian education; no clergyman should be ordained who has not attained the same or a similar grade. The academy at Etchmiadzin is admirably equipped to provide the centre for such instruction, and there are seminaries at Erivan and Tiflis. I shall not examine too curiously how many of the scholars of these institutions proceed to holy orders in their Church; yet that Church is the real and tenable stronghold of Armenian nationality, and might be made a more efficient minister to social and national needs. H. F. B. LYNCH.

DO GLACIERS EXCAVATE?

ALL geologists agree that ice plays a part in sculpturing the features of the earth, but they differ as to the extent and importance of its work. For instance, some believe that the "northern heights of London" once formed the southern limit of an ice-sheet, which began its journey in the mountain districts of Scotland and of Scandinavia; some, that glaciers excavated, not only the tarns in corries, but even the great sub-Alpine lakes, while others restrict the area occupied by continuous ice and minimise its erosive powers. For full thirty years, since the publication of the late Sir A. Ramsay's memorable paper,* the origin of lake-basins has been a standing dish in geological controversy. He attributed them to the erosive action of ice, and his hypothesis, at first, won many adherents. Then it seemed to be losing favour, till at the end of last year its defence was undertaken by Dr. A. R. Wallace.† Against a champion so formidable I should be afraid to enter the lists did I not remember that his laurels were won on fields where heat is the rule, and cold the exception. Of this I think some signs appear in his ingenious apology for the efficacy of glaciers. That reads like the plea of a skilful advocate, who has mastered his brief and read up his subject, and yet fails to feel the force of either a difficulty or a general argument quite so readily and so keenly as a man whose knowledge has been gained by personal experience.

Be this as it may, we are indebted to Dr. Wallace for defending with remarkable force and acumen the claim of glaciers to be the excavators of the great sub-Alpine lakes. Nevertheless, his argument occasionally appears to me inconclusive, and so, as my name

* *Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xviii. p. 185.

† *Fortnightly Review*, Nov. and Dec. 1893.

occurs several times in the course of his article, I venture to offer some criticisms on it, though conscious of the difficulty of dealing with so complicated a subject in the space of a few pages. Throughout I shall speak for myself—fellow-workers with whose views on glacial geology I generally agree may differ from me as to particular points, or I from them.

Accordingly, to prevent misunderstanding, and to clear the ground, I must once more repeat that I have never refused to accept certain rock-basins as the work of glaciers. These, however, I believe to be rather small and shallow, and generally in somewhat exceptional situations, like the tarns in corries. Some of the lakelets so plentiful in districts like Sweden and Finland may have a similar origin, though with these difficulties begin to arise. The origin of many of the Cambrian, Cumbrian and Highland lakes seems to me a moot question, and one where the shield sometimes may have two sides. But I maintain that glaciers have had practically nothing to do with the formation of the larger Alpine lake-basins. Thus the question between us is one of degree, of where the line is to be drawn between the work of glaciers and the results of other agents.

Again, Dr. Wallace appears to me sometimes to fail to distinguish between *abrasion* and *erosion*, as when he challenges me either to deny that the major part of the North German drift comes from Scandinavia or to admit that the erosive action of glaciers is great. Surely I might grant the one and yet deny the other: for we could obtain the same quantity of *débris* from a block of stone, either by chiselling off one of its edges or by chipping a hollow in one of its faces. But he also falls into the common error of supposing that the quantity of *débris* extruded from beneath a glacier is a measure of its excavatory (erosive) power. In disproof of a statement "that the action of glaciers is entirely superficial and that they actually preserve the surfaces they cover from denudation" * he refers to Dr. Penck's estimate of the quantity of mud brought down by the torrent from the Aar glacier as a proof of the amount of rock which is being removed from its bed. But he forgets some important facts. From the crags on either side earth and dust fall upon the surface of the glacier, part of which ultimately makes its way to the bottom; *débris*, fine and coarse, is hurried down by streams from lateral snowbeds and glaciers, and is carried at last beneath the ice into the main torrent. The very stones which do the work of grinding the bed of the glacier must be also worn away, sometimes, perhaps, quite as fast as the rock itself.† Again, when a glacier first invades a new territory,

* As this statement is coupled with my name I may say that it is inexact as a summary of my views.

† Does not the fact that the stones which have travelled beneath ice are so often sub-angular indicate that usually the amount lost by them has not been very great, and if so, the effect produced on the bed of the glacier has been on a similar scale?

it must often find the surface covered with loose *débris*, large and small, and this, if it is to begin rubbing away the subjacent rocks, must first be swept away and carried on by the advancing ice. It is only when the whole region has been buried for long beneath an ice-sheet that the mud in its effluent streams approaches to being a measure of sub-glacier abrasion or erosion. To some extent, indeed, Dr. Wallace has receded from this position,* but I think that had he been familiar with glaciers from personal experience it would not have been left for a friend to indicate the unsoundness of the argument.

As I have not seen the North German boulder clay, I will say no more on the question of its origin than that I do not feel bound to admit that, though this drift may be a result of ice-action, it has been deposited by an ice-sheet; for it not seldom happens that I am unable to understand how certain glacialists have arrived at their conclusions concerning facts with which I also am acquainted. I shall, therefore, restrict myself to discussing the boulder-clay of England, which deposit seems to be regarded by Dr. Wallace as a proof that a very large part of this country was buried beneath a moving sheet of ice. That the condition of some parts of Great Britain was once generally similar to that of the more southern portion of Greenland I admit, but the real question at issue is this—How far did the British glaciers, even if they sometimes became confluent, advance beyond the mountainous regions into the lowlands, and what deposits are directly due to them? Owing to the calls of other work I have never found leisure to piece together the observations made from time to time, during a period of some twenty-five years, and to track the ice continuously from the “gates of the hills” over the lower ground; hence I cannot venture to fix the exact limit of the land-ice at any given epoch, and must deal with the question by selecting certain places at which the detrital material, as it seems to me, cannot have been deposited by an ice-sheet.

Before doing this I must call attention to the following important facts which, as he makes no reference to them, I think must have escaped Dr. Wallace’s notice. In Arctic regions, at the present day, great quantities of *débris*, and even large masses of rock, fall every winter from the cliffs on to the ice-foot, and even on to the edge of floes. Besides this, boulders, shingle, and other material on the shore are frozen into the ice, and this is worked up and down by the action of tide or wind, so that pebbles are striated and other effects of glaciers imitated. Thus, a boulder-clay in itself is no proof of the former presence of an ice-sheet. Other considerations must also be taken into account before the question can be decided. The “foot” and the floe ice, at the break-up of the winter, get loose and drift

* See his letter in *Nature* (January 4, p. 221). Here also the confusion already noticed is exhibited in the words “the clayey element in it [the drift from Scandinavia] would be due to *erosion*.” It might be equally due to *abrasion*.

away from land, often bearing with them in-frozen boulders and even the material which has slipped from the cliff. There is no evidence of which I am aware to prove that an ice-sheet, under any circumstances, ever uproots considerable masses of rock. Its erosive action, if such there be, must be mainly a process of rubbing and scraping. When large masses have been transported by it they must have fallen from crags on to its surface—that is, they belong to glaciers rather than to an ice-sheet proper, which buried the greater part of the region.

Proceeding then to English examples, let us glance first at the noted instance of the “till” and “contorted drift” at Cromer. The one is a mass of more or less sandy clay, full of rounded and sub-angular pebbles of chalk, of less worn fragments of flint, with other stones and boulders, some of which have travelled far, perhaps even from Scandinavia; the latter consists of stratified sand and gravel, often exhibiting strange contortions, in which are embedded huge masses of chalk, both solid and *renunié*, and of gravel, presumably frozen when it was transported. These probably have not travelled far, and might be easily detached from cliffs by the action of frost, as described above; but if they were torn up by an ice-sheet it must have rooted like a pig. The sand and gravel, with which they are almost exclusively associated, precisely resemble those usually referred to the action of currents. At first, however, these must have often enclosed very large masses of ice—rafts which have foundered with their load of boulders—and as this ice slowly melted, its disappearance would cause flexures, distortion, and slipping in the stratified gravel. There is nothing in the structure of the till itself adverse to the idea that it has been deposited under water. It rests on a light-coloured stratified sand, which is practically undisturbed, and the change from this to the clay is not more rapid than is often seen in ordinary bedded rocks. Occasionally also the till and the overlying sand occur in very regular and thin alternating bands. To attribute the Cromer drifts to an ice-sheet constantly leads to contradictory conclusions; for this would oblige us to assume, in the same cliff, now that the ice ploughed up loose materials, and now that it passed over them without producing any disturbance.

In the neighbourhood of Wellington (Shropshire) I have seen boulder-clay resting on and even interlaminated with an undisturbed stratified sand, which contains marine shells, more or less broken. In Leicestershire boulder-clay rests, now on Keuper marl, now on various hard rocks; but the former seems undisturbed, the latter are not rounded. Yet, though I have never seen a characteristic ice-worn rock in all the Charnwood district, boulders from it have been distributed, especially towards the south and south-west, as far as twenty miles away.

Dr. Wallace refers to the great streams of erratics which can be

traced from certain centres over various parts of Britain. But to attribute these to land-ice involves us in constant difficulties. One example may suffice to indicate the general character of these. Boulders of granite from Shapfell are found on the eastern coast, between Scarborough and the Humber, and are scattered over the vale of York. How they managed to cross Stainmoor, which is in places more than a hundred feet above the highest outcrop of the granite, is a puzzle on any hypothesis; but if we invoke the aid of an ice-sheet, we must suppose this to have travelled roughly from west to east right across the path of the still larger mass which was coming from the north.

The boulder-clays not unfrequently contain foraminifers and marine shells; but the latter, as they are commonly broken, are supposed to have been caught up and transported by the advancing ice from the sea-bed (possibly then dry land). If so, we must concede that moving ice does very frequently erode soft materials. Of late years the same explanation has been applied to certain shell-bearing gravels which are closely associated with boulder-clays. One of these, mentioned by Dr. Wallace, at Moel Tryfaen, is over 1300 feet above the sea. Here the stratified sand and gravel is overlain by boulder-clay. I know the place well, and stood for some time last September on the summit, trying to understand, but without success, how such a mass of material could be carried uphill from the sea by even the biggest of ice-sheets; how it either retained or re-acquired stratification, by what path the ice came and what caused it to move uphill.* Moreover, notwithstanding what Dr. Wallace says, I remained convinced that the ice from the North Sea would have been kept at bay by the native ice and snow of Wales.† But the case of Gloppe, over which Dr. Wallace passes lightly, is yet more difficult. Here is an extensive mass of stratified gravel, over sixty feet thick, more than thirty miles from the sea and 1100 feet above it, containing at least sixty species of shells, many of them uninjured. Other instances might easily be given, such as that at Wellington, though this, perhaps, is the strongest; but we may add that the frequent intercalation of bedded sands, &c., in the British boulder-clays, is not easily explained on the hypothesis of land-ice. Is it not also somewhat inconsistent to claim a considerable elevation of the land in early glacial times and yet to dispute a submergence during them, as if it involved an *a priori* improbability; especially when it is generally admitted that,

* Dr. Wallace seems to think it has been denied that ice can *under any circumstances* move uphill. Certainly I have never said this. What I assert is that there must be an adequate cause, and this, in many cases where such motion is alleged, appears to me to be wanting.

† Dr. Wallace states that a riebeckite rock from Ailsa Craig has been found at Moel Tryfaen. What I found appears to me more like that of Mynydd Mawr, in the immediate neighbourhood. But the presence of the former is as explicable on the one hypothesis as on the other.

even in Britain, there has been subsequently some upheaval, and this, in other countries, has often reached 600 feet and sometimes twice that amount.

But the argument on which, perhaps, Dr. Wallace chiefly relies is that lakes, of a particular kind, are abundant in mountain regions which have been glaciated, but not in others. This argument was, indeed, employed in Sir A. Ramsay's original paper, but it has never before been presented in such detail or with so much force.

Before discussing it, I may remark that Dr. Wallace errs in supposing that I have asserted the Alpine lake-basins to be older than the glacial epoch, for, so far as I can remember, I have never made any such statement, and for several years have entertained strong suspicions that they are not so. But, as the expression of this opinion, in the present state of the evidence, would have made an excellent "red herring" in the controversy, I have carefully abstained from committing myself to either view. Another minor point in his argument is also an assumption—viz., that the movements of the earth's crust during mountain-making are exceedingly slow. As I am no "convulsionist," I am willing to admit that this is possible; but, so far as the evidence goes, it points rather in the opposite direction—viz., that ages of comparatively rapid upheaval have alternated with periods either of repose, or more often of slow movement in the opposite direction.

Proceeding, then, to Dr. Wallace's main argument, we find that the production of a lake-basin is attributed to a combination of favourable conditions, so that the absence of it may be due to various causes. For instance, if the slope of a valley be uniform, then this will be equally deepened; but when it becomes nearly level, at the foot of a more marked descent, then excavation commences. In this statement there is, I believe, a certain truth; but, if that be the explanation of lake-basins, they should be much more abundant, for similar changes of level are by no means uncommon features higher up the valleys. To the general question of the amount of abrasion which must be assumed we shall presently return.

We pass, then, to a more direct argument, which is thus stated: "If we look at the valley-lakes of our own country and of Switzerland the first thing that strikes us is their great length and their situation, usually at the lower end of the valley, where it emerges from the higher mountains into comparatively low country." Of these statements the first is generally true, though it is not without exceptions, such as Orta and Zug. Moreover, if the larger lakes, as I suppose, have been formed by flexures in the beds of pre-existing valleys, I expect to find them generally long in proportion to their breadth.

The difficulty, why each of the great Alpine valleys is not provided with a lake, since each was traversed by a great glacier, is thus met.

Since ice is not a very plastic substance, it may not always touch the bed of a narrow valley, but may rest upon the sides, and form a kind of arch. It is quite true that ice, as a rule, seems to succeed in bridging over a very narrow ravine, but, after careful study of this question, I have no hesitation in saying that a glacier has usually reached the bottom of any ordinary V-shaped valley, even when its sides are pretty steep. To this matter I shall return, for it has an important bearing on the general question of the effect of glaciers. In the next place, Dr. Wallace explains the absence of a lake-basin at the opening of the Dora Baltea valley by saying that they formerly existed at Aosta and Verrex. But this does not apply to the valleys of the Stura and the Adige, and further, seeing that a branch of the Rhine glacier could erode the Wallen See, before proceeding to help in making the lake of Zurich, we can hardly hold that some youthful energy on the part of the Dora Baltea glacier is an excuse for senile inactivity. Moreover, these early efforts in basin-making (I know the district), if they existed, were comparatively unimportant.

Dr. Wallace, as it seems to me, really fails to meet the difficulty which the singular form of the Lake of Lugano presents to a glacial erosionist. The size of its drainage area is of little importance: the watershed to the north is no doubt "moderately high"—sufficiently so to stop the inroads of ice from the main chain, but not high enough to give rise to local glaciers of great magnitude on its southern slopes. Suppose, however, we admit that an offshoot of the Como glacier did trespass on the area of the lake *vid* Porlezza—a route which would demand considerable plasticity in the ice, as a glance at a map will show—must we also assume that it bent back northwards round the headland of Morcote? Did it then descend the Tresa, or did an offshoot from the Maggiore glacier come up that valley to help it in grubbing out the basin west of the Monte Salvatore? The ice of the glaciers which excavated the basins of wriggling Lugano and forked Como must at any rate have been a tolerably plastic substance.

It is urged, further, that the greatest lakes, as Geneva, Constance, and Maggiore, lie in the paths of the greatest valleys—*i.e.*, of the largest ice-streams. To the last-named lake Dr. Wallace attributes a maximum depth of 2500 feet,* and says: "Geologists will probably not think 30,000 years an extravagant estimate for the duration of the glacial period" (it may be remembered that these lake-basins were covered only during the epoch when the glaciers attained their largest dimensions), "in which case an erosion of only an inch in a year would be sufficient." I think Dr. Wallace would find it very difficult to prove that a glacier would remove the ordinary Alpine rocks at such a rate as this; but letting that pass, I must remark

* Possibly Dr. Wallace has consulted some recent authority which I have not come across. Those with which I am acquainted give the maximum depth at only about half this amount.

that if the glaciers were at work for 30,000 years, and could erode, under circumstances of moderate provocation, an inch in a year, they must have produced very striking effects on the upper valleys of the Alps. How far they have so done we shall presently see.

Dr. Wallace then calls attention to three criteria by which basins of glacial erosion are distinguished from ordinary valleys. In the first place, they never present those peculiarities of contour which are not infrequent in mountain valleys and never exhibit either submerged ravines or those jutting rocky promontories which are so common a feature in hilly districts. But what are we to say to the rocky headland of Sermione with its steep scarp looking up the Lake of Garda? I could mention other cases. But ought lakes to show submerged ravines? Apart from the likelihood of these becoming filled up with mud more rapidly than the wider part of the basin and being thus obliterated, this structure—sloping sides descending to a ravine—is always a great rarity when a valley has begun to open out, and so is the last form to be expected in the beds of lakes near “the gates of the hills.” But I am surprised to find Dr. Wallace referring to M. Delebecque’s *Atlas des Lacs Français* in support of his views. These maps show that the contours of the surrounding hills are generally repeated beneath the water; but for this, if the basins be scooped out by ice, there seems no reason. For instance, the bed of the Lake of Geneva descends rapidly beneath the steep mountains at its upper end, and continues deep, though with a more gentle gradient, opposite to the more open region around Lausanne. In the Lac de Bourget the contour lines are crowded together beneath the steep slopes of the Mont du Chat. In the lake of Annécý a headland and island occur at Duingt right in the path of the ice-stream, and a buried steep-sided hill, about 160 feet high, at the Crêt de Châtillon. Besides these, how could a glacier excavate that extraordinary round hole, about the same depth below the general level of the lake-bed, at Bourbioz, near Annécý? If this is a “giant’s kettle,” it is indeed a monster. Then what shall we say to the strangely irregular form of the Lac d’Aiguebelette. Its broadest part is interrupted by the shoal carrying the Grande and the Petit Ile. From this its bed descends—apparently in the most open part of the lake—to a depth of 233 feet. Look also at the snakelike form of the Lac des Brenets, about 100 feet deep, with the curious bifurcation at its upper end; through one arm of which the channel of the Doubs can be traced into the deeper part, separating a bed generally about 15 feet below the surface, while the other arm forms a backwater. This single sheet of the Atlas shows what varied forms these lakes can assume, and the work as a whole presents to us a number of basins, some lying in the path of the great ice-streams, others quite out of it, others again in regions which only can have been invaded very incompletely

or for a short time by a glacier, and of these certain lie transverse to its path and parallel with protecting ridges.

This is the second critical character: that "Alpine lake-bottoms, whether large or small, frequently consist of two or more distinct basins, a feature which could not occur in lakes due to submergence unless there were two or more points of flexure for each depression, a thing highly improbable even in the larger lakes, and almost impossible in the smaller." These undulations in many cases only amount to a very few yards and may be due to the unequal deposit of *débris* from retreating glaciers, but, in the more important cases of the larger lakes, what is there wonderful in finding undulations in a line of general flexure? These are very common in regions where rocks have been bent. Is Dr. Wallace's hypothesis free from difficulties? Suppose the Lake of Lucerne to have been scooped out by glaciers, we may fairly ask for an explanation of the Küssnacht arm. Granted that the moderate ice-contingent from the direction of the Brunig Pass may have produced some deflection in the Reuss glacier (which must have taken the same path as the river), this could hardly have forced the latter to send out an offshoot almost at right angles to its general course. We are thus landed in the old difficulty about the origin of the Lake of Zug, 650-feet deep. Did the aforesaid offshoot descend from the top of the "Hollow Lane," or was the work done by an arm, sent off at Brunnen, which first scooped out the Lake of Lowertz? Here is a basin, deep for its size, just at a place where we should expect the ice to be least active!

The third characteristic assigned to lakes of erosion is this; the contour lines in most river-valleys run up the tributaries for a certain distance, so that on taking them at heights of "two or three, or five hundred feet above the river," these would "form a series of notches or loops of greater or less depth at every tributary stream with its entering valley or deeply cut ravine," but in the lakes of glaciated districts, the water never forms inlets up the inflowing streams, but "all of them, without exception, form an even junction with the lake margin just as they would do if flowing into a river." As an illustration diagrams are given of the Dart and the valley of the Tweed, (contour line of 700 feet) on the one side, and of Ulleswater and Como on the other. Quite so, but Dr. Wallace forgets that mountain streams bring down great quantities of *débris* into the lakes in question. The deltas from these have made the shores generally even, nay, sometimes have trespassed upon the lake. But on examining the contour lines on the hill-sides, let us say up to 700 feet above the water, we should find the usual loops. Perhaps it may be said that these curves are above the water-line; yes, but apart from the fact that some of the lakes once reached a higher level, can we suppose that such huge moving masses of ice restricted their energies only to the area now covered by water and produced no effect on either side?

Lastly, we come to the general argument founded on the occurrence of these valley-lakes in the marginal zones of glaciated mountain regions. Here, notwithstanding the ingenuity of his arguments, Dr. Wallace seems to me to have failed in discovering characteristics peculiar to the larger lakes in glaciated regions and distinguishing them from lakes which are not claimed as products of ice-erosion. In the Alps, for instance, Zug and Orta seem specifically identical with the Egeri See and the Lago di Ritom, and are comparatively short lakes. It is the long valley-lakes which appear to be less common, so far as I know, in other regions; but it is singular that those lakelets which we should agree in attributing to ice more usually are roughly ovoid in form. But if we argue from shape, why should we not claim the Lake of Capernaum and the Dead Sea as the work of the Lebanon glaciers? The former is short, and the latter in olden time was long enough, and both are not ill situated for the action of ice, if only it could be got into the Jordan valley! Or where are we to draw the line in North America, where the lakes are of all shapes? Reduce the scale of Erie or of Ontario, or even of Michigan, and they would compare well with some of the Alpine lakes. Glacialists, indeed, have cast longing eyes upon the region of the great American lakes, but this has been shown by Professor Spencer and others to be a submerged river system, in which differential movements have occurred at comparatively late dates. I am surprised that Dr. Wallace has not referred to this question.

Again, though it is a fact that lakes are common in certain glaciated regions, this is not conclusive. There are curious tarns on the uplands of Brazil where are no traces of glaciation, and lakes in parts of India, according to Mr. R. D. Oldham,* out of the reach of glaciers. They are by no means universal in glaciated regions, for if we rule the Pyrenean glaciers out of court as inefficient to erode—though one of them was forty-four miles long, and they came down to the lowland in places very suitable for digging—what can we say to those lakes which either lie out of the paths of great glaciers, or where these can have had little influence? Can the puny local ice-streams of the Jura, if such there were, have dug basins, when their larger brethren in the Pyrenees were helpless? But why not attribute Nicaragua and Titicaca, and the lakes in San Domingo and Porto Rico, in Celebes and Tasmania, to glacial action? I know these only from maps and descriptions, but I cannot see how they differ in shape from Alpine lakes. In the last island, glaciers have existed, but they never can have been very important.† I must continue to plead that I cannot distinguish, except for size, the lakes of Africa and the basin of the Sea of Marmora, from some of the greater Alpine lakes.

* *Nature*, vol. xlix. (1893) p. 30, cf. *ibid.* p. 197.

† On this point see Sir H. Howorth's letter, *ibid.* p. 30.

Lastly, I repeat my statement that in districts which have been abraded by ice we find no evidence that very great quantities of rock have been removed, even in valleys which have been traversed by the largest ice-streams. I know from personal examination almost every important valley in the Alps, and could fill, were it necessary, pages with extracts and diagrams from my note-books to justify this statement; but as this would be wearisome, I content myself with repeating, if possibly with greater emphasis, for I have made further studies, the words used in my lecture last spring.* After describing the valley of the Aar above the Lake of Brienz, I continue :

"Perhaps no district in the Alps exhibits the traces of ice-action on a grander scale, yet these have been only superimposed upon and modify the features of fluvial erosion. Yet the contours of ice-action . . . can be traced almost down to the very surface of the torrents. But the Haslithal is not at all an exceptional case. I have examined almost every important valley which leads up into one of the greater groups of crystalline peaks in the Alps, with the same result - namely, that the major features, whether in crag, rock, slope, or ridge, are those of the ordinary processes of meteoric and fluvial erosion, the minor only being due to glacial action. Hence it follows that when the ice first emerged from the fastnesses of the central peaks, it descended valleys corresponding in their main outlines with those which still exist, say nearly identical in depth and breadth; but at the same time every crag was rough, every ridge was sharp or serrate. The ice took possession of the region. It rasped and rubbed, and when it finally disappeared the rock surfaces were worn and defaced like the sculpture of some bas-relief which has been trodden under foot till only the main outlines of its design can be distinguished. The Val Bregaglia, the Val Mastalone, the Val Anzasca, the valley of the Dranse, and many others have afforded me the clearest proofs that the ice has occupied without materially deepening, excavating, or modifying the glens. Crags which as it advanced must have risen up like peel-towers from the floor of the valley have been buried deep below the frozen mass, and have emerged, worn, rounded, scored, but only so far changed as to have become humps."

Hence, notwithstanding Dr. Wallace's ingenious advocacy of the erosive power of glaciers and ice-sheets, I maintain that these can excavate only under the most favourable conditions, and then but to a limited extent, and that they are proved by a close study of the Alpine peaks and valleys to have been incapable of hollowing out the great lakes of that chain. In effect he asks us to believe that an agent which has failed to do more than modify the physical features over which it has passed, even when concentrated between the mountain slopes, which has failed to give any signs of excavating power except under circumstances peculiarly favourable, should be able, when it has reached a milder climate, is moving down the gentlest slopes, and is beginning to spread out laterally, to excavate basins in solid rock, not a few miles in length and hundreds of feet in depth. Truly this would be like an old man's effort to make up for the lost opportunities of a wasted life.

T. G. BONNEY.

* *The Geographical Journal*, June 1893.

HAMPSTEAD HEATH.

I HAD never been to Hampstead Heath, so finding myself the other day on "the Northern Heights," disappointed in an engagement that I had thought had been made, and with the day all before me, I went on up the hill, and by a charming approach came out from under some beautiful old elms on to a roadway brilliant with rhododendrons and iris in full bloom, and so upon the famous 'Eath. Hardly a soul was in sight; the day was perfect, with an unclouded sun and scarcely a breath of wind, and I had all the landscape to myself. And what a beautiful landscape it is. Standing on the crest of the hill I could look away across Middlesex into Hertfordshire, lying tranquil and green under the sunlight, and over the spires and towers of churches, with here and there a house-top showing among the noble groups and groves of trees, and I could not help thinking of the Pilgrims when in their Progress they came to the hill that is called Delectable and, from its summit, overlooked the pleasant valleys. It was on such occasions that the worthy Christiana used to thank the Lord.

Close by was a little pond. A single yacht becalmed in the middle and one retriever swimming hopefully about in search of a stick that had never been thrown, had the pond all to themselves, till a butcher's boy, "all in Neptune's azure garb," came with his cart and drove through it, giving the yacht a friendly shove on its voyage with his whip as he passed and the retriever a renewal of its dwindling hope by deceitful gestures of stick-throwing. The butcher's horse took its pleasure, a sensible beast, very slowly, and like Pharaoh's chariots in the fatal sea the wheels drave heavily. But at last it reached the "splash," and creeping emergent out from the deep all glistening wet like some sea-horse cart-monster, started refreshed along the highway. And a terrier came to look at the retriever and

barked at it exceedingly. Why do the dogs out of the water always bark so excitedly at the dogs that are in it? Is it that they are rejoicing over the chances of the swimmer being drowned, or are they exhorting him to save himself from a watery grave by coming out on to dry land? Or is it from mere excitement, such as possesses human beings at a horse-race or a fire? This is one of the few occasions on which a dog barks unintelligibly. You cannot understand what the little dog on the bank is saying about the big one in the water. That he means something, and means it very much, is out of all question. Sometimes it sounds like pure joy, for its voice is as that of a dog going out for a walk with its master, but if so, *why* should the little dog on the bank be joyous? What is there in the spectacle of another dog swimming about and snuffing like a porpoise, to conduce to such immoderate gaiety in the onlooker? At other times the bark is quarrelsome and assertive, as if the dog in the water were doing something that was outrageous and contrary to the peace and law, and ought to be suppressed. And when the swimmer comes out, note the attitude of the other dog. He approaches the wet one stiffly as if about to put some serious question to him, but the big dog suddenly shakes himself all over him and, while the little dog retires sneezing and feeling snubbed, bounds into the water again with a fine, full-chested, spread-eagle, 'splash about which there is no reserve, and which immediately sends the little bank-dog off into frantic transports again.

At the corner, just where a superb horse-chestnut, holding out upright a torch of blossom at the end of every bough like tapers on a Christmas tree, cast a cool shade, stood a resident-looking policeman. He knew apparently what I was going to ask before I spoke, and answered—just as if I had put a penny in his slot, and he could not help answering—"Round the corner." And "round the corner" I found it, the inn of wicked highwayman fame. And as I drank my ale in the low-roofed sanded room, I complimented myself on my sagacity in being born a little Victorian-era child instead of a wight in Elizabeth's spacious days when roysterers on the public ways, Nymms and Bardolphs and Pistols, called you rogue and fat chuff and cracked your costard for you, "i' faith" and robbed you. No. They were "good old" days those, and England was "merry England" then; but for myself I had rather at night meet ten policemen on Hampstead Heath than one highwayman. Refreshed, I sallied forth to explore the Heath. What a queer feeling it is that comes over one visiting it for the first time, when you see how threadbare and seamy the ground is with people sitting on it and the countless feet that tread it. Once upon a time it must have been sweetly pretty with its little dells and dingles filled with ferns and wild-flowers, with the small patches of boggy ground bright with marsh-plants, its turf all underlaid with moss and patterned

with heather. Fine trees, too, once grew upon it no doubt. But what a change popularity has worked. Every foot of the ground seems polished by friction and only the hardiest of the grasses survive. Not even the sweet fresh air seems able to conceal the odour of clothes and boots. The whole place seems to sniff of Bank Holiday. Boys with canes have switched off the heads of everything, so that nothing dares to grow above a few inches off the ground, except the fierce furze and, in the cage-like hollows, the retaliating brambles. There is not a flower to be seen on the ground. Yet beauty has not utterly departed from the Heath, for here grow wondrous crab trees and clumps of dwarfed but charming birch, and as you go down the steepy hillside you notice that the dimples in the ground still hold bracken, and the whins and broom are, as ever, golden.

But the crab trees were a revelation to me. It was not because they were literally veiled in blossom, solid domes of pink and white, though this rare beauty was notable enough. It was the wonderful manner of their growth. The crab tree nowadays has, I take it, been banished from most open spaces to the hedgerows and coppice, and, where seen, looks like an ordinary orchard apple tree, but of meaner kind. Now these on Hampstead Heath have nothing near them to cramp them. Each stands fairly alone, with its full share of sun and nourishment on every side alike, and what is the result? Each tree carries its branches down to the very turf, forming symmetrical circles with its boughs, the most perfect arbours that, unassisted by art, can be possibly imagined. I was so struck by them that I went inside several and in each case found myself in a circular chamber of foliage and bloom, and so dense as to make me quite invisible to passers-by. A perfect "canopy" I said to myself. And I had no sooner thought the thought than there flashed into my mind the tradition of "Shakespeare's Canopy." As everybody knows, Shakespeare, coming home with Ben Jonson from an ale-house at Bidford, outside Stratford-upon-Avon, found himself, what with sun and strong ale together, unable to get home, and so lay down *under a crab tree by the way*, and there caught the chill that killed him. So goes the tradition, and within the century there used to be shown on the Bidford Road the stump of a crab tree which was called Shakespeare's *canopy*. The tradition is almost universally accepted as representing a real incident, but it must have always had, for those of the present century at least (it certainly had for me) an element of suspicion in the fact of the poet lying down in such a puny shade, so exposed to public view, as under a crab tree. Any other tree might have saved the tradition altogether—an oak, a sycamore, or an elm—but a *crab tree* seemed so inappropriate. Which of us, surprised by strong ale on a summer's afternoon, would think of lying down under a crab tree? We only

know the tree as growing in hedges, or as a straggling, thin-branched thing that makes no more "canopy" than an umbrella-frame before it is covered. Walking across the meadows from Bidford now we should, if compelled to the choice, choose an umbrageous elm, or oak, or sycamore. Certainly not a crab tree, any sooner than a rose bush. Now, here we see the danger of trying to talk of the Past from the knowledge only of the Present. In Shakespeare's day the crab tree was a very important tree. It was not only "conserved" for eating as dessert, for spicing hot drinks in winter time, for the making many sauces, for which from its sharpness it was considered particularly suitable, but its juice was used for the manufacture of "verjuice," as common a "condiment" then as vinegar is now, and was the main ingredient in, and gave its name to, the original "pomatum." In Elizabethan times then "the humble crab-apple" of modern poets was a tree of value, and being so would be given, as those of Hampstead Heath have got to-day, free space for growth. This being so, they would droop, as the crab trees on Hampstead Heath do, their branches tent-like to the ground all round and offer to the passer-by, both for shade and concealment, a perfect "canopy." So that, curiously enough, the survival in the tradition of this one word "canopy" goes a long way to assure us of its authenticity. No modern tradition-monger would have thought of it, still less have connected the word with a crab tree—unless he had happened to see one growing in luxury. And if for nothing else I am glad I went to the Heath, as it has, for me, substantiated, beyond all contradiction, the fidelity of the old story; and had I, in Shakespeare's day, been overtaken in my cups walking from Bidford I should certainly, given my choice between oak and elm and sycamore and crab tree, have chosen the crab tree for the pavilion of my infirmity.

But to-day on the Heath it canopies only small birds, and what a surprising number of them there are. What do they do, where do they go, on holidays and Sundays? I can hear (chance travellers these) the chiff-chaff calling, and the great-tit, and as I pass a brake of blackberries a querulous whitethroat complains of me passing. I catch sight of a redstart flitting among the furze on the sandy banks, and stopping under a hawthorn to watch it, I surprise a willow-wren that is busy among the may-blossom. From the distance, beyond the road, comes the chuckling, choking noises of young rooks being fed, the hammering of a woodpecker, the voices of purring ringdove and fluting thrush. Once upon a time, no doubt, these larger birds made a home, too, upon the Heath, and the clumps of Scotch fir on the eminences were the castles of sparrow-hawks, overlooking the brambled villages of the hedge-sparrow and yellow-hammer. But now they have gone outside public limits into the Wild-Wood grounds, leaving the Heath to such small folk as, from inconspicuous plumage and

mouse-like, creeping habits, dare to live where crowds so frequently come. Except the hedge-sparrow, the whitethroat and the willow-wren, I doubt if any of the birds I saw would venture to build their nests on the Heath. The redstart is a bold bird, and in spite of its fiery plumage, will venture upon it, and at nesting-time all birds are liable to betray uncharacteristic rashness, so there is really no saying what wild things, in spite of holiday-seekers, may not pitch their tents within the County Council's protection. Butterflies there are none, except a chance straggling "copper"; and two youths with nets told me that, though they had hunted the Heath for some years, the "rarest butterfly they had ever caught was a 'painted lady.'" And I suppose they thought the old gentleman was romancing when he told them how, as a boy, and within three miles of a Public School, he had given Stainton new localities for "the great blue," and the rarest of our native "hair-streaks"; how he used to go into a certain lane wherein the brambles, as if overflowing from some lake of blackberries on the other side, fell in a cascade over the hedges, and where, in an afternoon, he could crowd a collecting-box with *Grapta C. album*; and how, on a certain strip of hillside, with a quarry on the one hand and a hazel-copse on the other, he could catch "marbled whites" by the score; or, going over the hill and dropping down into the wood beyond, he could find all the larger fritillaries fighting for places on the pink clusters of the agrimony, and with luck might take both "white admiral" and "wood-white." And no wonder if they were incredulous, for there is a veritable abyss between such schoolboy experiences of *Theda betula* and *Sinapi*—how the old names came back to me, sitting among the furze and talking to the lads with their nets, names probably all obsolete in their later nomenclature—and the Hampstead hunters who speak of the "painted lady" as a rarity. But if there are no butterflies there are plenty of "bumble-bees," and in particular the beautiful little foxy-red one that comes out early in Spring and sinks its little shafts wherever it finds soft and sandy soil. This part of Hampstead Heath suits it, as one might say, "down to the ground," for those who have eyes for objects on lower levels than each other's faces cannot help seeing this pretty bee sitting, apparently asleep, upon every little open sunny patch of sand. But it is not asleep: on the contrary, it is working hard, making cement for its egg-cell, and if you try to find out his home by watching one of these little plasterers, your patience will tire before his industry. The way to find out where he lives is to wait till you catch sight of a bee with legs of buttercup-yellow. Once caught sight of it is very easy to follow, for the pollen-loaded thighs glint about almost like fire-flies. The insect you can see is burdened and, even if he does loiter awhile here and there, you may be sure he is always homeward-bound; and all of a sudden, settling on the

ground, the glittering legs disappear. For the bee settled on the very edge of his shaft and has vanished down it. You can easily dig him out if it is near the edge of the bank, for the shaft only goes down a few inches, and then turns at right angles for an inch or so, and here are the cells, with neatly plastered walls, that the small couple—for they are “solitary” bees these earth-folk—have built, and are now filling with food against the hatching of the eggs.

And so the morning wore away among the furze and sand, and then I crossed a steep-sunk road and found that I was still on, “Hamstead Heath,” as the County Council notices on the crab trees and the Hawthorns still threatened me with a penalty of twenty-five pounds if I should be found picking their blossoms, and wandering uphill through a charming brake, just such a one as Bottom and Quince and his fellows chose for rehearsing their play in, came upon a most alluring seat. As I sat, I was invisible to those who came up the path until they plumped upon me, and it was very diverting to sit there, hear the scraps of talk, and note the sudden cessation of voice and the start with which each party discovered me. The variety was endless, but what struck me at once was the extraordinary development of modern children. The first I heard distinctly was: “That picture you know of Orchardson’s, where he is——” (dead stop on seeing me); the speaker, a child of about ten, with hair all down her back: then, “teaching us a kind of square dance; I don’t know what it is, but it’s awfully pretty, and then they tried to teach us ‘Iolanthe,’ which is all sorts of dances mixed up, and we made such an awful muddle——” (full stop); two more little girls; then two boys, “ought to kill them all, for at this time of the year they are all queens. How do you know? The papers say so. Oh! but you know you ought not to believe——” (full stop); then another couple, “and filed it down with one of those little American bull-doze thing-um-a-bobs and got an endless screw, and——” (full stop); then two more, “sailed yesterday from the West India Docks in one of those rotten trading ships, instead of going by the——” (full stop). And so they came by, these youngsters, all of the upper class evidently, and going in the same direction, to some garden party, perhaps, and I felt a wretch to sit there and jot down their conversation as they passed me, but I could not help doing it, for it filled me with astonishment to hear such children talking among themselves of Orchardson and comic opera, Yankee “notions,” the value of newspaper information, and the relative dignity of different passenger steamers. I am sure when I was their age my ideas of the stage went no further than the pantomime, and my art no further than *Punch*. And thus moralising, I found myself on the heights again, and lo! at the end of the road there was the horse-chestnut tree and the permanent policeman, and the inn of wicked memory “round the

corner." And then I foregathered with a delightful ancient of the place, who took ale with me, and thereafter, with faltering step and the help of two mighty sticks, a "whole cow's horn" in each handle and "a whole crab slip" in each staff, so he told me, he took me down a little passage between garden walls and introduced me to, possibly, one of the finest views in the whole of this round world of ours. I have seen more of its surface than most men, but I cannot remember any view to beat it. Before me, sloping down to some ponds the East Heath—for so my ancient still called it—stretched like a great green drapery of rumpled velvet, and opposite me, sloping upward from the pond, were Parliament Fields, like the same velvet smoothed and without a crease. On the crest stood grouped some noble trees, and away behind were the wooded heights of Highgate, out of which emerged, to break the sky-line just where they could do it with the best effect, some great gables, a spire, and a cupola. On my left the view was shut in by trees, but on the right what a royal scene! a valley of grass that widened into a plain, and thereon, all soft and grey with mist, was London—right away to St. Paul's. And a sky of forget-me-not blue above, and under foot wherever you looked the same continuity of comfortable, beautiful turf. What is the Bay of Naples, with its bitter, relentless, gentian blue overhead, and its sun-scorched, dusty, and grassless ground beneath, compared to this view from Hampstead Heath? Where else can you find such *satisfying* beauty? Not in Lisbon as seen from the river, nor in Sydney harbour, nor in Southern California, nor anywhere else, not even in Nature's most favoured island—New Zealand. There is nothing, I believe, like it anywhere to captivate and comfort both the eye and mind at once. "Yet," said mine ancient, "I have heard travellers say, standing where you are now, that they did not think much of it." "The next time you hear a traveller say that," I replied, "tell him without hesitation that nowhere out of England can he see in a single landscape such turf, such a variety of foliage, and such a city. He cannot contradict you."

And then I wandered down the slope on one side and up the other and down again to the road, and all the way, ankle-deep in grass, I never saw a single flower. Yes, here a stitchwort, or shepherd's-purse, or there a speedwell, but not one flower that a child would stoop to pick. Where are they all gone? We talk with wonder of former multitudes of game that have now deserted their haunts, of the disappearance of whales from the north seas, of bison from the prairies, and so on; but how much more wonderful it is that the flowers should have all gone off, unanimously, and left our public playing fields. You can walk a mile with hedges and ditches and ponds, and all the way in meadow grass, and yet not be able to gather all the time enough to fill a button-hole. Yet come down to the road, and here

you will see a strange and rather a pathetic sight. Along one side of it runs a wooden paling, against which ivy has been planted, and to protect it from the public, the ivy is netted in. Now, inside this netting, secure from the fingers of holiday-makers, grow all the wildings of the country—king-cup and ragged-robin, fumitory and charlock, dead nettles, crane's-bill, and ever so many more. Safe inside this netting the last of the refugees from Hampstead Heath and Parliament Fields have taken sanctuary, and, unpicked and untrodden, flourish bravely, looking through the protecting wiring at their passing enemies with a delightful unconcern. Not long ago, doubtless, all these flowers grew on the other side of the road, and all up the ditches and under the hedges, and the fields were full of them, just as that field in private ground, if you will look over the wooden fence, is now. But they have been literally exterminated, and if it were not for the little two-foot strip of netted ground on one side of the road, we might imagine that this part of England had never grown flowers at all.

And so back homewards. But on the way I rested, to fill myself full of the view before me, lest I might never see it again, and chose for my seat the wreck of what had once been a gigantic beech-tree, as great in girth, I fancy, as any in Burnham Wood; and, sitting there, I became aware of another relic of the past, an immensely-aged elm trunk.

Trees that are nearly a century old themselves have thrown great branches across the space where the elm once stood and, as they now interlace, it looks from a distance as if the venerable fragment were still the bole that held up some of the foliage overhead. But when you are close to it, you see that the dense green branches above you belong to the trees, one on either side, that shake hands, as it were, over the dead elm's head, and have quite filled up the emptiness that the crashing down of the great tree left a hundred years ago. Was it lightning that struck the giant down? or a storm sweeping over the hill? It offered great hostages to fortune when it stood there, on the brow of the hill, holding up against the down-rushing wind its huge dome of green. And age crept upon it, the rain and snow filtered to the core through the holes the bird and worm had made in its rind, and so one night, when the tempest blew, the traitors within it betrayed it to the wind, and down it came—what a smash it must have been!—out of the sky on to the green grass.

It is hollow now and tunnelled at the top, for the sparrows are at home within, hopping in at holes on one side and out at the other. And just below them, on a knob, sits a starling outside another doorway, and, from the chirpings that issue, you can tell there is a family inside, and a hungry one. Still lower down you can see a round hole, the work of a nuthatch. The middle of the tree, which is mere

tinder, has all crumbled out, leaving a jagged peak of the outer wood upstanding, and in the middle of this is the nuthatch's hole, and, in an idle mood, I fell a wondering when it was made. It looks fresh, and it is quite possible that the bird had all its work for nothing, for birds do many absurd things when building their nests, such hopelessly exasperatingly stupid things that one begins to wonder whether "instinct" does not, perhaps, quite as often make its possessors ridiculous as human "reason." Here, for instance, is what happened to the nuthatch. Its instinct teaches it to go tapping on trees till it finds a hollow-sounding place, and then to commence pecking out an entrance-way to reach the cavity within. Very often, of course, they chip out their holes in the soundest wood of the tree, but, as a rule, they search for a spot that gives out a hollow sound when tapped, and promises easy working by-and-by, or perhaps a ready-made excavation. This is what our nuthatch, no doubt, expected. The wood sounded very hollow, as well it might, seeing that there was nothing at all behind it. But this apparently the small bird did not understand. It may have looked behind and seen there was nothing there, but when it came back and looked at it from in front, the tree seemed solid enough, and so, like a cat with a looking-glass, it never put two and two together, but set to work to peck itself a nesting-place. Soft as the wood was, there were some inches of it to get through, and the nuthatch worked merrily away, thinking it was getting on splendidly, and what a clever little nuthatch it was to have found a spot so easy to dig out, and congratulating itself in all sorts of ways at having got ahead of the other nuthatches who were hammering away at solid tree-trunks, when all of a sudden, pop! its head came through the wall on the other side. I should like to have seen the nuthatch when it first looked through the hole it had been making so nicely, and to have heard what it said. I expect it said something very uncomplimentary about the tree as it looked round to see if any of the other birds had seen what a fool it looked when its head came out on the other side, and then it flew a long way off, pretending to its wife that it had been making the hole "just for the fun of the thing," and telling fibs about having known all along that it was only a kind of board sticking up and not solid.

When the elm fell a part of the trunk ripped away, leaving exposed a "section," as it were, and here is seen a very curious piece of working, where some bird, finding the tree decaying and easy to manage, had sunk a shaft nearly three feet deep. Half way down it had hollowed out a cup-shaped recess in the side of the shaft, the story of which I take to be this: that the first year the bird had its nest at the very bottom of the shaft, and that coming back the year after to the same hole, and not caring to make another nest on the top of the old one, it had pecked out the cup-shaped hollow half-way

down. And a delightfully snug place it must have been. At the bottom of the shaft, now exposed to view, a fly-catcher has built its nest this year; but as every puff of wind that blows switches a branch of the next tree up and down against it, grazing the nest each time and whipping it with its leaves, the mother will find it a very uncomfortable place to sit. And though quite fresh-looking, no bird came near it while I was there, so perhaps she has already been driven away by the perpetual annoyance of the flicking branch. Nor have birds alone possessed the old elm, for a large grub, or caterpillar, has been at work driving tunnels, large enough to put the finger in, through the touch-wood. Perhaps the goat-moth or the stag-beetle. And here, where the surface is all dimpled with little hollows, is where the wasps have been borrowing material for making the paper of their combs; and these holes, like bullet-holes, going straight into the tree, are the tunnels of carpenter bees. But the old tree is a volume in itself, and handsomely illustrated, too, from the life, by Nature.

PHIL ROBINSON.

BEATIFICATION IN THE EAST.

IF Joan of Arc had been destined to fulfil her mission as a native either of China or India, she would not have had to wait four hundred and sixty-three years for her beatification. In all probability within a very few months of her death she would have been not only beatified but fully canonised. Europeans even in these enlightened days still know very little of the manners and customs of Asiatics; to the select few who study such subjects the reasons and methods of beatification are among the most interesting questions which it falls to their lot to investigate. In Europe a beatification occurs not oftener perhaps than once a century; the spirit beatified probably had a great reputation when in the flesh; the process itself is one which has not only religious but political bearings, and naturally excites a certain amount of attention even in the minds of the most disrespectful and sceptical. But in India and China beatification is of almost weekly occurrence, and in the latter country probably at least a dozen new objects of worship are officially recognised by the State every year. Strange to say, the State occasionally degrades a spirit from its throne of grace, and refuses to allow it to be worshipped any longer.

There are three principal modes of beatification as practised in the East. The commonest method is by the voice of the people. "He was a saint!" they exclaim on the death of some remarkable man, and the priests acquiesce, for each new saint brings grist to their mills. When the voice of the people is silent, then, in their own interests, the priests proclaim saints and demand shrines for them. These two methods are especially characteristic of Hindustan. A distinguished writer has compared the process of beatification, canonisation, or deification—whichever term we like to use—to the ascent and descent of Jacob's ladder.

"The Hindus [he says] construct for themselves Jacob's ladders between earth and heaven; the men are seen ascending until they become gods; they then descend again as embodiments of the divinities; insomuch that it may be almost doubted whether any god, except the Vedic divinities and other obvious Nature gods, comes down the ladder who had not originally gone up as a man, and an authentic man."

The Hindu, in a certain stage of enlightenment, is inclined to deify any notable person, not necessarily waiting for his death. While Warren Hastings was on his trial in England it was stated as an argument in his favour that he was being worshipped in his appropriate temple in India. M. Raymond, a French commander, has been canonised at Hyderabad; and General Nicholson, killed at Delhi in 1857, was worshipped in his lifetime, though certainly from no feelings of affection on the part of his devotees. The Hindu, as was truly said by Burke, when the worship of Hastings was alluded to, deifies a man and adores him not only from love but also from fear. He has no rational theory about the gods. He knows that a tyrant in the flesh must be propitiated, and he thinks that after death the spirit of the tyrant is as powerful to injure as the spirit of an ascetic is anxious to benefit. Both therefore are to be kept in good humour by such posthumous honours as he is able to confer. Hence arise the numberless local shrines commemorating the power for good or evil of some village Hampden or little tyrant of the fields, unknown perhaps beyond a radius of ten miles, though the local priest, naturally enough, is ever attempting to widen his sphere of influence. The custom of beatification or deification during lifetime has its disadvantages. Sir Alfred Lyall relates that in Afghanistan about ten or fifteen years ago, certain villagers close to our frontier arranged to strangle a saint who took up his abode among them, in order to secure his tomb within their lands. It is indeed easy to see that an important shrine attracting hosts of pilgrims would have a very beneficial effect on local trade; a fact, by-the-by, very well understood in Europe in the Middle Ages.

But interesting and important as the Hindu methods of deification are, those of the Chinese are far more curious. In China the Emperor claims power, not only over his subjects (and indeed, for that matter, the whole inhabited world), but also over the realms of departed spirits. These he beatifies, canonises, decorates with titles, mentions with approval in the *Peking Gazette* when they do anything to deserve that honour, and actually degrades and uncanonises if he sees just cause. In the latter respect his power over the departed clearly exceeds that even of the Pope himself. For example, the Emperor Hieng-fung elevated the god of war to an equal rank with Confucius, who previously had been chief among the State gods. Sir Alfred Lyall has drawn attention to some amusing extracts from the *Peking Gazette*, illustrating the way in which the

Chinese treat their deities. Thus the *Gazette* of Nov. 1878 has the following :

"The Governor-General of the Yellow River requests that a tablet may be put up in honour of the river god. He states that during the transmission of relief rice to Honan, whenever difficulties were encountered through shallows, wind, or ruin, the river god interposed in the most unmistakable manner, so that the transport of grain went on without hindrance.—*Order* : Let the proper office prepare a tablet for the temple of the river god."

In April 1880 the god of locusts was similarly rewarded ; a month or two earlier, the temple of the Sea Dragon at Hoyang was decreed a memorial board for services rendered in connection with rain ; and in another *Gazette* the god of water is given a new temple by special rescript. All this procedure is thoroughly in keeping with the notions of the common people of China, who look upon the gods simply as human beings in a different set of conditions. There is a Chinese tribe which believes that it depends on a certain god for its rain supply. When the rain falls neither too scantily nor too plentifully, the god is most respectfully treated ; but when there is either a drought or a heavy downpour, the unfortunate deity is conducted to the nearest river and held under water until it is supposed that his breath is nearly exhausted, and then frightened half out of his wits by the beating of innumerable gongs. After this humiliation he is put back in his temple and warned to behave himself better in future. In Tibet they punish the disease gods much in the same manner ; and the classical scholar will call to mind how Xerxes punished the Hellespont with branding and flogging ; how Cyrus punished the river Gyndes for drowning a sacred white horse ; how Pheron speared the Nile and was blind for ten years in consequence ; how Achilles fought with Scamander ; how the Psylli attacked the South Wind ; how the Atarantes daily cursed the sun god ; how the Egyptians maltreated the statue of Winter ; and many similar instances, all showing how close the gods were to men in olden days.

Here is a decree conferring a title on a departed spirit, from the *Peking Gazette* of May 1878 :

"A decree conferring a great title upon the Dragon Spirit of Hian Tan Hien, in whose temple is the well in which the iron tablet is deposited. This spirit has from time to time manifested itself in answer to prayer, and has been repeatedly invested with titles of honour. In consequence of this year's drought, prayers were again offered up, and the provinces (mentioned) have been visited with sufficient rain. Our gratitude is indeed profound, and we ordain that the Dragon Spirit shall be invested with the additional title of the Dragon Spirit of the Sacred Well."

It is to be hoped there is a Burke in China capable of editing a spiritual peerage, for some of the titles conferred by the Emperor are very long. Witness the following (to which in a *Gazette* of 1877

additions are made): "Moisture-diffusing, beneficial-aid-affording, universal-support-vouchsafing Prince."* The author already quoted gives two extracts from the *Peking Gazette* showing the process of beatification pure and simple in China. They are extremely interesting because they are so very matter-of-fact. Here is one of them:

"A decree (issued May 1878) sanctioning the recommendation that a temple to Fuh Tsung, a statesman of the Ming dynasty, may be placed on the list of those at which the officials are to offer periodical libations. The spirit of the deceased statesman has manifested itself effectively on several occasions, when rebels have threatened the district town, and has more than once interposed when prayers have been offered for rain."

The other extract announces that

"The Governor of Anwhei forwards (Nov. 1878) a petition from the gentry of Ying Chow, praying that sacrifices may be offered to the late Famine Commissioner in Honan, in the temple already erected to the memory of his father. The father had been Superintendent of the Grain Transport, and had greatly distinguished himself in operations against some rebels. The son had also done excellent service, and the local gentry had heard of his death with great grief. They earnestly pray that sacrifices may be offered to him as well as to his father.—*Granted.*"

But Sir Alfred Lyall has by no means exhausted the humours of the *Peking Gazette*. Since his book was written a most interesting series of transactions has been recorded therein, which are the more instructive because they give the Emperor occasion to declare that in the canonisation of saints he desires to act in accordance with popular feeling. Three numbers of the *Gazette* in 1891 were occupied with the question of the particular canonisation which gave rise to this remark; it will amuse the reader to learn that not only did the Emperor canonise a spirit, but, on further information being laid before him, uncanonised him again and left him in a condition of inferior bliss, corresponding to beatification in the Roman Church. It seems that the late Ma Ju-lung was formerly commander-in-chief in Yunnan. A memorial in the style illustrated above was presented to the Emperor by certain local notabilities, stating his good works, and praying that posthumous honours might be conferred on him. He had distinguished himself in the great Mahometan rebellion of May 1870. "First and last," said they, "he was instrumental in killing over 10,000 of the enemy, and in his own person practically decided the fate of Yunnan." The Emperor duly considered the statements set forth in the memorial, and before long issued the gratifying decree in the *Peking Gazette*, that the highest honours possible to be accorded to one of Ma Ju-lung's rank be conferred on

* Cf. Dante, "Paradiso," canto xxiv., where St. Peter appears with his Roman Catholic title of Baron; in the following canto St. James is mentioned as having the same rank. Boccaccio, Cg. vi. N. 10, speaks of "Baron Messer Santo Antonio."

his spirit; that a temple be erected in the capital of Yunnan; and that his deeds be recorded by the State historiographer.

Ma Ju-lung was therefore duly beatified and canonised; he was to be worshipped as a saint. But the number of the *Gazette* containing these announcements struck rage and despair into the breasts of many in Yunnan. In their eyes the upstart saint was a good-for-nothing scamp, and his admirers mere pettifogging traders. In the rebellion he was a traitor and sold himself to the enemy. If he was instrumental in killing 10,000 of the Mahometans, he massacred, when in their pay, at least 40,000 loyal Chinese. He was a perfect monster of cruelty, and was only accepted as an ally of the Emperor's party because it was politic to make terms with him. All this they set forth in a counter-memorial, with much more besides. Did he not "ride in a yellow chair, and in all things do as he pleased?" Did he not, when ordered to use a green chair, again enter into treacherous negotiations with the Mahometans? If the honours bestowed on him are not withdrawn, the memorialists express a fear that tens of thousands of innocent souls whom he sent to Hades will be unable to close their eyes for indignation. After some delay, in reply to this counterblast, comes a highly important and noteworthy decree from the Emperor, published, as usual, in the *Peking Gazette*. He had considered the second memorial, and now declared that, since the erection of a temple to a spirit could only be permitted where the people were practically unanimous in its favour, that portion of his decree relating to the temple should be cancelled. But as blame and praise seemed in the present instance to be equally apportioned, the rank conferred on Ma Ju-lung's spirit was to stand good, and his deeds were still to be recorded by the State official appointed for such duties. Observe that the important part of this decree is the recognition of the *vox populi* as identical to a great extent with the *vox Dei*. The Emperor, in making this admission, abandoned the position his predecessors have maintained for centuries, of being the intermediary between heaven and earth, and the sole fountain of honour. He recognises the fact that in matters relating to spiritual rank canonisation cannot possibly be a success unless the people acquiesce. The strength of his position, however, is not impaired by this recognition, for, supposing him to have made a *faux pas* in elevating an unpopular spirit, he has only to wait till his officials report the misbehaviour of the said spirit and then decree that he is to be degraded, and haunt lonely desolate places as a punishment. Before now it has happened that by way of punishment a spirit has been forbidden by imperial decree ever to appear incarnate on the earth again—a serious doom in the eyes of all Tibetans and many Chinese Buddhists.

It is evident that, in China and out of it, the moment the idea of

conferring a favour on a spirit arises in the minds of men, the idea of punishing spirits, if only by abstaining from conferring favours, must accompany it. In the East both notions appear natural, because death and life are not so sharply divided as they are according to Western theories. All forms of creation, both in the spiritual and the visible worlds, are as it were knit more closely together. A man dies, it is true, but his spirit remains in the same district. Perhaps it will be re-incarnate in another man, or in a tiger, or in a frog, or in a snake. The frog and the snake, animated by the human spirit, are handicapped by their physical forms, but the intelligent human spirit is in them all the same. There seems nothing strange to an Oriental in animals talking as they do, for instance, in the *Hitopadesa*. So, again, the line separating the human from the superhuman is very indistinct. It may be truly said that in the East some men are born gods, some achieve godship, and some have godship forced upon them. How inconvenient it may prove to be deified during lifetime is sufficiently indicated by the hazardous position of the Afghan deity whose tomb was considered so much preferable to his company. Indeed, the Oriental god may be between two fires. On the one hand, the ignorant villagers regard him as too good to live; on the other hand, the native police consider him too dangerous to be at large, as in the case of the celebrated deity who ventured to manifest himself in a place where he was not wanted. Concerning him the chief commissioner of the district is said to have received the following pithy telegram from a subordinate: "A new god has appeared on the Swat frontier; the police are after him." In nations where the minor gods are treated so cavalierly it is as natural for the fathers to kill the prophets as for the sons to build their sepulchres. While the common people feel the same reverence for a great State god as they do for any other great official of the State, they feel no more respect for a local god than they do for a local man. Both are judged on their merits. Hence it is that promotion of spirits by imperial decree seems nothing very extraordinary to the Chinese mind. The Emperor is a holy person shrouded in mystery; it may well be that the great spirits hold communion with him and inspire his beatifications in the *Gazette*. As to what precise power he may possess in this spiritual world the loyal Chinese subject is not in a position to say; this he knows, that the Emperor rewards and punishes those whom he beatifies, and no protest against his spiritual jurisdiction has ever yet been raised by those most concerned.

The whole subject of the power of the living over the dead is one that deserves quite as much consideration as that of the power of the dead over the living. The fact is, that one belief is as ancient, widespread, and natural to mankind as the other. Though intelligent

Roman Catholics will no doubt attach a much deeper significance to the recent beatification of Joan of Arc, no one can doubt, for a moment that the poorer classes will imagine that the Pope has rendered her position better, more blessed, in the spiritual world. Let those who feel inclined to smile ask themselves if they too are quite free from similar beliefs. From the time of the Witch of Endor to the day of the fashionable spirit-medium there have been large classes of apparently intelligent people who show in numerous ways the world-old faith that is in them. Among the poor of England there is a wide-spread belief that burial is a matter of interest to the deceased. They have not such clear theories on the subject of funeral rites as the Homeric Greeks, but they are equally unable to distinguish their present conceptions from their posthumous sensations. "If you don't bury me in such-and-such a place," said a poor woman, with great emotion, to her husband, "I'll haunt you!" And how many a dying spouse has dreaded the re-marriage of the relict! Being interpreted, these vague dreads clearly signify a belief that the actions of the living can render the spirits of the dead more happy or more miserable than they would otherwise be. That other religious notions are interwoven with them it would be idle to deny. But what shall we say of spirits called from the vasty deep to talk at the bidding of a medium? or to sit for their photographs? or even to have plaster casts taken of them?—for all these indignities have been offered by the living to the dead within the last ten years in England. Is not this at least as great a bid for power in the unseen world as any of the decrees of Pope or Chinese Emperor? These acts are not, it is true, recorded in the official Gazette; but there are a dozen newspapers in France, Russia and America which do record them. It is curious, however, that, while Western nations vie with those of the East in superstitions of the most degrading type, they let their thoughts dwell always on the influence of the dead on the living, and shut out from their minds the influence they constantly assume themselves to have over the dead. Strange as it may appear, there is scarcely a nation or a people that does not postulate the same power. In China, Hindustan, and in the classical instances shortly alluded to above, the idea is not disguised. Nor can there be any two opinions in the popular mind on the result of a papal beatification, or the effect of masses for the dead. But take the case of a nation like the Jews. We have commonly been told that the reason the Jewish parent so earnestly desired the birth of a son was on account of the possibility of the son being the long-looked-for Messiah. No doubt that possibility is present to the mind of the orthodox Jew, but it is in no spirit of disrespect that we say that among a people so pre-eminently cool-headed in the calculation of odds, such a prospect must seem at best a very vague and shadowy one. The real reason

of the ardent desire of the Jew for a male child in old times, and possibly to this day among the strictly orthodox, is to be looked for elsewhere. Not only had he the ordinary motives for desiring a son, common alike to Jew and Gentile, but it was part of his faith that after his death his son could deliver his soul from torment. The following is the passage from the Kabbalah bearing on this point :

"The influence of the son is relatively greater and more blessed than that of the father, for the merits of the father do not profit the son except in matters relating to this world (as by bequeathing him worldly inheritance) ; whereas the merits of the son do more than benefit the father in this world : they benefit him also in the world to come, by saying *Kadish*, which is enough to deliver his soul from purgatory."—*Kitzur Sh'ulh*, fol. 10, col. 2.

The mission that devolved on Hamlet with respect to the peace of his father's perturbed spirit was in effect supposed to devolve on every male Jew at his father's death. And obviously it might be in the power of an unmeritorious son to render his father's spirit very miserable and uncomfortable.

It would be interesting to pursue this inquiry further, but perhaps this would involve the introduction of Asiatic legends and customs and names with which the reader would not be prepared to grapple. Any thoughtful student of European history, however, will recognise that from first to last this assumption of the power of the living to influence the fortunes of the dead has been taken for granted in the West as well as in the East. The story of Patroclus in the Iliad shows it ; Herodotus illustrates it over and over again ; the mythology of the Romans recognises it ; the Churchmen of the Middle Ages were never tired of proclaiming it ; Jew, Chinaman, Hindu, and European not only have believed in it from time immemorial, but, however they may disguise their faith, believe in it still. What ground there may be for the belief it is not within the limits of this article to discuss.

L. M. BRUNTON.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY.

WHILE there is, so to speak, a drawn battle between those who were in favour of the proposals made last winter by the Government in the Employers' Liability Bill and those who opposed them, it may be opportune to offer suggestions for more completely dealing with this question. Although the Government Bill has been abandoned, the question is still before us, and its consideration must before long be resumed until some settlement is arrived at. Workmen will not cease to agitate for a change in the law, the necessity for which has been recognised by two Governments. There were amendments proposed to the Bill of the Government to compensate for all accidents which might befall workmen in the same way as is done by the large companies which have accident funds, and there is no doubt that there is a growing body of opinion in favour of some method of general compensation, as the question is regarded by many as one that cannot be finally settled until this is done. The only way in which all accidents can be compensated for is by making insurance compulsory on employers, by payment to an accident insurance office or to a Government managed insurance fund. I have therefore estimated the probable cost to the industries of the country which such a system of insurance would entail. In support of the equity of the demand and of its necessity, it may be advisable to first explain the nature of the liability before discussing the comparative advantages of the two methods of securing compensation to workmen who are injured and to their representatives if killed.

WHAT IS THE LIABILITY?

Opposition to Employers' Liability has largely arisen from a mistaken view of the question. Those who look upon it as a liability thrust upon the employer, naturally ask the question, Why should an

employer be liable for accidents caused by a fellow-workman whose actions are quite beyond his control? On the other hand, the workmen say, Why should the employer not be liable for the mistakes of fellow-workmen; and also of those in authority, whom we have no voice in selecting but are compelled to work with and under as a condition of employment? Such questions might be largely multiplied, but it would be a waste of time to answer them, as they arise from a misapprehension of the true state of the case. Using the words "Employers' Liability" makes it to many a personal question which is misleading, and accounts for a great deal of the exaggerated language that has been used in the discussion. The true definition is "Employment Liability," as the risks of severe injuries and death to workmen arising from their employment should form a necessary cost of the work. In considering ordinary occupations this aspect of the question is lost sight of, but when we take a special case it clearly presents itself. Let us deal with the instance of the Manchester Ship Canal. During its construction there were 130 men fatally injured, 185 permanently disabled, and 997 injured but not seriously, making a total of 1312 accidents. Now, those who know how undertakings of this kind are carried out are aware that the whole of the "service" works necessary in constructing the main work itself are of a temporary character—railways, bridges, roads, staging, gangways, &c., are all made for temporary use—while the main work is being carried out, and accidents are therefore inevitable. And it follows that from the nature of the work it would be almost impossible in any case to attach blame to an employer. It would be a rare instance indeed where a workman, if he had to go to law, would recover compensation. Is it not therefore clear that in a case of this kind every person injured should be compensated? It is idle to discuss the theory (because it is no more than a theory) that some speakers have advanced that there ought to be no accidents. "Accidents will happen," and in the case of carrying out great public works they are as certain to occur as that to-morrow will follow to-day; it is impossible to prevent them all by any precautions that can be devised. The accidents on the Manchester Ship Canal mostly occurred through men being run over by locomotives or waggons. A few occurred through men falling from scaffolds and bridges in the cuttings. Cleaning machinery in motion and other causes account for some, but the great majority of them were caused on the service railways that were necessary to carry out the work. To estimate what the risks were to the workmen on the Canal we may compare them with the railway accidents arising from the movements of rolling stock. In 1892 there were 14 men killed and 77 men injured for every 10,000 employed on the railways, and on the Ship Canal there were about 25 killed and 225 injured in every 10,000. Ship Canal men

therefore, ran nearly twice as much risk of being killed and more than three times as much risk of being injured as railway men. This enormous risk is not taken into account in the wages paid to a navvy. He would get the same wages, or nearly so, on a job where there was no such risk. This risk to life and limb ought, therefore, to attach to the work itself and be compensated for.

Let us take another publicwork of a different kind—the Forth Bridge. There were between July 1883 and Christmas 1889 fifty-seven fatal, about 80 severe, and 518 minor accidents, and, as the average number of workmen during the six or seven years of chief activity was about 3000, it will be seen that the risks to the men were in this case greater than in making the Manchester Ship Canal. But it is inevitable that in work of this kind there must be many accidents. The wages paid to all classes of workmen on the Forth Bridge were as a whole rather above the average, but the risks to the men in proportion to other employments must have been much greater, and in this case likewise the risk to life and limb should form part of the cost. I am not now dealing with what was done for the injured workmen and the relatives of those killed, because in both cases far more compensation was paid to them than they could have obtained under the law. I am only showing the necessity for recognising that the risks run by workmen are risks the cost of which should form part of the cost of the work they are engaged in.

Take another illustration. Perhaps there was no part of the Employers' Liability Bill of last Session so utterly worthless to those it was intended to benefit and protect as that which related to seamen. While it furnished every facility for shipowners being plundered to an almost limitless extent, seamen would not have received anything to speak of, and how fares it with them? While the House of Commons were endeavouring to put sailors in a better position than they occupy at present—but which would in effect have made them mere tools for the benefit of lawyers—our coasts were strewn with their dead bodies from the gale of last November, for which not one farthing of compensation would have been received by those who were dependent upon them. The case of sailors is, in point of unpaid danger, on all fours with workmen, say, on the Ship Canal. Their wages cover nothing for the enormous risks connected with their occupation, and here also the employment should bear the cost of compensation for injury and death. The Bill provided for the liability of the employer if he or a fellow seaman could be proved to be in fault. What would be the worth of such a law in the case of the men who were drowned in the recent gale, one of the ordinary gales which visit our coast every year? In all such cases we cannot say, much less prove, that any one was to blame, and all the Bill, therefore, offered to a seaman was the possibility of engaging in a

law-suit with the shipowner, out of which he would most likely recover nothing for himself.

Now let us make an estimate of what it would have cost to have compensated every man for injury, and his relatives if he was killed, in the three occupations above named. The Manchester Ship Canal, apart from the purchase of the Bridgewater undertaking, cost about £13,000,000. Assuming the wages of the injured men averaged 25*s.* a week, the compensation, say three years' wages if killed or permanently disabled, would be nearly £200 each, which, with an average of say £40 for smaller injuries, would have added a sum of about £100,000 to the total cost of the work. The same scale of compensation in the case of the Forth Bridge, allowing for a higher average of wages, would have added say £60,000 to the £3,225,000 which the bridge cost.

In the case of shipping, I take the last official figures obtainable, which show that in 1892 there were 219,560 officers, seamen, firemen, boys, &c., employed in British steamers and ships registered in the United Kingdom. And in that year 1835 seamen lost their lives by drowning or other accidents. The annual wages of the masters, officers, seamen, firemen, and others may be taken at about £13,000,000, and an average compensation of £150 for each life would amount to say £277,500.

I think it is indisputable that the risks to life and limb which are inseparable from such employments as making canals, railways, bridges, and going to sea should no longer be a liability of the workman, but should be a liability attaching to and forming part of the cost of the work, and there are other employments of which this can be said with as much force. Take the case of the ordinary dock labourer. His work is carried on under such risks that there will always be a large number of men accidentally injured and killed annually. In building houses and ships, we have conditions very similar to those which attend the carrying out of public works. Around buildings and ships in course of construction, there are gangways, platforms, and scaffolding, all fixed in a temporary way, to serve a temporary purpose, and a number of accidents must result. When we leave the before-named out-of-door employments, we find the number of accidents, both fatal and otherwise, to be, comparatively speaking, very few; but if the principle is right, that the cost of compensation should attach to the employment, it must apply to every business, no matter how slight the risk may be. On all occupations the insurance premiums charged would be strictly relevant to the dangers attached to them, and those occupations at which few accidents occur would, of course, pay smaller premiums than those which are dangerous.

Assuming that the view contended for is correct, we have now to consider what it would cost to compensate for every accident, and how

it may be carried out. Many employers suppose that to compensate for all accidents would be so costly as to constitute a new tax on commerce, but this is not the case. The whole of the accidents are directly or indirectly paid for at the present time by the persons injured, or their friends and relatives, and failing these by charity or the State. Not only is this so, but there would be little difficulty in showing that by far the most economical way in which this charge could be met would be by the direct intervention of a fund created for the purpose. It has been shown in the case of three dangerous employments taken for illustration that this cost would amount at most to a sum that would not affect the position of the different industries. We would not have fewer canals or bridges, or less shipping, because the men injured and killed in their construction or working, and those dependent on them, were compensated, and in the case of non-dangerous employments the premium would be so small as to be inappreciable.

THE TWO METHODS OF SECURING COMPENSATION.

One method is to require employers to insure the amount of compensation in an Accident Office. The other is by creating an Accident Fund, managed by a Government department to which the premiums would be paid in the same way as to an insurance office. Whatever method is adopted, it must secure to the workmen compensation for all accidents, no matter how they may arise, in the same way as they are met by the accident funds at present worked in connection with some large railway companies. Workmen have objections to insuring compensation; they think it may make employers less careful; but as employers are now legally liable for only about one accident in ten, what workmen fear could only apply to this proportion, and therefore the want of insurance for compensation of the other nine accidents would in such cases merely damage the workmen themselves. Some employers also object to insurance, on the ground that, first, it is a very costly method of providing security for compensation; and, secondly, from an impression that insurance companies may force workmen into court, instead of settling promptly. The first of these two reasons has much force, but if employers are made liable, there would have to be compulsory insurance, otherwise workmen would in many cases not be able to obtain their compensation. On this point the Home Secretary, in introducing the Employers' Liability Bill, said:

"It is obvious that if the employer is to be made liable to workmen for all injuries sustained in the course of their employment, whether due to neglect of the employer or any other cause, he must protect himself by insurance, and that it is only by a system of universal industrial insurance that such a proposal may be made consistent with justice."

Most persons will agree with the foregoing statement, but assuming that insurance by companies is meant, there are objections to this method of dealing with accidents. The premiums would be high, on account of the cost of carrying on such business. The expenses of managing accident insurance companies cannot be taken at less than about 40 per cent. of their total premiums, therefore, of every £100 paid in premiums, there could be only £60 left to meet claims. I am now assuming that the interest upon the invested capital and funds of the companies would meet the dividend on their capital. A payment of £10 to insure the repayment, in case of accident, of £6 is, on the score of expense, a method that does not recommend itself. No doubt if insurance was made compulsory, and adequate legislative restraint placed on companies, the increased business would enable them to lessen their expenses materially; but this is problematical, as no one can say that competition might not still cause companies to expend large amounts in advertising and agency. The objection to insurance companies on the ground of their being likely not to make prompt settlements, and thus to force workmen and employers into court, is, I believe, unfounded. The interest of accident insurance companies, like those of fire and marine, is to meet liabilities promptly. Employers would cease to give business to companies that raised difficulties in settling claims. A more serious objection to insurance companies is in connection with the distribution of the benefits. The object of compensation is to support workmen while injured, and if killed, to support those dependent upon them, who otherwise might sink into a state of poverty, or even become a public burden, a condition very bad both for themselves and the State. Insurance companies could carry out the first part of this by weekly payments, as the time would be limited; but the second part—that is to say, continued payments in support of those dependent upon a workman killed—would be found to be almost impossible. They could only distribute death benefits in a lump sum, and this plan of payment immediately on death would in some cases give no real benefit to the receivers, as from want of self-control, the money might be wasted, instead of being used with thriftiness while children were growing up until old enough to work, and, in the case of widows, until death or re-marriage.

With an accident fund managed by Government the conditions are in all respects more favourable. Insurance companies require to be guaranteed by large capital on which they must pay a dividend, but a Government department would require no capital at all. The expenses of Government management should not be more than 5 per cent. on the gross amount of the funds, probably they would be less than this; therefore, out of every £10 contributed in premiums, £9 10s. would be available for distribution in benefits. Many employers who

object to insurance on account of the high rates charged by offices, would not object to contribute to a fund managed by Government where the working expenses would be almost nominal. The Government could insure a much better and more effective distribution of benefits than is possible by insurance companies, and this might be done by weekly payments made in any part of the country through the Post Office. Possession of this means of distribution gives management by Government at once an enormous advantage over any other system. A further advantage would be that the department would be able to exercise discretion in the distribution of the benefits. In some cases it would happen that a man was killed who left no relatives, on the other hand, there would be cases in which many dependent persons were to be provided for, and the saving where there were no heirs would provide a surplus which could be applied in such cases. No extra contribution should fall on employers on account of the number of children a workman might have, otherwise this would operate against those with children obtaining employment; on the other hand, all the children of a workman must have some support in the event of his death. Therefore an important advantage of Government management would be that they would save when there was no heir, and, on the other hand, they would have the power to pay a larger amount than the usual compensation where there were many children or other dependent relatives. Full consideration of this part of the subject would carry us too far afield and be beyond our immediate object, which is to show the advantages of compensation for all accidents from a fund managed by Government. It would take too much space to discuss exhaustively every detail of the method or the scope of possible distribution. It is sufficient to show that in reference to the cost of maintaining the fund as well as to its management and distribution, the Government possesses means and facilities so great as to be more effective than any machinery that could be created by insurance offices.

But notwithstanding this it would be undesirable to make insurance with a Government department compulsory. The public interest would be best served by allowing employers to insure either with companies or with the Government. Although the Post Office has for years past carried on life insurance business—for which they possess exceptional advantages—nevertheless the business of the companies has suffered no diminution and so far the Post Office business has been so small that it may almost be looked upon as a practical failure. It might, therefore, be a mistake to assume that a Government department would succeed in obtaining all or even most of the business, and in any case it would be better to permit the free play of competition.

ESTIMATED COST OF STATE MANAGEMENT OF AN ACCIDENT FUND.

If we had a complete industrial census, and an adequate record of accidents, it would be a very simple matter to calculate how much compensation would cost under State control; but even in the absence of full details there are a sufficient number of facts obtainable to enable an approximate estimate to be arrived at. Assuming that liability would attach to every person who employs another for wages, and that every accident was compensated for, the cost would work out somewhat as follows. The Census figures are taken as a basis:

The total population of the United Kingdom at the Census of 1891 was	37,732,922
Deducting those entered as non-producers, namely, women, children, scholars, and others numbering	20,917,219
there remain	16,815,703
The soldiers and sailors employed in the defence of the country on the day of the Census were	165,354
and those employed under the General and Local Governments, including police- men and all officials, who are mostly pen- sioned, or otherwise so provided for and so little liable to accidents that we may leave them out of account	192,396
	357,750
This reduces the number to	16,457,953

which we may consider would come within the scope of an accident law, excepting, of course, such of them as are employers or workers on their own account. Of the 16,457,953 there are, say 6,000,000 who follow occupations more or less risky; all the rest are engaged in employments almost free from accidents, of which the following is a summary:

Persons engaged in professional occupations and their immediate subordinates	887,532
Engaged in commercial occupations — Merchants, agents, clerks, &c.	504,143
Domestic servants	2,341,696
Engaged in agriculture and fishing	2,526,690
Dress — Tailors, dressmakers, milliners, &c.	1,376,326
Food and lodging — Employed in the preparation and sale of food, &c.	977,152
Books, prints, and maps — Employed in their prepa- ration and sale	173,346
Employed in furnishing and house decoration	158,399
Porters, messengers, warehousemen, &c.	260,284
Dealers and workers in paper, oil, gum, &c.	215,438
Shopkeepers, dealers, pawnbrokers, &c.	107,835
Costermongers, hawkers, &c.	67,717
Miscellaneous occupations	661,135
	<hr/> 10,257,693

There are no statistics as to accidents in the above classes, and there are no doubt very few of them. Some occur in connection with the working of agricultural machinery. Fishermen are also liable to be drowned; but so many of them fish on shares or for their own account, or are employers, that the majority of them would probably be outside any accident law. There are also some risks to those employed in printing offices, who are included in the foregoing summary, but the accidents would be few and rarely fatal. A very large proportion of those enumerated are either employers or carry on business on their own account. At least two-thirds of the professional, and probably a half of the commercial classes, are so; and having regard to the number of small farmers in Ireland, there are probably at least a half of those engaged in agriculture who would not come within the law. Of those employed in the manufacture and sale of dress and food about a third of the number may be taken as working on their own account. This proportion will, however, be small in the case of those engaged in the book and house furnishing and decorating trades. The domestics may be taken as entirely in the employment of others. Of those employed as shopkeepers, pawnbrokers, hawkers, &c., a very large number are either employers, or work on their own account. When all these are deducted, there will probably be out of the 10,257,693 about 7,000,000 persons remaining who are in the employment of others and who would be covered by an accident law; but the risks are so small in all these occupations that an almost nominal premium would suffice to meet them.

I shall now summarise the risky occupations in which accidents chiefly occur, and these vary from those nearly free from danger to others which are very hazardous. The existing statistics relating to fatal accidents may be taken as fairly correct, but the statistics of non-fatal accidents issued by the Board of Trade and Home Office are very defective, and it is difficult to say how many of these would have to be compensated from an accident fund. I shall, therefore, make an estimate of the cost of compensating the fatal accidents only, and afterwards supplement the amount by an estimate of the probable cost of other accidents. The statistics of fatal accidents with which I deal are those given for the year 1892, and to facilitate calculation I take £200 as the average equivalent of three years' wages, which is the maximum amount recoverable by a workman under the Employers' Liability Act. The following numbers of persons employed are taken from the Census Returns after deducting those who either work for themselves or are employers.

Seamen, including captains, officers, sailors, firemen, stewards, &c., forming the crews of British ships registered in the United Kingdom, number say 220,000. In 1892 the number who lost their lives was 1835, which, at £150 each, would amount in compensation to £275,250.

Miners number 650,000, of whom 1068 lost their lives in 1892, and at £200 the compensation would be £213,600.

Railway-men employed by the different companies number 382,000. This, no doubt, includes many who are not liable to accident, such as officials, clerks, and others. In 1892 there were 575 railway-men killed, which at £200 would be £115,000.

Labourers of all kinds number about 850,000, of whom there are about 66,000 entered as dock and wharf labourers. According to the proportion of men killed by accidents in the London docks, the total number of dock and wharf labourers who are accidentally killed at the different ports in a year are about 160. I may here mention that the owners of the London docks compensate every man who is injured and the relatives of those killed while in their employ, without reference to the cause of the accident, although they would be legally liable in very few cases. Those entered as General labourers in the Census are about 750,000, and the Factory labourers as between 30,000 and 40,000. This classification can only be taken as approximate; labourers rarely give sufficient particulars to show how they should be classified. Factory and general labourers do not run the same risks as those employed in docks. Taken all round, their risks are probably not more than one-third as many as those of dock labourers. On this basis, therefore, the general and factory labourers would have 640 deaths per annum, which, added to 160 of dock labourers, would make 800 men accidentally killed each year. Their wages will average less than 20s. a week taking broken time into account, but assuming three years' wages as £150, the compensation would amount to £120,000.

Iron, steel, and other metal workers, including engineers, stokers and firemen in factories, machine workers, machinists, mechanics, &c., number about 1,100,000. From a Parliamentary Return made in 1890 dealing with one year's accidents in factories and workshops of this class we find that among 957,300 men employed there were 238 fatal accidents. Assuming that those represent the fatal accidents of an average year, this would give 274 in 1,100,000 men employed, which at £200 each would amount to £54,800.

Quarrymen of slate and stone number about 60,000, and according to the Report on Open Quarries just issued, the fatalities may be taken as about 90 in a year, the compensation for which at £200 each would amount to £18,000.

Carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, &c., employed in the building trades number about 700,000. There are no figures available to show how many fatal accidents occur in these occupations, but in some of them the risks are few, whilst in others they are considerable. There are, however, probably not more than 200 fatal accidents per year in connection with the building trades, which at £200 each would be £40,000.

Coachmen, cabmen, grooms, carriers, waggoners, &c., employed on roads, number about 400,000, and while in some of these occupations

comparatively little risk is run, there are others in which accidents are more frequent. In the absence of any figures whatever to show what these are, I assume there are 100 fatal cases in each year, which at £200 would equal £20,000.

Explosives.—In the manufacture of these there are about 4000 men engaged, and the work is usually considered to be very dangerous. This opinion is not supported by the statistics given in the Report of the Inspector, which shows that during the last ten years the average number of persons killed has been between seven and eight. There has been an average of nearly thirty-two fatal accidents during the same time in using explosives, which are partly included in the fatal accidents reported by Mine Inspectors. It is not easy to ascertain whether they are all or how many are included in the Reports, as Mine Inspectors are not under any obligation to report deaths from explosions, except those by fire-damp, when it is considered necessary to have a special investigation into the circumstances. Taking the average deaths per annum at 8 in connection with the manufacture, storage and transport of explosives, and adding the same number for those killed by their use and not included in the Mining Inspectors' Reports, we have sixteen altogether which would require £3200 as compensation.

Textile Industries.—The fatal accidents in these industries are not numerous having regard to the large number of persons employed, which may be taken at 1,275,000. The Parliamentary Return already quoted in reference to Steel and Iron Industries gives accident statistics for the year 1889, showing that in textile occupations employing 1,034,631 persons there were fifty-eight fatal accidents. Assuming the same ratio of fatal accidents amongst the 1,275,000 persons at present employed in textile industries, the annual fatalities would be seventy-two, which at £200 each would require £14,400 as compensation.

Chemical workers number about 20,000. Although such trades are unhealthy they are not dangerous and deaths by accident are few. Taking these at ten per annum, the compensation would be £2000.

The following tables are summaries of the foregoing estimates :

	Total number employed.		Killed by accident in a year.		Amount required for compensation.
Scamen (including all employed in ships)	220,000	...	1,835	...	£277,250
Miners	650,000	...	1,068	...	213,600
Railwaymen (including clerks, officials, &c.)	382,000	...	575	...	115,000
Quarrymen	60,000	...	90	...	18,000
Manufacturing, storage, and trans- porting explosives	4,000	...	16	...	3,200
Iron, Steel, and Metal workers .	1,100,000	...	274	...	54,800
Employed in the Textile industries	1,275,000	...	72	...	14,400
	3,691,000	...	3,930	...	£694,250

We have statistics relating to the deaths by accident in all the before-named industries, but in the case of the last four the numbers are not made up with the same completeness as they are in respect to the first three.

But we have no official statistics relating to accidents in the following occupations, and have therefore to estimate the number :

	Total number employed.		Killed by accident in a year.		Amount required for compensation.
Labourers of all kinds	850,000	...	800	...	£120,000
Employed in the building trades (except labourers)	700,000	...	200	...	40,000
Employed on roads (carriers, coach- men, waggoners, carters, &c.) .	400,000	...	100	...	20,000
Employed in chemical works . .	20,000	...	10	...	2,000
	1,970,000	...	1,110	...	£182,000

Some may think 200 fatal accidents are too few to expect in the building trades, but it is to be noted that builders' labourers, to whom many of the accidents happen, are included in their class, and not in those employed in the building trades, which mean joiners, bricklayers, masons, slaters, paper-hangers, plumbers, &c. Of these, the bricklayers, elaters, and masons, who are mostly liable to accidents, are fewer than half of the whole number.

We have, therefore, actual statistical data relating to say 3,691,000 workers, amongst whom there would be about 3930 fatal accidents per annum, while we have none for about 1,970,000 workers, amongst whom we estimate there would be 1110 fatal accidents, that is to say, we have statistics in reference to about 78 per cent., or nearly four-fifths of the fatal accidents. No large errors can therefore have crept into our estimate of the cost of compensating them. The above table shows that 69 per cent. of the total fatalities occur to seamen, miners, and railway-men, and that they are far more numerous with seamen than in any other employment. Fatalities have, however, been rapidly decreasing in number during recent years, the accidental deaths of seamen in 1892 having been only 55 per cent. of those in 1883. This improvement will no doubt continue, and is to be largely attributed to the superiority of modern vessels, and the change from sail to steam. The relative safety of the latter is shown by the fact that the loss of life in 1892 was 1 in 68 of those employed in sailing vessels, and only 1 in 233 employed in steamers.

The Registrar-General has drawn attention to the fact that the employments of the people, as given in the Census, cannot be taken as exact on account of the difficulties connected with obtaining precise returns ; but the classification adopted in the Census, and used in this article, may be taken as indicating fairly how our population is employed. It is also to be noticed that the figures for those who were

employed by others are not obtainable with absolute accuracy, because some persons did not fully fill up the Census forms, and say whether they worked for themselves or for others, or employed others. An estimate has therefore to be made as to how many of these belong to those employed. The Census returns, however, enable us to fairly estimate the number that would come within the scope of our proposal, and it is unlikely that any serious discrepancy is contained in the result arrived at. The foregoing summaries of those employed in different classes of occupations—risky and non-risky—account for our entire population, and also for the seamen, who by absence were not included in the Census—numbering altogether nearly 38,000,000 persons. In the first summary there would be about 7,000,000 persons who follow occupations in which there are few accidents; and in the second and third summaries about 5,661,000 employed in occupations which include all those incurring serious risk of accident, making together about 12,661,000 persons who would come within the scope of an Accident Compensation Law. The estimate of the cost of compensation for the fatal accidents to the 5,661,000 persons amounts to £876,250, but to this we have to add an estimate for non-fatal accidents in these occupations, and also for the total number of accidents to the 7,000,000 persons included in the first summary.

In estimating the number of non-fatal accidents, we have little reliable data to go upon, and the proportion of fatal to non-fatal accidents varies very greatly in different occupations. In the case of labourers the number of non-fatal accidents is no doubt very large compared with those that are fatal. On the other hand, in the case of seamen non-fatal accidents are relatively few. Taking into account these differences, and the proportion of the liability which would be met by the workers themselves, as explained in the next paragraph, the scheme would probably require no larger an amount for the compensation of non-fatal than for fatal accidents, and if this estimate is correct the total compensation of the 5,661,000 persons in the second and third summaries, covering all risky occupations, would be £1,752,500, to which we have to add the amount it would cost to compensate the accidents among the 7,000,000 persons in the list of occupations which are free from risk. The accidents amongst them would be so few that it is probable one-fifth of the sum required to compensate the workers in risky occupations would be sufficient, and this would make a total outlay of about £2,103,000 altogether, while the expenses connected with the management of the fund would be fully met by the addition of a further £100,000. The scale of compensation taken is the largest allowed by the Employers' Liability Act, and is much in excess of what is usually recovered in court, except in an occasional instance. Nevertheless, the total amount would come to only about a half per

cent. on the wages paid to the workers, and the addition to the cost of our manufactures would be so small that it could not in any way injuriously affect our trade. The statistics of fatal accidents are so full that there cannot be any serious discrepancy in the numbers of those I have taken, nor consequently in the sum of the estimated compensation, but the absence of reliable figures in reference to non-fatal accidents necessitates a wider estimate for them. However, even assuming that these were taken at too low an amount, the error cannot be so serious as to invalidate the practical value of the scheme.

The legal liability of employers at present is probably not more than for one accident in ten, and it is unlikely that this proportion would have been more than doubled even if the Employers' Liability Bill had become law, therefore four out of every five accidents would still have remained for which no compensation could have been recovered. Many accidents are caused by want of care on the part of the workers themselves. They must therefore be given a direct interest in reducing the number of accidents by increased care, and at the same time meet their share of responsibility, and this, I think, will be obtained by the following proposal. The General Accident Fund would provide compensation for severe accidents and deaths, and be created by a charge upon all occupations, and be paid by employers as insurance premiums. If workers contributed to this general fund, the sum of their payments would be relatively so small as to give them little interest in its management. Therefore, instead of contributing to a joint fund, it would be better for them to pay their proportion to a fund of their own to be applied to the first twelve working days' expenses of all accidents, but not exceeding the amount of loss in wages, and the surgical charges in cases when the worker was not more than twelve working days absent from employment. The liability of the general fund would therefore always commence on the thirteenth day, and would also meet the medical charges if the accident was severe. This method would induce habits of thrift and give workers a direct interest in the careful oversight of their work and machinery and lead to the prevention of accidents. As the compensation for all small accidents would thus become their own business, the work connected with their settlement would be done economically and efficiently, and as this subsidiary fund would be provided by themselves they might be relied upon to take care of their own money. Dealing with small accidents would be very difficult in any general plan of insurance; but workmen can themselves easily provide management and compensation. For example, the Report of the Accident Fund at the Oldbury Works shows that cut of seventy-seven accidents which occurred last year, twenty-seven were compensated by less than £1 each—some for as little as 5s.—but

in any Government-managed fund, if trifling accidents were included, the expenses would be enormous compared with the compensation, as medical examinations and certificates would be nearly as costly in small as in severe or fatal accidents.

The scheme would leave workers free either to use their fund in payment of premiums to Friendly Societies to meet the compensation, or where the number employed in one factory were sufficient they could form a fund of their own, but in this case it could not be applied in any way except in payments to workmen invalided by accident, nor could it be mixed with any other fund from which payments were made for illness, funeral expenses, or any other form of relief. These subsidiary funds must be used exclusively for accidents. A point to be noticed is that while it would be compulsory on employers to insure compensation, some may think it would be as well to leave workers free to take the risk of the first twelve days' expenses without making it compulsory to provide subsidiary accident funds of their own, and, considering the difficulty there would be in enforcing such a law, optional action by workers would perhaps give the best results.

CONCLUSION.

I need not discuss the probability of any Employers' Liability Act doing much to check the number of accidents. These must be lessened in future as they have been in the past by stricter regulations compulsorily enforced. And it may be taken as certain that proportionately to the number of persons employed accidents both fatal and non-fatal will gradually decrease by the adoption of more stringent rules in reference to all dangerous occupations and of improved methods of organisation and inspection. What is the difference between the plan here proposed and that of the Government Employers' Liability Bill? It is that by this proposal there would be certain and regular payments, which would be large or small in proportion as the occupation was safe or otherwise, while by the Bill there would only be an indefinite future chance of payment for an accident. But if there was any likelihood of an uncertain occasional payment by way of compensation causing increased carefulness, then we may be sure that this result would follow to a much greater extent when payments to meet compensation were absolutely certain and were collected in advance. When the fact of the responsibility came round annually to every employer as regularly as rent day, and when he was charged a sum in proportion to the risks involved in his employment—increased or lessened as he was careless or observant—is it not certain that he would take care to make his work safer than if permitted to carry on business on the off-chance of some day being liable for an accident, provided the case could be proved against him in court?

The view that perhaps an occasional liability would operate beneficially in causing measures to be taken that would largely lessen accidents may be summarily dismissed.

There is nothing socialistic in the proposal in the sense that Government would by its means control industry. It would simply undertake the management of the insurance fund for the whole of the industries of the country, charging to each a rate proportionate to the risks involved, and increasing or lessening these rates from time to time in order to keep the fund solvent, and charging less or more to individual employers or companies as they found their workshops and factories were free from accident or were otherwise, just as accident insurance offices do at present. The fund would be self-supporting, and would neither benefit the taxpayer nor be a charge on him. This method of dealing with the accident question would leave workmen free to establish, or to belong to, whatever benefit or friendly societies they pleased; and they would not require to be connected with any fund or society as a condition of employment, nor would there be any contracting out. This would be in the interest of friendly societies as it would free them from having to set aside funds to meet accidents, and would thus leave them with greater power to deal with all distress arising from illness, loss of work, or otherwise. Accidents would be compensated for without reference to whether any person was to blame, and proof of injury would be the same in all cases; this would usually be given by medical men, and in case of death, by coroners. It is probably impossible to devise or propose any method that will at once carry forcible conviction to the minds of either workmen or employers, but at all events it is safe to say that any law in the enforcement of which recourse must be had to the Courts is doomed to failure, and some such plan as that proposed herein must in the end be adopted, as it is the only way by which we can arrive at a certain, safe, and practicable method of closing a controversy between capital and labour, which, as time goes on, threatens to increase in intensity and bitterness.

A. D. PROVAND.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT'S BUDGET.

IN order to form a reasonable opinion of the merits of Sir W. Harcourt's Budget it is necessary to bear in mind the circumstances under which it was framed. It is not sufficient to lay down abstract principles or to consider what might have been done if circumstances were other than they were. Nor is it necessary to assert that the edifice of taxation is complete, or to deny that there is still room, as opportunity offers, for great improvement and simplification. It will be enough for the credit of the present Government and for Sir William Harcourt's reputation as a financier, if it can be shown, that certain great complications have been simplified; that anomalies long complained of have been removed; that a new and fertile principle of taxation, if not introduced for the first time, has been resolutely and permanently established; that the burden of military expenditure has been placed on the right shoulders; and that the dangers of a socialistic attack upon individual property have been met and anticipated by a fair proportionate diminution of taxes on the comparatively poor, and a fair proportionate increase of taxes on accumulated wealth. If this can be established, the present Budget may properly take its place amongst the great measures which have helped to reconcile capital and labour; have adapted the demands of government to the altered circumstances of society; and have advanced the welfare of the people. What then were the circumstances under which the present Budget was introduced?

There have been four fat years, 1887-1890, followed by four lean years. In both periods there was a naval scare; and this scare, whether justified or not by the circumstances, was due, not to the demands of those who consume the bulk of dutiable articles, but of naval men, of amateurs, of those who pay direct taxes, and of the

Press which represents them. In the first four fat years various changes in taxation were made, most of them of secondary importance. Relief to the taxpayer, amounting to £1,400,000 till 1904, and after that to twice that sum, was obtained by a successful conversion of the National Debt; and at the same time, in a period of great prosperity and with large nominal surpluses, the permanent fund set aside by Sir Stafford Northcote for the service of the Debt was reduced from £28,000,000 to £25,000,000 thus diminishing the annual repayment of debt by £3,000,000. The demands of the naval scare were met by an ingenious plan. "By an exceptional effort," from which the next generations of the sixth and seventh years were to benefit, a scheme was devised which was to be "entire in itself and adequate not only to our immediate but to our future wants," and under which the navy was to be brought into a satisfactory condition.* This was to be done by means of a fixed annual expenditure spread over a certain number of years; and it was supposed that when this condition was reached the expenditure would become normal. The expenditure under the Naval Defence Act was to take place in five years; and the debt to be paid in seven. Similarly under the Imperial Defence Act a debt was created by immediate expenditure which was to be repaid in subsequent years. The results do little credit to the foresight of the statesmen who devised the scheme. Their elaborate plans of shipbuilding had to be altered, and a complication of accounts ensued which no one outside the Treasury can understand. Our own advertised and boastful efforts were followed by an increase in the navies of our foreign rivals; and a new naval scare was started last autumn which no statesman seems to have been able to resist and which has resulted in an increase of expenditure estimated for the present year at £3,126,000, and for at least that amount in succeeding years. At the same time the debt incurred by the former scare remained to be paid off. It amounted to £5,746,000 altogether, of which about £2,000,000 would under the scheme of the late Government have fallen on the present year. The natural effect of these operations was to leave the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a deficit for the present year which he estimated at £4,500,000. This was the most important of the immediate financial conditions which had to be met.

There were other conditions of more permanent importance. The Death Duties had long been complained of. It would be idle to attempt to give in this place any complete account of the inequalities they involved, or of the complications which successive tinkerings had introduced. It is sufficient to refer to the exemption of realty and settled personalty from Probate Duty; to the incompleteness of the Succession Duty, and to the undue pressure of taxation of all kinds on

* See "Hansard," vol. cccxxiv: pp. 1123, 1174, 1190, 1931.

leasehold property. On the other hand, there were complaints of the incidence of rates both on the part of rural landowners and of urban occupiers; and there were also complaints by landowners of the incidence of the income-tax on land and houses.

Even still more important were the general political and social conditions of the time. Democracy had become master of the political situation, whilst the social distinctions of rank and wealth remained untouched. Labour, which had already by the natural result of economic forces improved its position, was feeling its strength, and demanding from capital an ever-increasing share both of pay and of power. Socialist theories, which regard accumulated wealth as an abomination, and which derive a strength, far beyond their deserts, from the too obvious inequalities of human conditions, as well as from the support they appear to give to the claims of labour, had obtained a wide circulation. To say that conditions such as these constituted a real or imminent danger to the present framework of society would be to do injustice to the good sense of my countrymen. But they are undoubtedly factors in the situation, of which statesmen are bound to take serious notice, and which may easily become serious dangers unless they are met by reasonable sacrifice on the part of those who possess the good things of this world.

How, then, have the Government met these difficulties, for serious difficulties they are? What are the leading features of Sir W. Harcourt's Budget?

In the first place, he has swept away the complications of the Naval Defence Act and of the Imperial Defence Act, and has brought us back to the original and simple plan of making the income of the year pay for the expenses of the year, and of leaving the control of Parliament unfettered; without vainly attempting to forecast the exigencies of foreign politics, or the ever-changing fashions of naval warfare. But to do this a debt of from five to six millions had to be cleared off, and this has been done by suspending for three years the New Sinking Fund, which amounts to about £1,800,000 a year.* In other words, a new temporary debt has been converted into part of the permanent debt of the nation. To the mind of an old-fashioned economist this is, perhaps, the saddest part of the financial scheme. But what else could have been done, and upon whom does the blame lie? Would it have been possible, at a time when trade is bad, when ordinary revenue has lost its buoyancy, and when the Tory party, society, and the Press, are making an irresistible demand for an increased annual expenditure of £3,000,000 on the navy, to find money for that expenditure, and also to pay off Mr. Goschen's debt for past similar expenditure, at the rate of £2,000,000 a year? Is the fault that of Sir W. Harcourt and of the present Government, or of

* Budget speech, "Hansard," vol. xxiii., April 16, 1894, p. 483.

those who in a period of abounding prosperity, after themselves reducing the Sinking Fund for the purpose of reducing immediate taxation, pretended that their expenditure was exceptional, and, under this delusive pretence, refused to make the revenue of the year pay for the expenses of the year; and thus threw upon the lean years of their unfortunate successors the repayment of an expenditure, of which they claimed the credit, but of which they declined to bear the burden?

But when the Tory debt had been thus cleared off, there was still a deficit of between two and three millions to be met by increased taxation in the present year; and there will in all probability be a similar demand in future years. These demands have been met by one of the largest schemes for the revision of taxation which we have known since the great Budgets of Sir R. Peel and Mr. Gladstone. One million has been raised by taxes on articles of consumption—viz., by an additional 6*d.* on beer and spirits. On this I am not concerned to speak. Whether it falls on the profits of brewers and distillers or on the consumers of alcoholic drinks, it is a tax which no economist will criticise if it answers the expectations formed of it, and to which no advocate of the working classes need object even if it should diminish consumption.

Far more important is that part of the Budget which deals with the direct taxes—*i.e.*, with the Death Duties and the Income Tax. It has long been an object with social reformers to make wealth pay a larger share of the public burdens, not only in arithmetical proportion to its amount, but in an arithmetical proportion which becomes greater as the amount increases. Such a proposal is amply justified by the fact that a poor man feels the loss of a given fraction of his property more than a rich man feels the loss of a much larger fraction of his. A graduated income-tax has often been suggested, and the principle has been partially adopted by exemptions and partial exemptions at the lower end of the scale. In the present Budget a penny has been added to the income-tax, and at the same time the exemptions have been extended, so that the poorer classes of income-tax payers will pay both proportionately and actually less than before. But it is impracticable to apply the principle of graduation generally to the income-tax, because that tax can only be collected at the fountain-head, and it is impossible to trace in what channel the stream subsequently flows. You can get at the aggregate income of the London and North-Western Railway, but you cannot tell what is the income from that and from other sources of each of its shareholders, and any attempt to arrive at that income would not only be intolerably inquisitorial but would be constantly evaded.

Recourse has therefore been had to the other great source of direct taxation—viz., the Death Duties, and advantage has been taken of the opportunity to revise them altogether, with the view of removing some,

at any rate, of the inequalities which have been so much complained of. It is easy to give in general terms a statement of the principles involved; but it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to make intelligible in any popular form the complication of these duties as they have hitherto existed; the details of the scheme by which they have been revised; the labour and thought which have been necessary to put that scheme into shape; or the skill, dexterity, and temper which have been needed in order to pilot it through the House of Commons.

Roughly speaking, these duties are twofold in character. The one class is represented by Probate Duty. This duty depends on the aggregate amount of the property passing on death, and is collected at once. Hitherto it has been confined to personalty. The second class is represented by the Legacy and Succession Duties. It depends on the actual amount of interest acquired by each recipient; it varies according to the relationship of the recipient to the deceased; and it is in many cases only collected when and as the individual interest of the recipient falls in, and then in some cases by instalments, which of course in many cases involves postponement of receipts. It has hitherto been applied both to personalty and realty, but, whilst personalty has been taxed upon its full value, realty has hitherto only been taxed upon a valuation of the life interest of the successor.

The present financial scheme extends the first of these two classes of duties to realty and to settled personalty, and thus does away with the principal exemption which has been so much complained of. All property of whatever kind will henceforth be subject to this tax, henceforth to be called "Estate Duty." This is the first great reform.

The second is to apply the principle of graduation to this duty, by charging rates varying from 1 per cent. on £100 to 8 per cent. on £1,000,000. Thus an estate worth £1000 will pay £20; an estate worth £10,000 will pay £300; an estate worth £100,000 will pay £5500, and an estate worth more than £1,000,000 will pay £80,000. Capitalised wealth will therefore bear a much larger share of the national burdens than it has ever yet done.

In addition to this reform of the Probate or Estate Duty, another inequality has been removed by imposing the Succession Duty on realty, not as hitherto on the life interest of the owner, but on the actual value of his whole interest calculated as in the case of Probate or Estate Duty; and by making it payable at once, instead of allowing it to be paid by instalments, or, if not paid at once, by charging interest upon it.

At the same time, real estate, whilst thus charged in the same manner as personal property, has been relieved in respect of Income-tax, by allowing a fair deduction in respect of outgoings.

To these alterations various objections have been made. One of

the most important is that the graduated Estate Duty operates not on the amount which each man receives, but on the aggregate property of the testator. It is alleged that taxation is a charge on persons, and not on property; and that if it is right to graduate taxation according to ability to pay, that principle is not fairly carried out when it graduates the amount taken, not according to the benefit received by the legatee, but according to the size of the fund out of which it is taken.

It might, perhaps, have been well if there were only one form of Death Duty, and if it were possible to raise all that the State requires by one simple legacy or succession duty levied in the form of a graduated or *pro rata* contribution on the special amount received by each legatee. But even such a duty as this would not carry out the principle of taxing each man according to his ability to pay. A small legacy may be given to a rich man, and a large legacy to a poor man. But taxation is a practical matter; a certain amount of money is wanted; certain duties—viz., Probate Duty on the one hand, and Legacy Duty on the other—already exist; and the immediate problem is to get the necessary amount out of them without such a charge as it would be out of the question to propose. To collect the amount of money which is necessary by increasing the present Legacy and Succession Duties, would involve an addition to those duties which would shock public feeling, and be practically impossible. And this difficulty is made still greater by the fact that in converting Probate Duty into Legacy or Succession Duty there would be an actual loss of immediate income, because Probate Duty is paid at once on the death of the testator, and Legacy and Succession Duty may be payable by instalments, or may not be payable at all until after the determination of subsequent life interests.

But, in addition to these practical reasons for the course adopted, there is much to be said for the principle of the Probate or Estate Duty. This duty may be fairly regarded, not as a tax on the specific property of the legatee, but as a charge on the accumulated fortune of the testator. It is taken out of that fortune before the legatee becomes entitled to anything. Mr. Courtney ingeniously describes it as a sort of deferred income-tax on the income of the testator which you would graduate if you could in its earlier stages, but which, since you cannot for practical reasons do this, you graduate in its final stage. And, although there is some force in the answer that in that case it ought to be proportioned to the duration and arrears of the income, Mr. Courtney's view is valuable, if not as a complete argument, yet as a good illustration of the real principle—viz., that the tax is a tax on accumulated wealth—a principle which is at least as defensible as the principle that taxation must be proportioned to the benefit acquired by the donee.

A second criticism on the particular method adopted by the Finance Bill has more weight. One important feature in the scheme is, as already stated, the extension of the Estate Duty to settled personalty. But settlements, whether by deed or will, are still inadequately dealt with. Where property is settled, the Estate Duty is only to be paid once during the existence of the settlement; and in lieu of it an extra duty of 1 per cent. is to be charged on the value of the estate. How this will work may be illustrated by an example. Take the case of a father with three sons. If he leaves his property to the eldest, and the eldest leaves it to the second, and the second to the third, each gift being absolute, the property will pay Estate Duty on each of the three devolutions. But if the father settles the property on the eldest son for life, then on the second son for life, and then to the third son, the property will only pay Estate Duty once, with an addition of 1 per cent. on the value, which will of course be very far from equivalent to the duty which would have been paid if there had been no settlement. This method of charging settled estates is, therefore, open to two objections. In the first place, it enables a testator who has an absolute power of disposition to determine what amount of Estate Duty his property shall pay long after his death; and in the second place, by enabling him to withdraw it from taxation, it encourages the practice of settlement, a practice which involves many social and economical evils.

In truth, many of the complications and some of the defects of the present scheme are due, not to any want of ability on the part of our financiers, but to the state of our law. If the House of Lords would agree to allow real property to vest, like personalty, in the executor, as was once proposed by Lord Salisbury and has more recently been proposed by Lord Herschell, and if they would also agree to curtail the pernicious power of settlement, we should, besides gaining many other advantages, social, economical, and political, be enabled to devise a more simple and more efficient system of taxation.

I have said thus much on the principal criticisms of the special methods adopted in the Finance Bill. Other detailed criticisms of its special provisions there may be, upon which it would be tedious and unnecessary to enter here. They have been made and answered, and repeated *usque ad nauseam*, in the debates on the various stages of the Bill. There are, however, other objections of a more general nature which it may be interesting to notice.

It has been said that a tax on capital is specially injurious to reproductive industry, and great authorities are quoted in support of this objection. It is one, I confess, which I have never been able to understand. All taxes are *pro tanto* injurious to reproductive industry: they take from producers what might otherwise be employed in reproduction, and spend it on objects which are often non-reproductive;

but it is surely not more injurious to a man's industry to take from him a part of the capital which he has saved than to take from him a part of the income which he is saving. It may possibly be said that if you take the tax from his income you will make him retrench his unproductive expenditure, whilst if you take it from his capital, you take it from a reproductive investment already made. But this is a refined speculation which it would be impossible to establish as a fact. Any taxation of any kind is no doubt, *pro tanto*, a check to reproductive expenditure and to the employment of labour. But assuming that a certain quantity of money has to be raised for the service of the State, there is not the least reason for supposing that a direct tax on capital will have more effect than other taxes in checking reproductive industry. A tax on income is either a tax on the proceeds of capital or on industry; and a productive tax on consumption of anything except beer, spirits, and tobacco must be a tax on food or raw materials. Any of these taxes are at least as injurious to reproductive industry as a direct tax on capital. It is sometimes said that a tax on capital will drive capital out of the country and cause our savings to be invested abroad. I should like those who advance this argument to tell us in which of the foreign countries to which they refer, the burden of taxation, the methods of raising it, and the general financial arrangements are so much superior to our own as to invite the capital which we are supposed to be driving away.

Another favourite objection is, that if we once abandon arithmetical proportion and make the rate as well as the amount of taxation increase with the magnitude of the capital taxed, there will be no halt on the downward road till we have taxed all big capitals away, and have arrived at complete Communism. This objection is our old friend "the thin end of the wedge" in a new form; and it is a sufficient answer to it to say that there is an amount of moderation and common-sense amongst our countrymen sufficient to prevent suicide; and, further, as regards popular demands, that there is more danger in stubborn resistance than in moderate concession.

A dangerous situation might indeed arise if the rich were to do all the paying and the poor all the spending; and I confess I look with anxiety at the recent partial dissociation of local constituencies from actual ratepaying. But as regards Imperial Finance, at any rate, this risk seems to me to be at present remote, and to be much less formidable than the repeated demands of our richer classes for increased military expenditure.

As regards the extension of the whole Death Duties to realty, it is objected that real property bears the whole burden of local taxation in the form of rates, to the exemption of personalty; and that this is a fair ground for the exemptions from Death Duty which realty has hitherto enjoyed.

I should be much inclined to say with Sir W. Harcourt, that as a general rule the best way to make taxation fair is to make each tax as fair as possible without incumbering ourselves with the very difficult problem whether the unfairness of one tax is or is not counterbalanced by the unfairness of another. This is specially true in the present case. *Dolus latet in generalibus.* There are a number of fallacies involved in the apparently simple proposition that the liability of realty to rates should be set off against its exemption from Probate Duty. In the first place pure personality does, under Mr. Goschen's arrangements, already bear a considerable portion of local burdens. In the second place the word "realty" as used in the objection is ambiguous. In *rerum natura* leaseholds are realty, and as such they bear their full share of the burden of local taxation, if not more than their share. In the eyes of the law they are personality, and as such they have hitherto borne their full share of the death duties, to the relief *pro tanto* of freeholds. It is therefore deceptive to speak of "realty" as bearing all local burdens, or of personality as exempt from those burdens. In the third place, it is not so much the rates simply, as the increase in the rates, which is so much complained of. Now it was proved by Mr. Goschen in 1867, and the proof has been brought down to the present time by the Returns which he set on foot, that the burden of rates, of which so much complaint is made, may be roughly divided into two portions, the Rural Rate and the Urban Rate, one of which, viz., the Rural Rate, is hereditary, and has not increased; the other of which, viz., the Urban Rate, is not hereditary and has increased largely in recent years. The Rural Rate, speaking again roughly, is borne by the rural landowner; the Urban Rate is borne primarily by the occupying householder, and, if and so far as it is thrown back on the urban landowner, the increase which has taken place in it is compensated and more than compensated to him by the increase in the value and rental of his property. Further, the occupier in urban districts who pays the rate directly is often a leaseholder, and may for the purpose of the present controversy be considered as interested in personality rather than in realty. So far, therefore, as concerns the owners of real property in rural districts as distinguished from real property in urban districts, and so far as concerns the owners of real property in urban districts as distinguished from the occupiers of that property, the case of the owners of realty for relief from rates fails, and there is nothing in the burden of local rates upon them which calls for any special exemption from Death Duties.

The present condition of English agriculture under the influence of foreign competition raises an argument of greater weight, and makes one wish that the rectification of the Death Duties could have taken effect at a time when rural landowners were more prosperous than unfortunately they now are. Few people can have read the dignified

appeal made by the Duke of Devonshire on behalf of great landowners who do their duty, and more perhaps than their duty, without respect and sympathy. To the present writer, one of the saddest and most unfortunate events in the recent development of party strife in this country has been the divorce from the popular party of "the great houses" who for more than a century "have loved the people well." Nor can any one travel through this beautiful England of ours without feeling how much of its beauty, of its charm, of all its inherited "wealth of hall and bower," of park and moor and field and forest, traversed by pleasant paths and open to enjoyment by the whole community, is due to the proper pride, the wealth, the taste, and the liberality of successive generations of noblemen and squires who have spent in adorning the country the means and efforts which in other countries have been devoted to seaside villas or to urban palaces. It will be an evil time for town-dwellers in England when Yorkshire and Sussex, Cumberland and Devonshire, are cut up into ten-acre villas or three-acre allotments.

But is any such desolation likely? Is it made more likely by such a measure as the present Finance Bill? No doubt the position of the heir when he comes into possession of a landed estate, with nothing to look to but his rents, is a difficult one already; and the immediate effect of the present Budget will be to make it more difficult. But the probability is that the new claim will be met, as so many other claims are met, by insurance, and that the so-called Death Duty will in this way become, in Mr. Courtney's phrase, an income-tax on the ancestor. Nor, though land is no longer so much sought for as it formerly was for purposes of profitable investment or of social or political power, can I see any cessation of the pride and pleasure which rich men feel in owning and enjoying, and, often happily, in sharing with others, objects of natural interest and beauty. England has not become less desirable since the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and there is no reason why she should be so in future.

It must be remembered, too, that there is another side to the Duke of Devonshire's picture. If the liberal landowner is a blessing to the public, the landowner whose mind is filled with the thought of his own possessions may be an equal curse. The man who grudges an inch of land for any public improvement; who shuts up footpaths; who nips the roadsides; who cribs common; who excludes the public from his woods and mountains in order to massacre some hundreds of pheasants or to shoot a few stags; and who for such purposes accumulates and appropriates the soil of the country, is a being whom we would not unwillingly tax out of existence.

After all, the question of taxation is a question of justice and of expediency rather than of feeling, and sympathy for a class which at the present moment is, perhaps, suffering even more than the rest of

the community, ought not to prevent the adoption of a reform which justice and expediency require.

I have referred above to local rates, and to the way in which they are, under Mr. Goschen's arrangements, deriving relief from Imperial taxation. In this respect, the Budget Bill keeps things as they are by appropriating out of the Estate Duty towards the relief of local rates, a sum equal to the amount which would have been payable for that purpose out of the Probate Duty, under the arrangements made by Mr. Goschen. This is, of course, only a temporary step, and must, as Sir W. Harcourt admitted, be followed by a complete reconsideration of the financial arrangements between the Imperial Treasury and local authorities. When this is done, and it cannot long be delayed, questions of great importance and great difficulty will have to be considered—*e.g.*, Are the present taxes the proper taxes to hand over to local authorities? Could not some local taxes be substituted which would make the local bodies, under proper restrictions to be imposed by Parliament, themselves the taxing authorities, instead of being, as they now are, the mere recipients of Imperial funds? Ought any conditions to be imposed on the receipt of local relief from Imperial sources? Is the present relief fairly distributed between London and the provinces, between town and country, and if not, on what principles should it be distributed? And when these questions are considered, it will be difficult to avoid the still more difficult question of the incidence of local taxation. Urgent as these questions are, it would obviously have been impossible to add a discussion of them to the business of the present session; and they are properly postponed. At the same time the establishment of the Death Duties on a reasonable and permanent footing is a step which will make it more easy to effect a readjustment of the relations between Local and Imperial finance.

It remains to sum up the results of the Budget scheme.

A novel, complicated, and dangerous system of finance has been swept away, and we have returned to the simple plan of paying as we go. This has not been done without making posterity pay the debt which, according to the plan of the late Government, would have been charged on their immediate successors.

The long-standing controversy concerning the Death Duties has been settled by a plan, which if not absolutely free from faults, has the great merit of taxing all kinds of property equally.

The principle of graduating taxation so that large properties shall pay not only more, but more in proportion to their size, than smaller properties; if not now introduced for the first time, has for the first time been accepted as an acknowledged and permanent principle of taxation.

The Income-tax has been raised, and at the same time, its proportionate incidence on the landowner and on the less wealthy classes has been lightened.

By these various means a formidable deficit has been met, and money has also been found to meet a new demand for increased naval expenditure.

Finally, the classes who call for increased naval and military expenditure have had an excellent object-lesson. They have been taught that those who call the tune must pay the piper.

It is obvious from the attitude of the would-be opponents of the measure that these considerations prevail with the constituencies. There have been indeed two attempts on the second and third readings of the Bill to combine discordant elements in opposing the measure as a whole, but these attempts have failed; whilst the divisions in Committee have shown how hollow the opposition has been. There has been a tedious fire of prolonged criticism, to which any scheme of the kind is peculiarly open. But with the exception of one honoured name, which we regret to see on the wrong side, it has been carried on by lawyers and financial amateurs, and has received no whole-hearted support from organised parties or from Parliamentary leaders. No one has dared to propose any large reduction of expenditure. No one has been able to suggest any other or better means of meeting the existing deficit and the demands created by the naval scare. No one has ventured to suggest additional taxes on industry, or on consumption; or to show that the increasing demands of the State can be properly met otherwise than by taxing accumulated wealth. The Budget has been bold; but it has been, and it is, popular. It has raised the credit of the Ministry and the reputation of Sir W. Harcourt. How much of what is behind the scenes is due to him and how much to others, we do not know and ought not to know. But of the zeal, ability, skill, and temper with which he has piloted the measure through the House of Commons we can all judge; and if it is ever right to make forecasts of what people will say hereafter, I venture to think that his Budget will rank with the great efforts of Sir R. Peel and Mr. Gladstone.

FARRER.

THE WITCH OF ENDOR AND PROFESSOR HUXLEY.

OF all Bible stories none is more popular with children than the tale of the Witch of Endor. On wet Sunday afternoons the most admired plate in the folio Bible, is that which shows Saul falling forward on the earth, and the witch woman shrinking back in astonishment and awe, and the white-bearded, shadowy figure of the Prophet, rising up from the silence of Sheol. The woman of Endor is beloved by controversial infancy, just launched, unconsciously, on the stream of Biblical criticism, and pleading, against the verdict of parent or nurse, for the existence of ghosts and witches. The early syllogism runs thus :

The Bible is true :

The Bible says there were a witch and a ghost :

Therefore, there are ghosts and witches.

We often meet with worse arguments in later life, as when science avers :

"I don't take any interest in the question," with the suppressed inference, "therefore there is nothing in it but nonsense."

Our instructors in our infancy, however, met our logic with pleas more subtle, though not wholly satisfying. Thus, "There *were* witches, or at least there was a witch, but that was before the coming of the Gospel. So now run away and see if you can find a ripe strawberry."

Thus was the daring metaphysical speculation of infancy diverted into practical researches. Or again, the answer would be, "Saul was a bad man, and therefore the devil was allowed to deceive him in the shape of Samuel." "But it does not say anything about the devil; and the ghost's prophecy came true." "Oh, no doubt that was permitted for wise reasons. So now run away," *ut supra*.

The gardener and I often hammered at this problem, when my years were five or six in number. He may have known, but I did not, that no text was ever more relentlessly put on the rack by the scholars of the seventeenth century than 1 Samuel xxviii. 7-25. They tried it in all ways, and applied such tests of Hebrew philology as they were acquainted with to the perplexing narrative. Samuel was a good, though not a peculiarly amiable man, a servant of heaven; it seems, therefore, unlikely that a wicked, persecuted witch would be allowed to call *him* up from his rest. Then who did "come up"? Did Samuel appear spontaneously, by his own freewill, or was it the devil in his shape, or was it an angel, or was it a fraud, as daring sceptics of the Restoration might suggest? Greek and Hebrew tests were applied by Catholics, Protestants, Puritans, and Freethinkers, to the sacred text and to the Septuagint. But nothing was really settled, though orthodox and mystic authors clung to their Witch of Endor, as against Reginald Scott, Wagstaffe, and other doubters.

The old scholars had Hebrew, but only a few of them had an inkling of Anthropology and of the Comparative Method. Now, Professor Huxley approaches the charmed riddle of our childhood, equipped with anthropology and the comparative method, but, more or less, without Hebrew. Nevertheless he has, no doubt, taken the best advice on the linguistic part of the problem.* I have turned eagerly to Professor Huxley's pages, but, alas! he does not absolutely satisfy me, any more than the gardener did in our old discussions, as he reasoned, leaning on his spade. It is not that I wish to believe in witches, who could call up dead prophets from beyond our bonds of time and space. It is only that, as the lowliest among students of anthropology and the evolution of religion, I do not find Professor Huxley's arguments in all points convincing. It is "purely as a question of anthropology," that the Professor treats of "the origin, growth, decline, and fall of speculations respecting the existence, the powers, and the dispositions of beings analogous to men, but more or less devoid of corporeal qualities, which may be broadly included under the head of theology." I might possibly prefer to read "demonology" for "theology" in this place; but assuredly the question of the evolution of belief, of demonology, of religion; is an historical and anthropological question. By "historical" I do not mean to speak of history as gathered from written documents alone. I mean the study of opinions and institutions often much older than any known form of writing. These "prehistoric" institutions and ideas are examined by the comparison of stunted or decaying survivals in civilisation, with analogous and living conceptions among the less developed peoples, who are known to us by actual contact, or

* See "The Evolution of Theology, an Anthropological Study," in *Science and Hebrew Tradition*. Macmillans. 1893.

by authentic report. This method, of course, has its own perils; in no study are wide and minute reading, and sceptical weighing of testimony and watchfulness against false analogies more imperatively necessary. Mr. Westermarck, in his work on "Human Marriage," has said all that need be said in warning against the *idola* which haunt the anthropological "cave."

Examining the condition of theology in ancient Israel, Professor Huxley describes briefly the "stratified deposits" of the many ages "left by the stream of the intellectual and moral life of Israel." In these strata are embedded "numerous remains of forms of thought which once lived" (many are "living yet"), and which "are of priceless value to the anthropologist." Among the fossils is the tale of the Witch of Endor. "This reveals a form of thought" which, I venture to say, is living yet, for example, in Zululand and in rural England. More than one recent Zulu king unconsciously imitated Saul's persecution of witches, at one moment; while, in another mood, he would seek eagerly to his wizards. In fact, a Zulu king would massacre *unofficial* witches like her of Endor, having had them "smelled out" by his official seers, who themselves, like Elijah with Ahab, were not safe from the vengeance of Chaka. I do not, of course, dream of placing Elijah or Samuel on the level of an official Zulu prophet in the employment of the Court. But both the Hebrew prophets and the Zulu Court-seers were recognised as orthodox in opposition to the persecuted and unrecognised witches. Thus we have, or twenty years ago we had, in Zululand and in many other countries examples of that "form of thought" actually living, which, in the Book of Samuel, Professor Huxley detects in a fossil condition.

Here then is a case in which the anthropological method is on firm ground of fact and evidence. It is needless to add that similar forms of thought prevailed in the Middle Ages and later. It might be a question of mere political prejudice whether the *voyant*, or *voyante*, was recognised, honoured, and, perhaps, canonised; or was burned like Jeanne d'Arc—now declared "Venerable," and, perhaps, destined to be canonised after all. So, under the Restoration, the Rev. Mr. Welsh was looked on as a warlock by Episcopalians, as a saint by the friends of the Covenant.

Turning to the story of the Witch of Endor, "it does not matter very much" to Professor Huxley's present purpose "whether the anecdote is historically true or whether it merely shows what the writer believed." Professor Huxley "sees no reason to doubt, firstly, that Saul made such a visit, and secondly that he, and all who were present, including the Wise Woman of Endor herself, would have given, *with entire sincerity*, very much the same account of the business as that in the Bible."

In the words which I have italicised Professor Huxley may seem

to some to give away his case. For, as we shall presently see, he believes that the Wise Woman herself uttered the voice which she attributed to Samuel. But as the Professor appears to hold that the woman honestly regarded herself as what is now called by some an "inspirational medium," his argument for her sincerity is quite sound. Thus, to take a modern example, there is, in a distant continent, a lady named Mrs. Piper. Through her, when she is in a kind of trance, speaks, or used to speak, in a voice not hers, a being styling himself Dr. Phinué. He was in life a French physician, he declares, but he does not know French! He does know, or pretends to know, a number of things which Mrs. Piper does not know or is believed not to know. The curious anthropologist will find two hundred and sixty pages of information about Mrs. Piper in "The Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research" (part xvii.). Professor William James, of Harvard University, has examined this wise woman, Mrs. Piper, and says "the result is to make me feel as absolutely certain as I am of any personal fact in the world that she knows of things in her trances which she cannot possibly have heard in her waking state, and that the definitive philosophy of her trances is yet to be found."

If Professor Huxley, *per impossibile*, were to do me the honour of reading these pages, I might assure him that, after studying the report on the American wise woman, I am not myself convinced that she knows things in trance which she does not know when wide awake. The opposite impression, however, has been made on the Harvard professor by his own experience.

My point, in any case, is that, granting for the sake of argument, Mrs. Piper's personal honesty, then she precisely answers to Professor Huxley's theory of the Witch of Endor. That is, she utters words which she—like the witch with her "entire sincerity"—believes to be not her own, but proceeding from her person in the voice of another, who is Dr. Phinué in her case, and was Samuel in the more ancient example. But if Professor James is right, and if Professor Lodge, F.R.S., is right, "no conceivable deception can explain the facts." So says Professor Lodge. On that theory, or in accordance with that belief, we have not yet settled the Witch of Endor and Mrs. Piper. Anthropology has still something, indeed a good deal, to do in this direction. This, at least, is the conclusion of two philosophers, of whom one bears the revered title of F.R.S.!

Let us then, as Professor Huxley says, study attentively the Bible story, "as a piece of evidence bearing on an important anthropological problem." Now, to myself it seems that if we are to attempt this study, it must be by the comparative method. We must compare with the ancient, and, as Biblical critics will say, the unauthenticated tale about Saul; many closely analogous examples, either narrated in

attested history or reported by living witnesses of scientific eminence, such as the two Professors of Psychology in Liverpool and Harvard. As examples in the past, we might begin by adducing those cited by M. Quicherat, one of them on the highest French scientific authority, in his "*Aperçus Nouveaux sur Joanne d'Arc*." M. Quicherat, I need hardly say, was the great French palæograph and historian, recently dead. These comparative studies of similar modern cases appear to belong to science by their method, but as they are not here employed in the "anthropological study" of Professor Huxley, we may now pass on, with the protest that they are germane to the matter.

Saul, encamped at Gilboa, "inquired of Jahveh," but received no response, "neither by dreams, nor by *Urim* [crystal gazing?], nor by prophets." Assuming that the consulters of *Urim* and the prophets were impostors, more or less conscious, it may easily be conceived that they shrank from even ambiguously oracular replies in a dangerous crisis. Saul, therefore, sought for a woman "who had a familiar spirit," as Mrs. Piper has her Dr. Phinué. The lady of Endor was a survivor of similar practitioners—"mediums," as Professor Huxley puts it—whom Saul "had put away out of the land." "Saul goes to this woman," says the Professor, and here he omits an essential circumstance. "Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and went" (1 Samuel xxvii. 8). Now, as we shall again have occasion to remark, if we are to criticise the story at all, we must take it as it stands. We cannot accept this feature of the narrative, and reject that, at our arbitrary pleasure, or as chances to suit our bias or our argument. If we are to leave out one portion or another we must state our reasons for the excision. Is there any linguistic *modernité* in the Hebrew for "Saul disguised himself and put on other raiment?" Is that why Professor Huxley omits any mention of a precaution which redounds to the credit of Saul as a psychical researcher? Alas! as a French critic says of Mr. Gladstone and Professor Huxley, in their controversy about the swine of Gadara, we "are both amateurs," in Hebrew scholarship. However, if the Professor has scholarly counsel which, in 1 Samuel xxviii. 8, detects an interpolation, I leave it to the learned, merely remarking that Professor Huxley should have stated the fact. It is not very important, if Saul promised "immunity" to the woman, as Professor Huxley says. And, if he did this, who could he be but Saul? However, the Bible only says that Saul swore by the Lord that "there shall no punishment happen to thee for this thing." Clearly the solemn oath may have satisfied the witch, whereas "a promise of immunity" (as Professor Huxley puts it) could only come from the king, who thus made his disguise of no avail.

The king's requests were: (1) "I pray thee divine unto me by the familiar spirit"; and (2) "Bring him up whom I shall name to thee."

"Whom shall I bring up?" says the woman. "Samuel," says the king. The woman then "saw Samuel," and "cried with a loud voice . . . why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul." Now, if she was "entirely sincere" (as Professor Huxley says), if she herself would have told very much this tale "with entire sincerity," then she had, let us say, a hallucination of a Presence, and with it a sudden sense of her real danger, and of the neighbourhood of the personating king. These are interesting psychological circumstances. Saul, apparently, saw nothing; at all events, he asked: "What sawest thou?" She answered: "I saw gods" (Elohim) "ascending out of the earth." *Elohim* here appears to mean, as Reuss explains, "something superhuman, commanding respect and terror." It would have been *Breuin* in some Australian dialects, *Vuis* in Melanesian: anything ranging from ghosts to gods. "What form is he of?" asks the king. "An old man cometh up, and he is covered with a mantle." "And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground."

So far, one can conceive of nothing simpler, granting imposture. The woman was now aware that Saul was Saul, and that he wanted Samuel. It is only fair to add that Saul's very unusual height must have made it difficult or impossible for him to conceal his identity. "From his shoulders and upwards he was taller than any of the people." He could not, like Prince Charles, "display a rare genius for skulking," and shine in the arts of M. Lecoq. Of course everybody knew that the late Samuel was "an old man," and prophets habitually wore a "mantle." The narrator, however, like Professor Huxley, believed in "the entire sincerity" of the woman, as his story plainly declares. Then follows Saul's statement of his forlorn condition, and need of counsel. The counsel is given by Samuel. "Then said Samuel to Saul," with what ensues. Professor Huxley argues that it was really the woman who spoke.

The Septuagint calls her *ἐγγαστριμυθός*, literally, "a ventriloquist," but this is only the opinion of the Greek translators. Granting that she did do the speaking, she exactly answers to Mrs. Piper, and may have sincerely believed (like Mrs. Piper, *ex hypothesi*) that Samuel was using her vocal organs. But what did she, or what did Samuel say? What were the contents of the message? Now, what were they likely to be? Was it probable that, instead of "prophecy-smooth things," this heretical outcast, this remnant of an evil and heathenish class; denounced and extirpated by the religion of Jahveh; not suffered to live, by Jahveh's command; would adopt the Jahvehistic terminology, the Jahvehistic ideas, would rebuke in Jahveh's name, and would end with the awful and veridical prophecy, "Jahveh will deliver Israel also into the hands of the Philistines, and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me." Professor

Huxley perhaps regards the contents of the message as a skilled dramatic presentment by the witch. If she really conceived herself to be "possessed" or "inspired," perhaps her *unconscious* self furnished her speech. For myself, and with submission, I must aver that the contents seem to me quite out of keeping with the character of the proscribed witch and imperilled heretic who uttered them. With the ideas she could have no sympathy; and, as most soothsayers in all ages have known, it is a parlous thing to prophesy to kings their own defeat and death. Saul had already demonstrated, on the persons of the priests of Jahveh at Nob, his short method with the recalcitrant clergy. If she was as clever as most "mediums," she of Endor would have taken the broad hint. Had Saul been victorious, had Saul survived, his oath would have perished like stubble in flame. Professor Huxley does not argue that the rebuke and the prediction are a deliberate Jahvehistic gloss and interpolation. The dramatic merit of the story depends on the prophecy and its complete and immediate fulfilment. We have little right to select this and omit that part of a tradition or of a myth, as Mr. Grote shows, in dealing with Greek legends. As Professor Huxley observes, "I see no answer to the argument that one has no right to pick out of an obviously unhistorical statement the assertions which happen to be probable, and to discard the rest" (p. 351). If the story is true, then the Witch of Endor is as puzzling now as she was in the old days of childish discussion with the gardener. If it is "unhistorical," we have no right to keep the rest, and discard the veridical predictions. Thus it really seems not to "matter very much" whether the story is historically true, or whether it only shows what the writer believed. If, as Professor Huxley holds, the wise woman herself would have given very much the extant account of the business "with entire sincerity," then it is open to us to believe that, in her rebuke and prophecy, "she spoke not of herself," but was otherwise inspired. And that would be a very important fact in anthropology, though, of course, by no means a fact isolated or unexampled.

I hasten to add that this is merely an argument *ad hominem*. It is open to any critic to allege that the whole story is a post-Exilian figment. But that does not seem to be the view of Professor Huxley.

On the contrary, he deduces certain conclusions as to *early* Israelite belief in a surviving spirit, after the bodily death, from the passage about "bringing up" Saul. It is indeed almost incredible, *a priori*, that Israel, alone of mankind, should have disbelieved in a future life. That life in Sheol was, thinks Professor Huxley, ungraced by reward, unvexed by punishment. But how could this be if, as he says, the "moral and intellectual characteristics were supposed to survive"?

Quisque suos patimur manes. We, now and hereafter, help to make our own hell and heaven. However, this may have been an idea too refined for Hebrews or Philistines.

The conclusion to which Professor Huxley advances from his text of the Witch of Endor is not stated with blunt precision. It must be interpreted in the light of his other declarations as they appear in the body of his numerous theological writings. It is Professor Huxley's conviction that "the end of the evolution of theology will be like its beginning: it will cease to have any relation to ethics."

This statement assumes that Professor Huxley knows what the beginning of theology was; and knows that, in its earliest stage, theology bore to ethics no relation whatever. The science from which Professor Huxley derives this knowledge is the science of anthropology, as applied to the study of the evolution of theology. Now it has fallen to my lot to pursue that science, so applied, for many a year, to write much upon the matter, in books and articles, and to lecture on it, from the Gifford Chair, in the University of St. Andrews. Anthropology, human history in fact, is not an esoteric pursuit, open only to the men of the laboratory; they, indeed, by virtue of their other special vocations, are apt to be amateurs in this field. Very well, the result of my own inquiries has been to convince me that we know nothing with certainty about the beginning of theology, and, therefore, cannot tell whether, in its earliest stage, it was wholly unrelated to ethics or not. This nescience (in a matter where Professor Huxley is *not* an agnostic, but knows all about it) was forced upon me, contrary to my anticipations, by the study of anthropology.

Professor Huxley's own method is to demonstrate, by the story of the apparition of Samuel's "spirit"—called vaguely *Elohim*, a name also applied in the Hebrew to "gods"—that the foundation of the religion of Israel is "the ghost theory." Of course this may seem startling to theologians who have, somehow, convinced themselves that Israel had no form of belief in a life continued beyond the grave. With Professor Huxley I am convinced that they did entertain this belief: that it is "the foundation of the whole" of their "theological system," I am by no means convinced. Professor Huxley examines the fossil forms (as it were) of ancestor worship, idol worship, anthropomorphic conceptions of deity, divination in ecstasy, or by lot, or in other ways, among the early Israelites, and he produces parallel cases among various peoples from all parts of the globe. Orthodoxy is wont to reply that these institutions and ideas were merely borrowed by Israel, contrary to Israel's better knowledge, from the neighbouring tribes. Examples of borrowing may have occurred: Professor Huxley can hardly deny it, for he supposes Israel to have

borrowed largely from Egypt.* But I am inclined to regard the borrowing of religion or superstitious ideas rather as the exception, and development within the nation as the prevalent rule. Not only do I accept Professor Huxley's account of Israelitish parallels to savage or barbaric theological ideas, but I could add curious examples to his list. The probable origin of the Tabernacle and of the Ephod, for instance, might please him much; however, he will encounter the significant facts as he pursues his anthropological studies.

Where I differ from Professor Huxley is in refusing to dogmatise on the first stage of theology, in refusing to maintain, as indubitable fact, that "the ghost theory" is "the foundation of the whole system"; and, again, in drawing Professor Huxley's inferences from these opinions, even if these opinions are correct.

How can we possibly know what lies behind all recorded experience, and far behind the experience of the lowest savages? Professor Huxley avers (p. 346) that "in its simplest condition, such as may be met with among Australian savages, theology is a mere belief in the existence, powers, and dispositions (usually malignant) of ghost-like entities who may be propitiated or scared away; but no cult can properly be said to exist. And, in this stage, theology is wholly independent of ethics." And this is theology at its lowest power, in its rudest germinal stage.

Well, I begin by impeaching the facts. Our knowledge of Australian "theology" is, let me grant, vague and inadequate. The more reason have we for abstaining from dogma. On the evidence, however, the Australians have far more than a mere non-moral belief in spirits. They know a Being (Pund-jel), who "made all things," though this belief is traversed by scores of contradictory myths. So far from being non-moral, Pund-jel punishes sin. "He frequently sends his sons to destroy bad men and bad women." An old native, untouched by European ideas was on his death-bed. "My judge" (or jury, judicial assembly) "is up there," he said, pointing skywards.† As a punisher of the wicked, Pund-jel once drowned the world. Another name for a superior being is Narrumbere. Thunder is his voice. The dead go to him (Taplin). ‡ Once more, in West Victoria we find Pirmmeheal: "a gigantic man living in the clouds, of a kindly disposition, seldom mentioned, but always with respect. His voice, the thunder, is listened to with pleasure;" but alas! "the missionaries have given them a dread of Pirmmeheal."‡

* They may have borrowed the high priestly Egyptian morality, it seems, while wholly discarding its complement, the divine judgment and retribution in the life to come. Moses, if he were the borrower from Egypt, was astonishingly eclectic. The evidence for Egyptian morals is "The Book of the Dead." If the author of the Decalogue got his ideas thence, he deliberately and consciously omitted all that the book teems with, as future reward, punishment, and judgment.

† Taplin's "Native Races of South Australia," p. 36.

‡ Dawkin's "Australian Aborigines," p. 47.

Among the Namai, Barwan and other tribes of the Darling, Mr. Ridley heard of Baiame, "The Great Master," who sends rain, welcomes the virtuous dead to a paradise beyond the Milky Way, and "destroys the bad." He is "immortal, powerful, and good." As to the "cult" bestowed on these beings, I have nothing to be called evidence. My kinsman, Mr. Gideon Scott Lang, an early explorer, was told by a white man that he and a party of others once lay in ambush to destroy a black camp. At the moment of dawn, the natives arose and joined in a hymn so impressive that the whites stole away, abandoning their murderous purpose.

The peculiarity of these beliefs, in Australia as in parts of Africa and elsewhere, is that the Baiames and Pirameheals, spiritual beings of ethical character, are apparently now neglected and unpropitiated, while the ritual observances are directed to the conciliation or the scaring of devils, ghosts, and capricious sprites. These beings are prominent; the nobler gods, creators and judges, are in the background. If it be argued that the creative and ethical deities were originally ghosts, now raised by more advanced thought to divine power, then it is extremely odd that they seem, in some cases, to be "decrepit" and neglected. Being, on this theory, the newest, freshest, and loftiest products of Australian theological reflection, they should also be held in the highest esteem, while the ghosts and sprites should sink to subordinate place in men's regard. The very opposite is the case, which suggests a doubt as to the accuracy of the hypothesis that the highest and most moral spiritual beings are the most recent in evolution. The only resource of a theorist who maintains that Australian theology is destitute of ethics, and rises no higher than the conception of "ghost-like" entities, who may be propitiated or scared away, is to disable my evidence. But what better evidence can be offered than that of Brough Smyth, Ridley, Taplin, the Benedictines in West Nursia, Günther, and Dawson? Their eyes are quite open to the chances of recent European influence on Australian theological conceptions. Nor do the negative statements of other witnesses prove a negative.

For these reasons, among others, anthropological study leads me to doubt whether the "ghost theory" is the origin and basis of the earliest theologies. But, if it be really so, what is the origin of the "ghost theory," and of the accompanying belief in super-normal faculties, occasionally exercised in trance or ecstasy? Professor Huxley does not, in this place, supply a tortoise for his elephant to stand upon. In this he is unlike Lucretius and Epicurus. They, too, deemed that religion was based on the ghost theory, so they set to work to account for and abolish the belief in ghosts. Their hypothesis was undeniably absurd. Professor Huxley probably accepts, as I do within limits, the well-known theory of Mr. Tylor. But

even the evidence cited by that accurate writer, combined with abundance of anthropological evidence which he does not cite, compels me to doubt whether his scheme is exhaustive of the causes of the ghost theory. I need not here reproduce the evidence and the arguments which I have used in "The Ghost Theory of the Origin of Religion" * and elsewhere. Without venturing to dogmatise, I consider that the belief in "the existence of beings analogous to men" in intelligence and will, "but more or less devoid of corporeal qualities," has such a backing of anthropological evidence that it cannot be dismissed without elaborate and patient inquiry, which it has never yet received. In the same way, I am compelled, by the anthropological evidence, to hold that the existence of human faculties beyond the normal, and inconsistent with the present tenets of materialistic opinion, cannot be relegated to mere superstition, without prolonged and impartial examination.

If I do not misunderstand Professor Huxley when he says that "the highest duty which is laid upon men of science is to show that these dogmatic idols have no greater value than the fabrications of men's hands, the stocks and stones which they have replaced" (p. 372), he means by "dogmatic idols" all past and present human beliefs about God, and about the spirits of men which survive after death. And I conceive him to lay stress on the word "dogmatic," and suppose that, as an "agnostic," he would not pretend to *know* that there may not be more things in heaven or earth than are dreamed of in his philosophy. He would only insist that all "dogmatic" theories of such existences are vain.

As one who believes that the case for their existence has still to be scientifically examined, I admit that "here we see as in a glass darkly," and consequently that dogmatism is premature. But whereas I consider that anthropology herself forces on us the necessity of such an inquest as I speak of, I understand Professor Huxley to maintain that the case is closed, and that anthropology has spoken the last word in a negative sense. And I am very well aware that to ask "science" to reopen the case and re-examine, or rather to examine evidence which is as "anthropological" as that on which she bases her present "ghost theory," is to "seek for grace from a graceless face." Already I have noted the positive refusal to give the unwelcome evidence of even scientific witnesses a hearing. I have read, on this topic, from the pens of men regarded as official representatives of science, every fallacy known to logicians. "The dreadful consequences' argufiers," as Professor Huxley calls them (when they are theologians) have been heard in the land. "Oh, you must not reopen this question for fear of reviving hereditary tendencies to superstition." The fallacy of attacking the *faible*, and

* "Cock Lane and Common Sense," pp. 333-357.

neglecting the *forte* of an argument has been active : that is, the system of ignoring strong and assailing weak evidence. The lady-like logic which disregards what is personally distasteful to the controversialist has been conspicuously vigorous. Even the announcement, to separate audiences, of two directly contradictory statements about matters within the speaker's personal experience, has not been without example, and all these things have been done in the name of science, by men popularly regarded as officially scientific. Human nature remains human nature even in the scientific. If there are no other ghosts, the *idola* of Bacon still haunt the luminous halls of science. If the dogmatism of the Church is obsolete, that of science is quite qualified to fill its place. Therefore I expect no favourable hearing for the protest of a solitary anthropologist, who does not know that the origin of theology has been discovered, who is disinclined to accept the hypothesis of "the ghost theory" as explaining theological origins, and who considers that even the savage "ghost theory"—perplexed and darkly superstitious as it is—may be partly based on actual supernormal facts, rejected of science. However, who knows but that these so heterodox sentiments may be sprung from an early, or infantile, concern for the sincerity of the Witch of Endor?

ANDREW LANG.

WHY NOT MUNICIPAL PAWNSHOPS?

PAWNING, or the system of impledging effects by way of security for advances in money, has existed in some form or other in all ages and among all peoples. It is as ancient as barter, and older than banking. The early money-lenders were pawnbrokers before they were bankers, and banking and pawnbroking, still closely related, were in former times indissolubly connected. Records of pledging are found in the early history of the Greeks, the Jews, the Chinese, and other races. The numerous references to pledging in the Bible show that the pawnshop was a recognised institution among the Jews. The earliest account which we have of a pawning transaction is that given in Genesis which took place between Judah and his daughter-in-law, Tamar. The surrounding circumstances were not very creditable to the parties concerned, and the transaction was not very successful; but it is obvious from this and other references to pledging in the Bible that the practice was general. Pawning in course of time became differentiated from banking, although the pawnshop still serves the purpose of the poor man's bank—his haven of relief in times of distress. On the Continent it is resorted to by others than the poverty-stricken and the temporarily embarrassed. It is used as a means for raising capital on securities acceptable by the pawnbroker, but not suitable for a bank. But, as we shall see, there is a vast difference between pawnshops in England and similar institutions in continental countries.

In mediæval times pawnbroking was synonymous with usury. The business in Europe was largely in the hands of the Jews, who took kindly to it, and who were restricted from carrying on general industries. It was the exactions of the Jews and the Lombards which led the priests in Italy to found *monti di pietà*, which became the

model of all future pawnshops on the Continent. They were charitable institutions intended to liberate the poor from the hands of the usurers, and to accommodate them with loans at moderate rates of interest, or without interest at all. There are records of a pawnshop regulated in the interest of the borrowers, in Bavaria, in 1198, and one in the Franche Comté in 1350, before the first Italian *monte di pietà* was established by a priest at Perugia in 1440. The movement for State-regulated pawnshops received its great impetus from the action of that statesman-monk and social democrat, Savonarola, who liberated the Florentines from oppression and gave them popular institutions. In no other direction were his services to the people more successful than in founding *monti di pietà*. The law for creating his *monti di pietà* was passed in 1495, and before many years they were established in all the principal towns of Italy, and had spread throughout Europe. The first *mont de piété* in France was started at Avignon in 1577, and still exists. Their establishment in the Netherlands dates from the sixteenth century. A Spanish priest, Don Francisco Piquer, founded the *mont de piété* of Madrid in 1705, starting with the modest capital of fivepence, which he found in the offertory-box he had placed in the church to receive contributions for the institution. By the end of the seventeenth century there were *monts de piété*, formed more or less after the Italian model, in most countries of Europe. The characteristics of the original institutions remain with those of to-day, although they have long since ceased to be managed by the priests, or to be under the influence of the churches. The main object, which Savonarola and other early founders had in view—the protection of the poor from usurers and their relief in periods of distress—is still maintained, and the *monts de piété* in all Latin countries are associated with charitable institutions and hospitals.

In England the early examples of the pawnshops were not so successful as the continental institutions, nor has their development been characterised by the same desire for the interests of the poor. A Bishop of London did start a pawnshop on charitable principles, in connection with St. Paul's, in the reign of Edward III., and granted loans without interest, but his example was not followed. The Jews brought pawnbroking to London in about 1360, and the Lombards—who, after they were displaced in Italy, had passed through Europe until they found the least resistance to their exactions in England—established themselves in London, and gave a name to the head centre of the money market and to pawnshops. The familiar sign of the three brass balls is, it is variously stated, the sign adopted by Savonarola, the arms of Lombardy, or the escutcheon of the Medici family; who were pawnbrokers before they were princes. The Lombards were for many years the leading pawnshops in London. The

twelve principal City Companies also dealt in pawns, and the charter of the Bank of England gives it power to lend money on plate, merchandise, and "such commodities as are not perishable, at 5 per cent." According to "*Short History of the Bank of England*," published in 1695, the directors contemplated, "for the ease of the poor," establishing a Lombard (a pawnshop) "for small pawns at a penny a pound interest per month." The Bank does not seem to have entered upon this creditable enterprise, although it has occasionally accommodated exalted personages by taking articles in pledge, but it has evidently still power to establish pawnshops all over London.

Any one who makes but a superficial investigation of pawnbroking in England will be struck by the indifference which has been shown to the subject, and by the advantage taken of this neglect by those engaged in the trade. Throughout the century England has led the world in the development of local institutions and in the advancement of social economy, but strangely enough the improvement of the pawnbroking system has formed no part of the progress made. Parliament has been safeguarding the well-being of the many against the interest of class; it has been restricting the powers of railway companies and other State-sanctioned monopolies; it has been encroaching more and more into the domain of private privilege and irresponsible individualism, but has allowed the power of pawnbrokers to extend, and their capacity to draw wealth from the condition of the poor to increase. Under private enterprise our banking establishments, our insurance companies, and our friendly societies, have been developed until they are the admiration of the world: private enterprise has not been successful in breaking down the dominant tone of selfishness which has always characterised the pawnbroking fraternity, and which binds them together in close and powerful union to shield their own interests and resist reform. Those who resort most to the pawnshop are the least likely to come forward and complain of their treatment, and in the absence of popular protest and in the presence of legislative neglect there has not only been no improvement, but there has been retrogression. While interest in every other direction has decreased, that which Parliament allows pawnbrokers to charge has increased. Yet no one can well overlook the importance of this subject or fail to see the necessity for control in the interest of that portion of the community whose condition compels them to pawn. Few perhaps are aware of the enormous part which the pawnshop plays in the life of the people. In no country in the world is more pawning done. It is estimated that the pledges amount to ten per head of the population a year, which would give 400,000,000 annually. The average value of the pledges is about 4s., which would mean that the loans amount to £20,000,000 a year. This estimate is not by any means

exaggerated. At an inquiry held by a Select Committee of the House of Commons for the benefit of the pawnbrokers in 1870, it was stated by the chief witness who got up the evidence for the trade, that in Liverpool there were 9,088,000 pledges taken in that city a year. On this same basis we might estimate that the number of pledges in London every year now will be about 100,000,000. At the same inquiry the secretary of the Glasgow Pawnbrokers' Association stated that there were 6,960,000 pledges annually in that city, and that the money lent amounted to £1,392,000. These figures show the vast amount of business which the pawnshops in this country transact, and the important part they play in the life of our poor and industrial population. It may not be considered desirable that such institutions should exist, but in the present state of society they are a necessity, as they were in other systems of civilisation. So long as we have waves of prosperity and depression, a vast population living from hand to mouth, and a distressful struggle for existence, the pawnshop is indispensable. The huge army of casual workers, whose employment is uncertain and whose wages are small, depend largely for their subsistence, so long as their personal belongings last, on the help of the pawnshop. Regular workers, who have just enough for a bare living and no room for saving, have frequently, owing to accidents, illness, or some other cause, to resort to the pawnshop. The sign of the three brass balls tells them where capital can be raised to tide over the difficulty. A working-man has no banking account to overdraw, and has rarely securities to deposit or property to mortgage. His capacity for labour and his personal belongings and household possessions are his capital. While awaiting the receipt of the wages his labour has earned he may frequently have to borrow on the only security which he possesses. There is nothing dishonourable about the transaction, nothing to be ashamed of. It is better to borrow than to sell what he could not replace at the same price he receives; it is preferable to raise capital on his property than to sink into debt on terms less advantageous. Many, indeed, have to pawn their effects week by week. In all the poor and industrial quarters of our great cities thousands of people take their Sunday clothing or other articles to the pawnshops every Monday morning, and as regularly take them out every Saturday night. It will be found that in the East End of London, and in all similar districts, that the pawnshops are busy taking in pledges on Monday and Tuesday and in giving them out on Friday and Saturday. A great deal of the trade is with these weekly and regular pawners. Improvidence is not the cause of this perpetual pawning, any more than pawnbroking encourages improvidence. It is dire necessity for personal and household needs which sends most of these poor people to the pawnshops. The transactions are not, as we shall see, profitable

to them in the end, but may save the break-up of homes and recourse to the workhouse. Considering all these facts, and remembering how dependent a vast number of the poor are on the pawnshops, it is strange that the subject has received little sympathetic attention. After a century's neglect there is now some hope that the system will receive consideration in the interest of the community who resort to it. The British Institute of Public Health has been discussing it, the London County Council passed a resolution at its meeting on Friday, 26th ult., to investigate the system of *monts de piété* on the Continent, and the Foreign Office has ordered a more comprehensive inquiry.*

Having thus briefly sketched the history of pawnbroking, I shall now proceed to give some account of the working of the systems in England and abroad. It is first necessary to point out, however, the course of English legislation on the subject. The first noticeable enactment is one passed by James I. It was directed against "counterfeit brokers," "being fripperers and no brokers," who had sprung up in London. They were men of "manual occupations and handicraftsmen," "who had set up a trade of buying and selling and taking in pawn of all kinds of wearing apparel, household stuff, and goods of all kinds soever, finding thereby that the same is a more idle and easier kind of trade and living, and that there ariseth and groweth to them a more ready, more great, more profitable, and speedier advantage and gain than by their former manual labours." It was supposed in this Act that the pawnshop was only a place for the receipt of stolen goods, and no reference was made to the suppression of legitimate business.

No attempt was made to regulate the trade until the reign of George III. Up to the end of last century there was free trade in pawnbroking. The trade was not recognised, but it existed, and charged extortionate rates of interest, despite the law against usury. The Bank of England was limited to 5 per cent., but it did not undertake the business.

In 1759, articles were allowed to be taken in pawn up to the value of £10, but nothing was said about the rate of interest to be charged. In 1784, interest was regulated for the first time. It was limited to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per month, and the period of the loan was confined to one year. Five years later the rate on loans over £2 and under £10 was made 15 per cent. It was 39 & 40 Geo. III. c. 99, which first made a serious attempt to regulate the trade, and to fix a definite scale of interest. It was fixed at $\frac{1}{3}$ *l.* for 2s. 6*d.* per month, and a scale was given to show how it worked out, as follows:

* Articles on pawnbroking at home and abroad, which have appeared during the last three months in *London*—a journal devoted to municipal interests—have also called general attention to the question.

s.	d.							d.	
2	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	$\frac{1}{2}$	per month.
5	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	" "
7	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	$1\frac{1}{2}$	" "
10	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	" "
12	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	" "
15	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	" "
17	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	$3\frac{1}{2}$	" "
20	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	" "

The pawnbroker was directed to give farthings in exchange and to supply a duplicate ticket on loans under 5s. gratis, and above that amount at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. up to 10s., and on a graduated scale above that amount. The first seven days of the second month were not to count for interest. Loans were granted for a year, but pledges might be redeemed any time within fifteen months. A few years afterward the pawnbrokers' licence was increased to £15 in London, and £10 in the provinces. An Act passed in 1810 largely liberated the pawnbrokers from the power of the common informer, as it took away the chance of a reward for reporting illegal rates of interest; and an Act in 1860 allowed pawnbrokers to charge a halfpenny for tickets on loans under 5s.

Having obtained so much from Parliament, the pawnbrokers proceeded to ask for more. They organised a scheme and succeeded in getting a Select Committee appointed in 1870, to inquire into their grievances. The investigation was perhaps the most one-sided which ever a committee had undertaken. There were 32 witnesses, and 19 of them were pawnbrokers; several were related in some way to the business, and others were witnesses in the interest of the police; and only one—a retired pawnbroker's assistant—was called who in any way spoke on behalf of the pawners. No inquiry was made into foreign systems, except that a pawnbroker's witness spoke against the Paris *monts de piété*. The pawnbrokers complained that the business was not profitable, and produced carefully selected balance-sheets showing a moderate return, which were accepted without verification. They complained, and with some reason, of the "rivalry of dolly shops," or "leaving shops," which carried on illicit pawning. In looking for a model upon which to frame their new Act, the trade fixed on the Act which applied in Ireland. This measure, which remains still in force, was passed by the Union Parliament, and is without doubt the worst pawnbroking regulation in any country—more detrimental to the interests of poor borrowers than any other. The pawnbrokers succeeded in gaining almost all the "reforms" they desired, but when the Bill went to another Select Committee, the evidence of three City Missionaries—who represented the case of the poor pawners for the first time—and a Metropolitan magistrate, had the effect of introducing several improvements. The loans, which

by the Bill were limited to six months, were extended to a year, and a clause throwing liability in case of fire on the pawnbrokers was added.

The Bill slipped through Parliament at the fag-end of the session of 1872, without attracting much attention or creating any discussion. Lord Salisbury was the only one who protested against its reactionist character. It was said, he remarked, that pawnbrokers were in favour of the Bill, "and no wonder, as it permits them to charge 25 per cent. interest in certain cases, where the highest they can now charge is 20 per cent." He had never heard, he said, of "anybody standing up for the rights of the pawnbroker's customers." The Bill was "a step in the wrong direction," and gave protection in the wrong way. Lord Salisbury protested, but allowed the measure to pass as it was the end of the session.

As the law was passed, and as it now remains, it brought great benefits to the trade. Compared with the previous regulation it conferred the following advantages: (1) It reduced the time for the redemption of loans to twelve instead of fifteen months; (2) it doubled the rate of interest on small loans by making the charge of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ for a ticket obligatory; (3) it increased the rate of interest in another way, by disallowing the seven days' grace in the second month; (4) it reduced the pawnbroker's annual licence from £15 in London and £10 elsewhere to a uniform charge of £7 10s.; and (5) it allowed a lower rate of interest on amounts over £2 than on smaller sums, but more on amounts between £2 and £10 than was formerly charged. The language of the Act is peculiar. On all pawn-tickets for loans under 10s. are the following words:

"The pawnbroker is entitled to charge for this ticket one halfpenny: for profit on each two shillings or part of two shillings lent on this pledge for not more than one calendar month one halfpenny; and so on at the same rate per calendar month. After the first calendar month, any time not exceeding fourteen days will be charged as half a month, and any time exceeding fourteen days, and not more than one month, will be charged as one month.

"This pledge must be redeemed within twelve calendar months and seven days from the date of pledging. At the end of that time it becomes the property of the pawnbroker."

No reference, it will be noticed, is made to interest. One halfpenny is to be the pawnbroker's "profit," and the other halfpenny is a charge "for this ticket," but it is equally profit. The cost of the ticket is infinitesimal to the pawnbroker, but the charge for it doubles the rate of interest on all small sums to the borrower. On loans between 10s. and 40s. a penny "for this ticket" is charged, and on loans above 40s. the rate of interest, or rather the "profit," is at the rate of one halfpenny per month on each 2s. 6d. or part of that sum, but on larger amounts the rate of interest is regulated by special

contracts, upon which no stamp duty is paid. All pledges which exceed 10s. in value, if not redeemed within a year, must be sold by public auction. If the sale results in a surplus above the amount of the loan and interest, the pawner may claim it at any time within three years, and may for a penny inspect the pawnbroker's books. The pawnbroker has power to set off the surplus on one pledge against the loss on another belonging to the same person.

The thoroughly reactionary nature of this law and the injustice which it inflicts on the poor will best be seen by demonstrating its effect on a definite sum. It is fair to take 2s. for this purpose. It is the unit adopted in the Act, and, according to the pawnbrokers' chief witness before the Select Committee in 1870, half the pledges taken annually in Liverpool are for amounts of 2s. or under. The following table shows the effect of the various legislative enactments on loans of 2s. :

Interest per annum on	Acts of 1784	1800	1860	1872
Loans of 2s.	6 ...	25 ...	27 ...	27

It is not quite fair to calculate the rates of interest on small pawns by the month, as a large proportion of the business is on weekly loans. The profit now charged on a loan of 2s. for a week is at the rate of $216\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. When the sum lent is under 2s. or just over it, the interest is increased. Taking, for instance, a loan of 2s. 6d. under the various Acts, the profit was as follows :

Loan of 2s. 6d.	Acts of 1784	1800	1860	1872
Profit on week	$\frac{1}{2}d.$...	$\frac{1}{2}d.$...	1d. ...	$1\frac{1}{2}d.$
Per cent. per annum	86 ...	86 ...	173 ...	260

But the period of the loan is often less than a week, and the amount loaned under 2s. Loans of sixpence are not uncommon in poor districts. Rates of interest as follows are of frequent occurrence in all large cities :

Loan.	Period.	Per cent. per annum
2s.	One week	216 $\frac{1}{2}$
2s.	Three days	505 $\frac{1}{3}$
1s. 6d.	Three days	676
1s.	One week	400
1s.	Three days	1014

These figures show the extreme effect of the Act, but an effect which is felt every week among the regular pawners in every poor quarter. In no other country of the world is such usurious interest made possible by Act of Parliament. Nowhere else are pawnbrokers allowed to mete out such hard terms to the poor in their hour of

distress. The Pawnbrokers' Act runs counter to the whole tendency of recent legislation. It protects the strong against the weak. It is class legislation of the worse kind—ingeniously contrived to press most severely upon those who most need the advances which the pawnshop gives, and who are least able to bear the burden which it inflicts. It amounts to the nationalisation of usury, and is a blot on the Parliament which passed it, and should not be allowed longer to disgrace the Statute Book.

By way of contrast to the system of pawnbroking in England, I shall now describe some of the methods of pawning in operation on the Continent, which afford instructive object lessons to us. In France, Italy, Spain, Belgium, Portugal, and Switzerland there are *monts de piété* after the original models. In Germany and Austria there are royal and municipal pawnshops, organised on a somewhat different system. Nowhere is pawnbroking left so much in the control of individuals as in England. In Germany and Austria private pawnshops exist alongside the State or municipal institutions, but they are under strict control.

In no country are municipal pawnshops more highly developed than in France, and in no city does the institution bulk so largely in public interest as in Paris. There is no general law regulating *monts de piété* in France. The business of lending money on pledges is removed from the control of individuals, and the establishment of pawnshops is made a matter of local and municipal concern. Certain fundamental and guiding principles and general regulations have been laid down from time to time, and applied to different towns, but the details of administration are left largely to local action. The municipal pawnshops are closely associated with the Town Councils, the Hospitals, and the Charity Bureaux. The rate of interest and period for loans and other details of management are settled by the governing authorities. There are municipal pawnshops in forty-four towns in France. Certain *monts de piété* which have been endowed, such as those of Montpellier and Grenoble, charge no interest at all. The highest rate charged is 12 per cent. per annum, as compared with 25 per cent., the lowest in England. In some cases small pawns are taken gratuitously. In no case does it appear that the institutions are a burden to the ratepayers, but, on the contrary, are made the means of assisting the indigent sick.

In Paris the *mont de piété* is managed by an administrative council appointed by the Prefect of the Seine and the Government. It differs in many respects from the English pawnshop. Its scope is wider, and its usefulness greater. It is a more respectable institution. It has all the dignity of a municipal institution. It serves as the poor man's bank, and sometimes as the rich man's safe deposit. It is used by small tradesmen as a means for raising capital to develop

their business, so much so that it does most business when the people are most prosperous. It does not lend sums under three francs, but, on the other hand, receives a greater variety of articles than our pawnshops. It differs in no respect more from its English counterpart than in the rate of interest which it charges, being limited to 6 per cent. per annum, and 1 per cent. duty on the value of the pledge. The first Paris *mont de piété* was established in 1777, and, after being suppressed for a few years during the Revolution, started afresh in 1801, and since then has been keeping pace with the growth of the city. It is more than a self-supporting institution, as it makes a present to the Public Aid Department and the hospitals every year.

It borrows money from the investing public at 2, 2½, and 3 per cent., according to the period of the loan, in order to carry on its business. In 1892 it borrowed £2,160,000, which with its reserves and its surplus forms its working capital. To give an idea of the extent of its operations, I will quote a few figures from its last published report which contains complete returns—that for 1891. It lent in that year, 37,874,052 francs on 1,406,536 new pledges; 22,182,176 francs, on 797,252 renewed pledges; and sold 211,057 unredeemed pledges, which brought 3,037,623 francs. Its total annual receipts were more than four million pounds, or 102,573,244 francs; and included;—loans, 57,802,200 francs; redeemed pledges and sales, 35,373,316 francs; interest on pledges, 3,523,647 francs; and interest on its own funds, 874,957 francs. It had a balance of 4,465,332 francs in hand from the previous year. Its expenses amounted to 97,127,292 francs, and included;—repayment of loans, 54,014,770 francs; loans on pledges, 37,874,052 francs; payment of surplus profits on sales, 817,073 francs; salaries and wages, 1,289,933 francs; interest on loans, 1,432,587 francs; and maintenance, 386,990 francs. The actual net profit on the year's operations was 1,464,886 francs—exclusive of 191,976 francs which was given to the hospitals. Loans are granted for a year, and a month's grace is allowed. Facilities for pledging are not so numerous as in London, nor the operation so free and easy. Any one pledging articles above 10 francs in value must produce documents identifying himself. As no advances are made under 2s. 5d., the *mont de piété*, it is said, does not relieve the most necessitous classes. On the other hand, the *mont de piété* accepts bulky articles which an English pawnbroker would decline. Its storage arrangements are excellent. It disinfects feather-beds, mattresses, blankets, and all such articles which in London may be the means of spreading contagion. The Paris system has the double advantage that it safeguards the public health, and prevents bedding and linen from deteriorating. In 1892, the *mont de piété*, under a law passed the previous year, started a profitable business in lending on securities. The maximum advance is

500 francs, and the rate of interest is 6 per cent. with a duty of $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ on every £4. It lends 80 per cent. of the value on Government stock and its own bonds, 75 per cent. on other securities, except railway shares, upon which only 60 per cent. is advanced. During the first three months of this system, it lent 1,225,000 francs on securities, and has experienced a growing and profitable business since. It may be thought that this new development is taking business from the banks, but it should also be remembered that it is cutting into the nefarious trade of the money-lenders.

A complaint is made against the *mont de piété* that pledges are only stored at four of its twenty-six branches, and that pawners must wait a day or two before receiving their articles when redeemed—a delay which would not be tolerated in England. Another objection to the French system is that the valuers attached to each *mont de piété* (in England the pawnbroker or his assistant are their own valuers) undervalue articles. They are supposed to lend three-fourths on the value of jewellery and two-thirds on other articles, but the fact that they are made responsible for any deficit which may occur should the article be sold, makes them chary and tends to undervaluation. There is always a large surplus at sales—many of the articles bringing in more than double the amount advanced. As the valuer is also the auctioneer, it is obviously in his interest to obtain good prices. In England, on the other hand, the pawnbroker sits beside the auctioneer, with whom he is generally on friendly terms, and bids, and is particularly anxious to buy back the articles he puts up for sale on low terms. The pawnbroker wants the article to sell in his shop, whereas the *mont de piété* has no shop business. There is hardly a case known in which a pawnbroker has returned a surplus to a pawnor. In Paris, in 1891, 817,073 francs was returned. This system of undervaluing gives rise to an illicit trade in pawn-tickets by pledge-brokers, which causes the Paris institution much annoyance. The brokers lend on the tickets and charge 20 per cent. interest. Half the tickets of unredeemed pledges fall into their hands. Pledge-broking, which is also practised in England, has been suppressed at other places, and a Bill has been introduced to abolish the evil in Paris. As the rate of interest is low, there is more temptation to renew articles at the *mont de piété*. The average period of loans is eight or nine months, against one or two months in England. The average value of the pledge is 17s. in Paris, compared with about 4s. in England. About the same number of articles are left unredeemed in both places; in Paris it is 8 per cent., and in England it is stated to vary from 5 to 10 per cent. It is interesting to note that all loans under 22 francs, or 17s. 7d., involve the *mont de piété* in a loss. Loans from 22 francs to 85 francs may be profitable according to the length of time—varying from a month

to a year—they remain unredeemed. Only loans above 86 francs, or £3 9s., are profitable to the institution. Out of its total transactions, 1,763,695 involve a loss, 411,768 pay themselves according to the time of the loan, and 118,327 are profitable irrespective of the period in pawn. The English pawnbroker would not relish this arrangement, but the director of the *Paris mont*, writing in 1882, remarks :

“Such is the principle of the institution, and its *raison d'être*, the rich pay for the poor. If the benefit produced by the larger loans, which are comparatively small in proportion, did not compensate for the loss on the smaller sums, which are considerable, the institution could not exist, and the necessitous population would be deprived of the assistance indispensable to them which the *mont de piété* assures.”

The cost which falls on each pledge in England has been stated by pawnbrokers to be from $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ In Paris it is $9\frac{1}{2}d.$, and still the *mont de piété* conducts a profitable business at a rate of interest about a fourth lower than that charged in England.

It will be seen that the *mont de piété* is not without its defects. It is surrounded with an amount of formalism which is useless and expensive, but seems to be inevitable in connection with the French official way of doing things. Interested enemies of the *mont de piété* point to the time it takes to carry out a single transaction, compared with the despatch with which the operation is performed in England. They might also compare the slow and tedious process of registering a letter in France with the simplicity and despatch with which the same thing is done in England. *Autres pays autres mœurs*. What I wish to emphasise concerning the Paris institution is that it is more responsive to the public needs than the English pawnshop ; that it is less grasping and better organised, and that it is constantly improving itself. Throughout the century, while the rate of interest has been increasing in England, it has been continually lowered in Paris. During the revolutionary epoch, when security was at its lowest, the *mont de piété*, borrowing at 18 per cent. itself, lent at 24 per cent.—less than the lowest rate charged by pawnbrokers to-day. From 1806 to 1830 the Paris rate was 12 per cent. ; from 1831 to 1886 it was 9 per cent. It fell to 8 per cent. in 1887, and was further reduced to 6 per cent. in 1888. There were certain small accessory charges and commissions, but these have all been extinguished, except a duty of 1 per cent. Improvements are always being introduced in the way of better storage, disinfecting apparatus, or increased facilities for pawning ; and M. Edmond Duval, the able director of the *mont de piété*, is ever anxious to remove any grievance which may exist, and to extend the usefulness of the institution under his care. While the *mont de piété* is not a charitable institution, it is, nevertheless, a means of relieving distress, and is of

assistance to the poor—indirectly, by the advantages which it offers, and directly, by the contributions it makes annually to the Public Aid Department and the hospitals. In times of exceptional distress it favours the poor by lending without interest.

Municipal pawnshops in French provincial cities are managed by a small commission, of which the mayor is president, and which contains representatives of the town council, the hospitals, the Charity Bureau, and in one or two cases the savings bank. The period of loans is usually a year, and the limit is as low as one franc. The rate of interest varies. In Bordeaux, which has a prosperous *mont de piété*, it is 6 per cent., without any additional charge. The average loan is 16s., and all loans under 12s. involve the establishment in a loss. The total number of pledges received or renewed in 1874 was 2,784,000, and the amount lent 5,700,000 fr. The profit made in 1892 was 61,000 fr., and the estimated profit for this year is 79,000 fr. At Marseilles the rate of interest is $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. At Lyons, it is 5 per cent. on loans under 10 fr., and 8 per cent. on advances above that sum. In 1891 the year's work only showed a profit of 9439 fr., in consequence of heavy expenditure incurred in building new offices and warehouses. At Nancy, the pawnshop is connected with the savings bank. The rates of interest are 10 per cent. on loans under 20 fr., and 15 per cent. on others. The Rouen *mont de piété* takes 4 per cent. interest, and in 1891 handed over 30,000 fr. from its profits to the hospitals. At Toulouse, loans under 5 fr. are advanced without interest. Above 5 fr., a uniform rate of 6 per cent., with 1 per cent. for storage, is charged. The tendency with all these municipal pawnshops is to reduce the rate of interest. At Toulouse, for instance, where the institution is of recent erection (1867), interest has been successively decreased from $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 8 per cent. in 1881, $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on small amounts in 1884, loans up to 5 fr. freed of all interest in 1885, general interest reduced to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1886, and to 7 per cent. in 1887. Similarly at Bordeaux. Beginning with 24 per cent. in 1801, it was lowered to an average of $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in 1830, to 10 per cent. in 1845, to 9 per cent. three years later, and so on until it was made 6 per cent. in 1891. In no case has interest been raised as in England.

There is a strange variety of pawnshops in Germany. We find institutions under public control working side by side with private establishments. The latter lend lower amounts, but at a higher rate of interest than the Royal, State, Ducal, County, and Municipal pawnshops. In no case, however, can it be more than 24 per cent. There are about a hundred publicly managed pawnshops in Germany. In Berlin, at the *Königlichen Leihamt*, and at the municipal pawnshops of Breslau, Munich, Hamburg, Dantzic, Strasburg, and many other large towns, the interest is 12 per cent. The Berlin Royal

pawnshop pays 10 per cent. on its capital, and gives the surplus every year to charitable purposes. At Dresden the interest is 9, at Leipzig 8 per cent, and in some towns less. The period for the loans ranges from three to sixteen months. The interest is frequently on a graduated scale, being highest on small pawns. Almost all the municipal pawnshops are connected with the savings banks, and are self-supporting. In most towns they advance loans on securities at 4 or 5 per cent. There is great elasticity and diversity about the German system of pawnshops, but on the whole the German *Leihhaus* or *Pfandhaus* does not compare favourably with the French *mont de piété*.

In Austria the system is somewhat similar to that in Germany. There are royal pawnshops in Vienna and Prague which charge 10 per cent. interest. There are provincial pawnshops, and in many towns municipal pawnshops. If the authorities do not establish pawnshops, or if they do not supply the needs of the population, private enterprise is allowed to step in, but is kept very closely under control. The pawnbrokers have to give guarantees and their shops are under inspection.

There are municipal pawnshops in all the large cities of Italy and Spain. In Spain some of them are only of recent creation. In Madrid the institution is associated with the savings bank, and in 1893 made a profit of 357,680 fr. It deals largely in securities. Last year it advanced 94,148,769 fr. in securities, and 11,670,501 fr. on jewels and clothing. It borrows at 3 per cent. and lends at 6 per cent. Many reforms have of late been introduced. Only last year the valuers were relieved of the liability for deficits on loans, as the management desired to put the highest possible value on articles pawned in order to defeat the purchase of tickets.

Some of the best examples of continental pawnshops are to be found in Belgium. They are after the French model. Pawnshops have been controlled in the interest of the community in Belgium since 1618. The law under which they now operate, with local variations, dates from 1848. They borrow capital from the hospitals, the Charity Bureaux, and the towns, and are managed by the town or communal councils and the charitable administrations. The profit they make is destined for the relief of the poor. At Antwerp there is anonymous pawning, as in several German towns and in Holland. No names are asked, except when a pawner brings new goods. The rate of interest has been gradually reduced until it is now 8 per cent. The profit last year was 18,376 fr. The poor may pawn gratuitously. The rate of interest at Liège is 5 per cent., with a duty of 1 per cent. and a commission of $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. per month. Last year the profit was 21,963 fr. The Brussels *mont de piété* charges 7 per cent., and contemplates a reduction as that rate is considered too high. Loans are advanced on amounts between 2 fr. and 3000 fr.,

and the limit of time is a year. In 1892 the establishment made a profit of 15,391 fr., and in 1891, 37,902 fr.

From these few facts concerning continental pawnshops it will be observed that, unlike ours, they are all organised in the interest of the borrowers and the community, and adapt themselves to the needs of the people, while ours harmonise better with the interests of the pawnbrokers. I might add to these examples of foreign methods, but the information I have given and the contrasts I have made are sufficient to show the backward state we are in on this subject, and to indicate the way of reform.

Any reform hitherto attempted has been stoutly resisted by the trade. In Australia and the United States successful efforts have been made by private corporations to reduce the rates of interest, but attempts to do so outside the trade in England have failed, and inside the trade have never been tried. A few of the undertakings which started with the ambition of really becoming the poor man's banker, failed in some instances through departing from legitimate business, and in other cases had not funds to keep going. Pawnbrokers require a large capital to start, as nearly the whole first year's transactions mean nothing but outlay. General Booth was the last to propose a scheme for a poor man's bank, on *mont de piété* methods, but abandoned it, I suspect, for want of funds. It is curious to note that pawnbroking in England runs very much in families. The reason of this may be that large capital is required to start a new business. While the pawnbroker sticks to pawning and has capital he is on sure and safe ground. He has absolute security, valued by himself, in his possession before he advances a loan. But pawnbrokers, as a rule, go outside pawning, and deal largely in cheap jewellery and shoddy importations of various kinds—a more or less speculative business.

The inquiry which has been instituted by the London County Council, and the report ordered by the Foreign Office, will put us in possession of a great deal of information on pawnbroking which is not now obtainable. The subject is one which has been too long neglected by our economists and municipal reformers. It should be considered without delay. Investigation must necessarily precede proposals for reform. For the present, I think I have established a strong case for municipal action, and have shown that the control of pawnshops in the interest of the community would be a legitimate, sound, safe, and profitable extension of collectivism.

ROBERT DONALD.

THE FEDERATION OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLE.

A TALK WITH THE RIGHT HON. SIR GEORGE GREY. K.C.B.

IN what follows, I have had an opportunity of dealing with the main features of a subject, in which for many years I have taken the deepest interest, that is the federation of the whole of the English-speaking people.

Perhaps no question of equal importance and magnitude has ever before engaged the attention of so large a portion of mankind; and it is with great diffidence I have ventured to put forward the views which, after much reflection, I have formed upon it.

I hope that the suggestions I have made, may at least induce others to devote their energies to the solution of this, the great problem of the Twentieth Century.

G. GREY.

I. THE ITINERARY OF A FAITH.

“If I might suggest it, would there not be a natural key to your views in a history of them as they originated, and in the course of the years have taken form in your mind?”

“No doubt. As a child, I imagine that I was given to musing, with a tinge of melancholy in it, which characteristic I probably inherited from the shock given to my mother by my father's death, a few days before I was born. You may know that he was killed in the third assault, which the English forces made on Badajoz. As I grew up, I could not help noticing the suffering and misery prevalent on all sides, among the masses of the people. The care of a highly educated and loving mother, and association with my stepfather, a clergyman, a most thoughtful man, one of the best men I have ever known, naturally fostered this feeling in me. Then my service in Ireland for some years, as a young military officer, affected my thoughts, I should say, in quite a definite manner.”

"That, I think, was just after the Catholic Emancipation turmoil, when it was being succeeded by a demand for the repeal of the Union?"

"Ireland was then in a very distressed, unhappy state, and even had I wished to shut my eyes to the existing misery, it was forced in on me, in the course of my duty. Once, when I was sent in command of a party to protect tithe-collectors, all my humanity revolted against what I saw. Well, I thought something might surely be done to meet the suffering peasants, not in Ireland alone, though she was in the worst case, but in the whole land, and I felt that the way would be to endeavour to find better possibilities, sweeter and freer homes in new countries across the seas, where the rust and iron of the Old World had not entered. Of regeneration from within, I concluded, there could then be but little hope, at all events, very much less."

"So we have here the germ of what you have dreamed and done, towards Anglo-Saxon unity?"

"In turning to the New World in the South, I saw that the simplest and surest way of keeping it clear of Old World shams and miseries, would be to retain its control for the Anglo-Saxon. Don't forget that one half of the world, as civilisation knows it to-day, was then quite unknown. Thus, when I had the opportunity of going on an exploring expedition to Western Australia, I hoped to find not only a place where a settlement of happy people might spring up, but to plant another post in an Anglo-Saxon fence which would prevent the Old World from interfering with the development of the New. My subsequent experiences as resident at Albany, and as Governor of South Australia, ripened the ideas with which I had left Britain. Especially, the calibre of the early settlers in South Australia gave me great trust in the new Anglo-Saxondom, to be built up in the Southern hemisphere. Nonconformists many of them, there was a worth, a sincerity, a true ring about them, which could not fail of great things. There and elsewhere I endeavoured to carry out what I regarded as a cardinal principle in the making of a new country, to create capital direct from the natural produce of the soil, not by the raising of too heavy loans. Merely, that is another way of saying, 'Keep the people on the land, as the cry in Britain is, 'Get the people back to the land.' The divorce of the people from the soil at home I could foresee—indeed, it had already begun. To have the settlers securely on the land from the first, meant they were there to grow into a nation, not to amass temporary riches and then go back to an already over-crowded Old World."

"By this time, I gather, you were seeing more and more clearly what younger Britain might do for the Mother-Country, how the Southern hemisphere and the Northern might work together for good?"

"Year by year I saw this more and more, and when I went to organise

the government of New Zealand, I found myself on a stage where larger endeavours were possible. It's a long way back, but I'm able to test where I stood by the case of the cast-iron constitution on Old World models, which was sent out to me from Downing Street, for New Zealand. Besides being unjust to the Maoris and to the bulk of the colonists—a thing merely for the wealthy of the country—that constitution made entirely against the federation idea, which I hoped would develop all over Anglo-Saxondom in future years. There is a certain humour in the recollection that when the constitution reached me, I was standing on the sea-shore at Whanganui, watching the progress of some skirmishing going on with the Maoris. There and then I sat down, mastered it, made up my mind it would never do, and put it up again. What became of that document I'm not quite certain, but I imagine I transmitted it to the Old Country by the first ship."

"Should I be right in taking it, that the new constitution which the Home Government authorised you to draw up in place of that one, was intended not only to meet the needs of New Zealand itself, but also to embody the essentials of federal growth among Anglo-Saxons?"

"Quite so; and before then I had taken active steps to secure that such islands as Fiji, Tahiti, and the New Caledonian, Tonga, and Loyalty groups, should come within our sphere of influence. Our well-being as a people, the peace of the world, it seemed to me, depended on our throwing our mantle over the New World, so as to secure its growth in its own way, to be a barrier between it and what was bad in the Old. Many of the chiefs I had definitely arranged with—and most anxious and willing they were—and I specifically recommended to the Home Government the inclusion of Fiji. But Downing Street sent back to me the command to cease such negotiations, for they would not permit them. It was on lines such as these that federation became the faith in me, which my work in South Africa, my second Governorship of New Zealand, such share as I have had in politics since ceasing to be a servant of the Crown—which all these have confirmed a thousandfold in my mind."

II. BUILDING IN TRIBULATION—NATIONS.

"Now, how does the possibility of a great Anglo-Saxon federation, to hold the balance of the world for righteousness, read by the light of history?"

"In considering the future of the English-speaking people—Russell Lowell, I think, first used that fine phrase—we necessarily have recourse to the past. And that, it appears to me, makes in the most complete manner, for the girdling of the world with beneficent influences through the medium of the Anglo-Saxon. We all of us, I suppose, recognise that there are certain great driving forces behind the march of humanity. We may not see them, or we

may merely get a glimpse of them now and then, but they are there, and always in operation. Providence—that is my word. A principal line of these forces—the chief one, I hold—we have in the evolution of the Anglo-Saxon race.”

“So far as that evolution has proceeded, you regard it as proving a plain deduction?”

“Go back to the time when the thing becomes so clear as to be entirely apparent, back to the time of Elizabeth. What do we find? A race of hardy men who took delight in sailing new seas, becoming familiar with virgin countries; who were, in a word, opening up fresh tracks here and there across the globe. And following upon that, consider the drift of legislation in these islands from the period of Elizabeth. It was to appropriate the land into the hands of a few, to make great landlords, to make single men the owners, nay, the tyrants of great areas. This meant depriving the common people of their natural means of subsistence, forcing them to maintain themselves where there really was no room for them, and so the result was suffering, want, discontent. But don’t imagine me to suggest that all this happened in a day. It was spread over years and generations, and has come down to us through the centuries.”

“As witness, probably, for specific evidence, the case of Ireland even as we know her?”

“Quite so. The great eating up of the Irish land, the throttling of the natural wealth of that country, began with the ill work done in the Elizabethan age. Yet the full mischief did not appear until my own early days, when the Irish people were leaving their native land in shiploads. But in England the result came sooner, and ran on continuously, rather than burst like the wave that subsequently swept Ireland. Very well, coupled with this tendency of legislation—the divorce between the people and the land—came religious persecutions and tyrannies. These were the two forces which, with exceptions just numerous enough to prove the rule, planted the Anglo-Saxon name in every corner of the earth. Two great evils, you see, working out in good; a sowing in wrong and wickedness, the garnering righteousness. Cradling like that makes men and nations. When Spain founded colonies, she sent delegates designedly to do it. When France colonised Canada it was the same; and so with other countries. They planted all the Old World institutions, with their imperfections, on new soil, which, as time has shown, was like building on sand. In sheer justice, it was not meet that the Old World should live in the New.”

“Driven from home by persecution, an asylum in new lands afforded by the discoveries of adventurous rovers, the Anglo-Saxons built where they went for all time—homes to be the hearth-stones of nations?”

“Having been taught by bitter experience at home, they struck

out on new lines; the humanities in them got scope; they carried tolerance and liberty ever with them. Take the Puritans who founded New England—was there ever such a noble band—or take the Quakers, or take the English and Irish Roman Catholics. In some cases, when there was persecution on the Continent of Europe, these British emigrants attracted to them what was persecuted. South Africa was founded in oppression—independently of us, as it happened, for the forefathers of the Boers were largely French Huguenots. Our settlement of Australasia differs from our other expansions, in that the root of it was necessary oppression, not sheer tyranny. When convicts were sent to Australasia they could not return, and so were compelled to settle there. Moreover, as if it was not enough that the Anglo-Saxon should rush from persecution to a new home across the seas, he no sooner found it, than the old oppression might again be at his heels. The stern Mother more than once stretched out her hand to coerce her freer children, so forcing them ever to take new ground, and be, so to speak, clear of her clutches. Here—and take the instance of America—is a second stage in the waft and woof of tribulation which is at the root of our growth; or take, also, the instance of the Boers, whom by harsh regulations we forced inland on to new territory in South Africa.”

“Naturally there came a time when the liberty and freedom of the unfettered Saxon abroad reacted on the Old World?”

“Unquestionably the freedom which exists now in the Old World is largely the inspiration of the New, the result of the example set there. Very many of the inventions of the nineteenth century—the threads of modern progress—have had their origin in the New World. She has been heaping coals of fire on the head of the Old. Has it ever occurred to you how beautiful a contribution the Irish girl, driven to another land by starvation at home, has made to the development of the English-speaking race? What a stretch of Anglo-Saxondom, her wages—hardly earned in service, and sent home for the emigration of her father and mother, her sisters and brothers—has peopled. She is a winning illustration of how the hard taskmaster necessity, has been our architect for building up new races. Ireland has been tortured and beaten, and her daughters and sons through that torture, those blows, have done all this wondrous work for us. Placing in the result one consideration and another, we have arrived at this now, that a great part of the earth is occupied by men speaking the English tongue. The blood may have been English, or Scotch, or Irish, or Welsh originally—no matter what part of the parent stock it was wrung from. It may be American, or Australasian, or Canadian, or South African, but it is always free Anglo-Saxon in its aspirations. Other races, who have joined their fortunes to ours in the New World, have taken the Anglo-Saxon stamp, giving us in return what they had of their own that was better than ours, so that we have drawn

in the very marrow of civilisation from the most civilised races. That is where we stand, and it entails a heavy load of responsibility on our part, towards humanity at large."

III. AN EPOCH OF FEDERATION.

"Inevitably, I ask you, what, in your view, is the situation, as bearing on the future not only of the race, but of mankind?"

"I am, I imagine, merely expressing what is generally agreed on, when I say that obviously the end of this century has brought us to a critical period, in the history of the world. By that I mean we have reached a time of radical, far-reaching change in human economy. Systems do not last for ever; they decay, and have to be replaced. The most perfect of machines wears itself out, and another has to be substituted, and not merely that, but the new one has to be of a different design, adapted to a fresh, most likely a severer, set of circumstances. A man who refused to utilise the wisdom and resources of his age in machinery, who preferred hopelessly to go on according to the old order of things, we should regard as a madman. It is the same in the economy of the human family, and to dread wise and ordered change is to court danger and disaster."

"Your advocacy of the closer union of the Anglo-Saxon race is dictated by a desire to meet and help the new economy, to assist Nature in her changes, not retard her?"

"Anglo-Saxons are the predominant race, and it lies with them to lead the way in the new epoch. The first great fact we have to face is, that whereas in the past there have been the continual discovery and peopling of new countries, no more now remain to be discovered. No corner of the world which can be brought under the harrow of civilisation is unknown to us; we are aware exactly what lands remain to be settled. We know what each nation is engaged in doing, and we are able with some measure of certainty to estimate what it will continue doing. Clearly the world, so nearly fully occupied, presents a very different working machine to the world with lands unknown and unpeopled, as it was at the beginning of the century. The second great fact is, that, with the full occupation of the earth, the mass of the people have gained a potent voice in the management of affairs. Democracy, it is true, has not fully obtained its heritage yet—not even in the New World, although it has most nearly done so there—but its full accession is only a question of time. Within those two factors, then—first, our complete occupation of the habitable globe; second, the rise of the democracy—there is the key of what is to be. Clearly, from the extent of the world held by the Anglo-Saxon race, coupled with the fact that they include not merely the largest numbers in the world's democracy, but what is ripest and best in that democracy—for these reasons the future of humanity must rest primarily in their hands."

"And that power they could use most advantageously—not for themselves alone, but for all—by having a certain coherence of existence, a solidity of aim?"

"Assuredly. In every direction they are working with might and main to develop the resources of different countries, and they are carrying the one faith of Christianity wherever they go. They are characterised by a common language, a common literature, and common laws. Shakespeare, Milton, the riches of our classic literature, belong as much to these new nations as they do to us. Local surroundings may create small differences in habits, certain varying lines of action, but these are merely incidents, fitting together the harmonious whole. When we think of it, it is impossible that there could be anything but a common bond of unity, a oneness in the whole structure upon which the race rests. All that has been as certain, as it is certain that light follows the darkness. Destiny, Nature—whatever term you will, though to me it is the first of these—have been working unceasingly in that direction. If the progress has been so great through years when South Africa or New Zealand were infinitely distant from us, when there were no swift steamers, and no cables under the sea, how much greater must it now become. Such wonderful changes has modern science brought about, that really the peoples of Greater Britain and of America are but next-door neighbours to the folks in the Old Country. We had recently the auspicious and happy event of the birth of a boy to the Duke and Duchess of York, a prince born in direct line to the throne. Why, that was known within an hour on the farthest shores of Greater Britain, and the news, I assure you, received with as keen a joy as here. Or, take a different illustration of what I am endeavouring to show—the great dock strike in London. Not merely was that struggle followed from hour to hour in Australasia, but encouragements and assistance from Australasian workers to their comrades at home, swept continually across the seas on the cable wires."

"What you are arguing, is that there is really union between the branches of the Anglo-Saxon family already, and that all we have to do is to afford it every assistance in growing and forming?"

"Exactly. From time to time there have been disturbances to this growth, and opportunities for its furtherance have been thrown away. Probably the greatest disturbance was the war between the Northern and Southern States of America, but the ties of unity came through that test unbroken. Another disturbance—although it could hardly be called one in concrete form—was the wave of opinion which swept over the Mother Country in favour of dismemberment. Fully a quarter of a century ago, when I was here last, the leaders of the political parties were, with perhaps a few exceptions, for cutting off the Colonies. At the time the danger, I have always believed, was as acute as it would have been irremediable. Happily it

was tidied over, and I do not think it is ever likely to occur again. As between public opinion here then and now, on the expansion of the English-speaking race, I find an entire, and to me, I need hardly say, an exceedingly agreeable contrast. One reason why I went back to New Zealand then, was that I thought I could have more influence working from there, than I could have, working here. Recent British legislation and the better attitude of the Mother Country to her Colonies have, I feel sure, been powerfully influenced by the rise of Greater Britain. Anyhow, whereas the cry was a quarter of a century ago, 'Cut the Colonies off,' it is now, 'Let us do our best to get closer to each other,' and that is most satisfactory. I think the feeling is altogether sincere, that it prevails not among the leaders of the country only, but is an article of faith with the mass of my fellow-countrymen. No doubt a federation the like of which I suggest, would be something never before known. But then the conditions calling for it, have never arisen before; there has not in the past been the necessity for such a thing. The Ancients had not discovered the art of securing political representation, or what the Moderns call the principle of federation. With the changed conditions of the world the necessity has arisen, and the call has been to the Anglo-Saxon. Everything, the materials, the tools, are ready at our disposal. In fine, we have reached an epoch of federation, which is, so far as I can see, the new form of human economy."

IV. THE LINE FOR THE COLONIES.

"In approaching the question, 'How to federate?' you will probably prefer to deal first with the Colonies, so starting from them, what ought the line to be?"

"It may, I think, be assumed that the existing position as between the Colonies and Dependencies—I always refer to both in what I'm saying—and Great Britain, cannot go on permanently. Most people recognise that. Of the recognition of it by the Colonies, you have evidence in the raising now and again, of suggestions in the direction of change. The simple truth is, that some of the essential elements are wanting in the link which unites Mother Country and Colonies. If you ask what these are, you get back to the cardinal point, that substantially the constitutions under which the Colonies are administered, are the work of the British Parliament. And, in several respects, the constitutions of the Colonies—and I have Australasia particularly in my mind—have come strongly into collision with colonial feeling and progress."

"Will you give me an example of it?"

"Probably two of the strongest are the appointment of governors by the British Ministry, and the nomination of the Upper Houses of the legislatures, through those governors. Surely, there could be

nothing more repugnant to the sentiment—nay, to the patriotism—of a community, than to be told that they have no man among them worthy or capable to stand at the head of the State, that only the Mother Country can produce such men. Not merely does that wound public feeling, but it destroys the legitimate ambition to reach the highest places of legislation, which ought to characterise a free people. Besides, while originally a governor was understood to be selected by the Mother Country for his experience and qualities as an administrator, it admittedly is not so now. To be told, as Disraeli declared, that a chief recommendation of a governor was that he had been born in the purple, or had married into it, is to aggravate the already existing evil. You perfectly understand that I am merely judging a system and its results, that for individuals I have nothing but praise. As to the Upper Houses, nominated through the Crown, the result of that has been to give the party of wealth an undue share of power.”

“But if you cut off governors nominated by the Crown, if the powers exercised by them in respect to the Upper Houses are abolished, what concrete link of connection is there remaining, with the Mother Country?”

“Which simply brings us to federation, to the fact that if Colonies and Mother Country are to go on in harmony, some true and equitable means of union must be found. It is satisfactory that the feeling on the part of the Colonies evinces a sincere desire for real unity with the Mother Country. Amid all the opportunities I have had of becoming acquainted with the views of the colonists, I have known only very few who desired separation. Believe me, the Colonies are distinct and earnest; but understand, they expect to be met in the same spirit. To myself it has always seemed that there is little promise in what, without offence to anybody, I shall call cut-and-dry schemes of federation. The well-remembered Sydney Conference convinced me of that, if I had not been convinced before. It was at it proposed to unite in one whole, colonies whose electoral systems were on radically different bases. New Zealand and South Australia, for instance, had manhood suffrage; elsewhere the plural vote existed. What was equally bad, the head of an Australasian Commonwealth was to be chosen, not by the people of the Commonwealth, but by the Crown—that is, by the British Prime Minister of the day. The Australasians were to have no voice in selecting the Head of their State, and probably every one of them would be barred from ever attaining to that great office. Clearly this was a wrong basis to build upon, and I regard the scheme of the Sydney Conference as an affair that is over and done with.”

“Your plan implies a more elastic idea, an entire avoidance of everything that could gall or fetter, any of the communities concerned?”

"As a security I would personally prefer that every man and woman in a colony capable of voting, should be on the register—one man or one woman, one vote. But then I recognise that to be a question for each colony, and so, let federation proceed on the lines which seem most natural, and the best, according to circumstances. I have no desire to lay down any determinate method of action, because in such a matter there may be different ways, equally good, towards the same end. It might be said that to create a United States of Australasia off-hand—even if it were desirable in itself—would merely be to make one more great nation, standing, to all intents and purposes, by itself. Why not, on the other hand, let one Australasian colony federate with another, if they so like, as is now suggested between Victoria and New South Wales. The general federation would not be affected thereby, because two colonies linked together, would simply have the larger a place in it. However a beginning is made the end to be striven for is a United States of Great Britain, for it would be natural to take the name from the Mother Country, the leading, the senior partner in the organisation."

"Your views are for the uniting of all branches of the Empire on some such basis as the United States of America?"

"I am willing to accept the United States of America, whose growth I have watched with satisfaction, as more or less an example by which we might proceed. It would not be necessary to adhere in any slavish way to it, but undoubtedly the United States of America have shown one way in which the end we must try to gain, can be reached. No doubt faults might be found in the American system, but, upon the whole, it ought to be regarded as furnishing us with very useful inspiration. Canada has already federated herself, and it would be an easy thing for her, whilst maintaining her own federation, to become part and parcel of the larger federation. I make no doubt that Australasia would come in colony by colony, or two at a time; anyhow, only she would come. As to the Polynesian Islands, they would be grouped together, and have their place and their representatives. True, New Caledonia and Tahiti belong to France, although if I and the native chiefs had been allowed to have our way, they might many years ago have been preserved for this federation. But as it is, they do not make serious obstacles, and the force of attraction which the greater always has for the less, would by-and-by, find them amongst us. Samoa I count secure in the end, thanks to the instinctive—possibly the unconsciously instinctive—action of the United States of America, which prevented those beautiful islands from becoming a dependency of Germany. South Africa I endeavoured to federate in my own time there, and I could give reasons for saying that I believe I should have been successful, had the Home Government allowed me to proceed. Certainly, in any case, the seeds were planted, and in all that has taken place

since, and in the disposition of South Africa now, I see clear hope of federation. Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, every part of the world which we hold, would have, and quickly wish to have, a due share in the federation; and even India, Oriental country though she be, I should hope in course of time would have her wealth and splendour recognised by membership. Outside the one great Imperial Parliament every colony and dependency would be its own ruler absolutely—that is to say, whatever belonged to a colony alone should lie with it alone to deal, through the method of its own legislative machine. And what that legislative machine might be it would be for the colony—rather let us say the particular State—to determine absolutely. It could have one legislative body or two, in fact whatever constitution it desired, for that would be purely its own matter.”

V. WHAT BRITAIN CAN DO.

“If there are to be as few obstacles as possible in the way to federation, what part do you look to the Mother Country to take?”

“She is the Mother of all these children scattered through the world, and her responsibility, like her position, is the greatest. She bore and cradled them all—cradled them perhaps impatiently at times as we have seen—but ever in the days of their distress, especially in the nineteenth century, aiding them with a mother’s tenderest care. First there comes up from the point of view of the Mother Country, what I have already alluded to, the question of the constitutions under which the Colonies govern themselves. The fact that the Colonies have constitutions which are not of their own making, does not prevent us from federating. But it would be far better that the Colonies should have the opportunity of revising their constitutions. The surest guarantee of contentment on the part of a people is that they shall have had the making, as well as the administration, of the machinery governing them.”

“Such a step as you suggest would involve a great deal, would it not, and, moreover, how could it be done?”

“My own experience of the working of certain parts of the colonial constitutions has convinced me of the wisdom of this, and I think there is a way by which it can readily be done. Let the British Parliament, taking action of its own initiative, or as the result of a request from the Colonies, pass an act declaring that after a certain period, the existing acts of the British Parliament giving constitutions to each of these Colonies shall become null and void, in order that the people of the several colonies may thereupon create new ones. Such an act ought to contain a provision, which would secure that the voters under it comprised, for the special and single purpose of framing the new constitutions, all adult citizens in each colony.

The great consideration would be, that in every case the constitution enacted should represent the free will of the community it affected, and that would be obtained by the means I am suggesting. If Britain gives the friendly lead to federation in that way we shall have made a great stride forward. As applying to this suggestion it might be said, 'Really the Colonies can at present do practically anything they like, so why call for an Act of the British Parliament?' But if you try to rearrange the colonial constitutions through themselves as they now stand, almost hopeless obstacles immediately appear. As the Colonies are, they can only make laws by a legislature consisting of a nominated Upper House and a Lower House the members of which are returned by a system of plural voting that gives vast powers to the owners of scattered properties. The Constitution which would be adopted under such a system would therefore not be a Constitution chosen by the people themselves; and moreover, as reorganisation ought to mean first and foremost the abolition of nominated Upper Houses, those who derive their powers through them would naturally stand out against reorganisation. Hence the call for this Act."

"All this to help federation forward, and then how about the composition of the new Imperial Parliament in which the common interests of Great and Greater Britain would reside?"

"The Federal Parliament of the United States of America has two branches—the House of Representatives and the Senate, and the Executive is outside both. My preference would be for a British Imperial Parliament of one chamber, because I think that, the most effective method of constitutional government, whether it be in the local affairs of a State or in the affairs of a world-wide empire. But no one man should presume to a definite opinion in such a matter, and given once that there was to be a British Imperial Parliament, it would have to be determined how it should, with the best advantage to all concerned, be constituted. No matter how all the parts of the Empire might differ in their own respective Constitutions, they would all meet on the same footing in the Imperial Parliament. It would make no difference if one State elected its representatives to the Imperial Parliament in one way, and its nearest neighbour proceeded on another. The right to choose representatives for the general Parliament as each thought best, would preserve what must never be forgotten, the sacred blessing of freedom within freedom. Obviously such a British Imperial Parliament, implies the reorganisation of the machinery by which the Mother Country at present administers her home and foreign affairs. When I suggested a scheme of Home Rule for Ireland, about the time of the contest in which I was interested at Newark, I had that in view. Home Rule for Ireland should not be regarded as purely a demand by Ireland; that is a mistaken, an unfortunate view, and only does harm. If we

are to have an Imperial Parliament for the whole Empire we must have as complete Home Rule for the different parts of the Mother Country as the Colonies would have."

"So the reorganisation must go on from two sides, that of the Colonies and that of the Mother Country, the younger and the older divisions of the Empire coming together as a result?"

"Clearly, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, England could all have Home Rule, or Local Government, or whatever you like to call it, since here at least a name but represents the object. Because you had Home Rule for the four divisions of the Mother Country, it need not be assumed that they will simply have one Home Rule Parliament each. Why should it be so? Why not, if it is best, make Ireland into several States, and so with England, and Scotland, and Wales. The general affairs that would be for the Imperial Parliament to settle include a group of subjects which immediately occur to one's mind, as the maintenance and administration of the Army and Navy, Customs, involving Free Trade or Protection as the case may be, and so on. It may be suggested that the Free Trade of Britain and the protective policy of the Colonies are likely to be a serious bar to federation. To that I make two answers. First, we can have federation, leaving each State to deal with its customs and such matters precisely as it likes, simply contributing a fair share to the revenue needed by the general Parliament to meet the expenditure on account of all. Secondly, I believe that the taxation of the future is to be drawn not only from the sources which now supply it, but largely out of the land—from what is known as 'the unearned increment.' Most of what is now a heavy and unfair burden, would then be lifted from the shoulders of the masses of the people."

"You expect in the rearranging of the machine of our economy, a great readjustment of the basis on which nations now find their public funds?"

"I do. No good service is rendered by creating difficulties ahead. We may be certain of this, that each generation as it comes rolling on, will hold its own views upon every subject, differing widely, perhaps, from the views of its predecessors. What we have to do is to ensure a free Government which shall now and always secure to the people at large the power of enacting the laws they deem to be the wisest and best suited to the circumstances of the age."

VI. THE CASE OF AMERICA.

"Beyond the federation of the British Empire, there remains, if the whole splendid prospect you suggest is to be attained, the question of the other great branch of the race. What of the American Republic?"

"An object distinct in a sense certainly, more formidable if you

like, yet, if we can achieve it, the crowning stone of the whole edifice. Most thinkers, I find, are willing to admit that it may be possible to group the people of Britain and Greater Britain on a common basis. But when you suggest that in the union of the family the American Republic must somehow be included, why, they exclaim, 'A vision.' Now, to me, there is nothing visionary in the idea, and without directly intending it, much has already been done to draw Britain and America together again."

"Would you seek to have a United States of Britain on one hand, a United States of America on the other, and common action between the two?"

"Perhaps that would be the plainest line to go on, but it is not in the least the compulsory one. Circumstances ever occur in men's pilgrimage and labours which make fresh opportunities, throw new lights, mould cases into new forms. We should expect the gradual closing of the bonds between the various groups of the race to go on at the same time. Assuredly there would be no need whatever to complete British federation before the question of co-operation, at least, with America became an absolute fact. It need not even have been begun, and most probably if we first came to an understanding with America the fact would be a great incentive to the purely British federation. The difficulties between us and America as to the boundary line with Canada, the *Alabama*, and the Behring Sea seal fisheries, were settled by arbitration. Substantially the two nations met in council, and from these meetings we can never go back. What we have to do is to come to a standing agreement that whenever any subject affecting us both arises, or when there is any question affecting the well-being of the world generally, we shall meet in conference and decide upon common action. An Anglo-American Council, coming quietly into operation when there was cause, disappearing for the time when it had done its work, would be a mighty instrument for good."

"Would what you suggest demand an enactment by either country, or could it be attained otherwise?"

"It has been proposed, I notice, to introduce a measure in the American Congress providing for the settlement by arbitration of any disputes arising with Britain during the next twenty-five years. In spirit that is excellent, but public opinion in this is far better than enactments, and I should prefer simply a general understanding between the two Governments. Enactments are apt to make one think of compulsion, while by having a simple understanding you avoid that. Suppose a difficulty crops up between the two countries, or suppose other nations intend to do something which would affect the well-being of the whole world. Immediately this Conference takes place, and what it decides is accepted by the two Parliaments, and severally enacted by them. You see I propose now merely what on the face of it is

perfectly feasible, that and nothing more. I don't suggest an immediate effort at reunion between mother and daughter, because that would bring up a crowd of difficulties which evolution and time only can meet. But we can begin, as, in fact, we have begun, leaving the rest to follow when ripe. See how America herself, originally thirteen States, has grown by federation."

"Taking America as she is, do you judge that her people, having a large admixture of non-Saxon blood, would really care for closer relationship with Britain?"

"I shall meet what you urge by recounting an incident which a distinguished American author described. There was a great gathering in New York, and, for some reason or other, the occasion demanded the hoisting of the British flag. Some one cried that that flag ought not to be hoisted again on American soil, to which there was the reply that it ought never to have been pulled down. In the end, it seemed to be agreed by general consent that America did right to separate at the time, that she was forced into it, but that some bond of union should have been left—a common ground on which the two countries could have met for their common interests. I believe that American people are taking up that idea, and recognising that it will not only be for their and our advantage, but for the good of all mankind."

"Might I not argue that the war between the Northern and the Southern States of America showed anything but a desire for Anglo-Saxon unity, especially if it is assumed that British opinion ran largely for the Secessionists—the South?"

"There could not with justice be such an argument from the struggle between North and South, because it arose out of the one great flaw in that wonderful creation, the American Constitution. Strangely enough, when the Constitution was drawn up, it was omitted to make any provision in it for dealing with slavery, and inevitably, in course of time, came dispute and war. That war is to be counted merely one of the temporary hindrances to the gradual union of Anglo-Saxondom, which have arisen from time to time. While, like others, it may have contributed something to delay the union, it has not interfered with its eventual achievement. As to British opinion showing, then, against unity by favouring the South, we know that was only the opinion of a party in Britain. The mass of the British people who had nothing to regard but the right, and what was for the future weal, were for the North. You alluded to the admixture of foreign blood in America, but really it has not been very great, and it is chiefly of a kindred type to the Anglo-Saxon, the Germanic. If the Anglo-Saxon race in America has shown anything, it has been the capacity for making Anglo-Saxon, what has come to it that was not Anglo-Saxon. If that is not the hewing of the materials with which there will be building by-and-by, what is it? Why should we shrink from recognising that, ulti-

mately—when, I cannot tell, because I am not a prophet—the probabilities appear to indicate the federation, by their States, of Britain, America, and what are now the British Colonies, in fine, the English-speaking people, in one great head Parliament? Various circumstances occurring seem to point to the fact that Nature herself runs in a course which is evolving such a union as what I have suggested, would form a basis to.”

VII. BLESSINGS OF FEDERATION.

“If it is possible to solidify the English-speaking people on some such lines as you indicate, the final question is, What would be the gain to them, and to mankind?”

“To all intents and purposes war would by degrees die out from the face of the earth—it would become impossible. The armed camp, which burdens the Old World, enslaves the nations, and impedes progress, would disappear. If you had the Anglo-Saxon race, acting on a common ground, they could determine the balance of power for a fully peopled earth. Such a moral force would be irresistible, and argument would take the place of war, in the settlement of international disputes. Why, if there was a race great enough by a single word to prevent it, should any two nations throw the world into disorder, by fighting with each other? If the arbitrament of reason takes the place of the arbitrament of war, it will at once be seen what a new and noble world is unveiled. Substantially the fighting machinery of the Old World—the arsenals, and the battalions—have been kept out of the New. But mutterings sometimes threaten, which excite the young nations of the New World to think they must prepare means for their own defence, against some of the nations of the Old. Therefore, unless Anglo-Saxon union is realised, the doubt arises, whether war can long be kept out of the New World; so, you see, unity makes for the prevention of war in the Old, and obviates any probable causes of war in the New. An element not fully dreamt of, which is being introduced, will immensely strengthen the federation idea. The influence of woman, now coming to be a real factor in the world, will tend, probably as much as any other cause, to make nations unwilling to plunge into scenes of bloodshed and useless destruction of life and property. That will be a blessed assistance towards the peace of the world in this time of excitement, and so a bulwark for federation, which is the creator of peace.”

“You lay great stress, do you not, on the means federation would afford for improving the conditions affecting modern life and thought?”

“As the second great result of the cohesion of the race, we should have life quickened and developed, and unemployed energies called into action in many places, where they now lie stagnant. The thoughtful mind which applies the principle of federation, will find

that it meets many of the difficulties which now appear to block our path. Below it, the very essence of it, is decentralisation, the getting of the people fairly spread over the earth, not huddled into a few places where decay would follow overcrowding. Every separate State, having complete Home Rule, would contain its own vital life within itself, would offer the highest opportunities to the labours of its citizens. Whenever you constitute a new centre of authority, you create a basis of general activity, which in its turn again, has offshoots. Thus there would be more employment, the waste lands of the Old World and the still untilled ones of the New, would be taken up. Federation means, then, not merely the grouping of us together—which is the instrument—but the settling of national and social and labour questions, which have been coming to the front for years back. Difficulties which the present machinery is not adequate to deal with, which divided we can ill solve, we should be able united to settle with perfect ease—in fact, the forces which created union would also work to the settlement of all these questions.”

“You hold that a centralised system of government is not well suited to the present-time wants of men, at least, that a better is possible?”

“I do. We have evidence of it in the modern unions which have come into existence in such strength. Parliaments did not meet the needs of the people, so they have virtually legislated for themselves by the creation in a new form of those guilds with which, under different circumstances, our forefathers first secured the foundations of our liberties. There could hardly be a more eloquent plea for decentralisation, which, as population increases in the world, must ever become the greater a necessity. I think that in local decentralisation, coupled with general centralisation, there is the secret of future human stability and vitality. Possibly I shall be charged with wishing to re-establish the period of the Heptarchy, but, of course, the case is entirely different. The Heptarchy meant quite separate entities, while federation is complete local life, with the strength and vigour so to be obtained, and a general unity on what concerns all. It makes one sad to think what governmental capacity, what patriotism are running to waste in the British Empire, because there are at present no means of calling them into action. Think of the splendid training grounds the local Parliaments would be for the greater work of the federal one, and of the higher possibilities which, in every way, would be opened out. There would be far more happiness, and who knows that we might not even do away with poverty and want, as well as with that most fruitful source of both—war.”

“An Anglo-Saxondom, with a continuous link holding it together, would allow whatever good might arise at any part to run freely and naturally through the whole mass—barriers being removed, more would be accomplished for the common benefit?”

"Already, daily and hourly, counsel goes on between all parts of the world, bringing the wisdom of the whole to each given point. Communities, separated by seas and continents, are able to discuss with each other on the minute how they can help each other, what action is for the highest interests of both. The path is clear, and, to my thinking, they are the best friends, the benefactors of humanity, who recognise frankly the line which things are taking, and adapt themselves to it. We ought to use the circumstances around us, not against each other, causing confusion, but so unite them for a common object, that their full possibilities for good may be drawn forth. Surely it is impossible that the federation we see existing in the incessant congress of the civilised world can ever be gone back upon. But we must provide—and it is our part as a people to lead in that—fuller, freer methods for utilising the onward tide of humanity, which naturally strives after higher ideals. We need in this world to have life permeated with all the helps and lights that are obtainable, not to shut these out as they severally become available. It is because I think I see in federation such a vista of brighter life for the masses that I am so persuaded an advocate of it, and so full of belief in its realisation."

"How would you expect the rise of the Anglo-Saxon, through federation, to influence the world in respect to religion and language, which are so integral parts of all advancement?"

"With infinite benefit. It would mean the triumph of what, if it is carried out, is the highest moral system man in all his history has known—Christianity. And it would imply the dominance of probably the richest language that has ever existed—that belonging to us Anglo-Saxons. Given a universal code of morals and a universal tongue, and how far would the step be to that last great federation, the brotherhood of man, which Tennyson and Burns have sung to us. It is not for us to dip into the future farther than we can reasonably see, but so far we are not only entitled, but bound, to go. Many a time I have been called a dreamer of dreams, and often it has been told me, that I forgot the present, and wanted to legislate for the unborn millions. Now, when I am waiting my time to go, just doing what I can that may be useful to my fellow-men, I can say that many of those dreams have been realised, that many of those millions have been born. On one of my visits to Carlyle at Chelsea, we walked up and down for an hour in the open air, as we often did, talking, I remember, on some religious matter. Suddenly he stopped, laid his hand on my shoulder, and, looking into my face, said, 'Oh, that I could believe like you.' Well, I believe."

JAMES MILNE.

AN ALPINE JOURNAL.

June 1, 1894.

THE assembling of a party together from various places is always a troublesome process, however completely preliminary arrangements have been made. Mr. E. A. FitzGerald was to come from Florence. His guides, J. B. Aymonod (M N O we call him) and Louis Cassel (one of Whymper's companions in the Andes), were due from Valtournanche. Zurbriggen, my old Himalayan companion, was to arrive from Macugnaga; and I was come from England with the two Gurkhas, Amar Sing Thapa and Karbir, who likewise had been with me in the Himalayas, and who were again allowed to accompany me by the kind permission of their commanding officer, Colonel Gaselee of the Fifth Gurkha Rifles.

The date fixed for our rendezvous at Turin was the 1st of June, and by 8 A.M. we were all together in my room, surrounded by a chaos of unpacked baggage, consisting largely (as usual) of unnecessary things. The number of our party was raised to eight by the addition of FitzGerald's excellent polyglot servant, a blend of every European nationality.

Our appearance in the streets of Turin was always an occasion for the assemblage of a crowd, so that we had no encouragement to delay. By two o'clock we were already in the Cuneo train, where, with the usual lack of foresight of travellers, however experienced, we found that we had carefully reserved ourselves the two window-seats on the sunny side. The afternoon was hot, and we were fairly roasted. Smoke came in at the windows and so blackened us that there was presently little to choose between us and the Gurkhas in the matter of colour. We passed through the fertile Piedmontese plain, by fields bright with poppies, and with blue hills all around, fading up into the soft clouds that follow rainy weather. Here and there

through a valley opening we had glimpses of snowy peaks, which we could not identify. Patches of snow lingered low on their flanks, but for the most part the snow line had already mounted to within 1000 feet of its summer level.

The hours dragged themselves slowly along, each marked by the passing of some town, with a great old brick fortress in its midst, round towers at the angles, and the walls pierced at regular intervals with holes for scaffold-poles. The castle of Turin, which every one knows, is typical of mediæval Piedmontese fortresses. At Cuneo we waited for an hour. Energetic persons would have utilised the time to see such sights as the place may afford; we more wisely dined, and then smoked our cigarettes on the rampart, looking towards the foot-hills of the Ligurian Alps.

In due season we started on again by another train for Limone. It was timed to accomplish the intervening twenty miles in two hours, and it is only fair to say that this official estimate of its speed was justified by the result. It was a friendly sort of a train; dogs ran beside it for a mile or so; people shouted from its windows to their friends in the fields; the guard was obliging enough to go off at one station into the neighbouring village to buy us a couple of so-called Virginia cigars, which were always amusing to light though less satisfactory to smoke. The train wound up a charming valley, and crept through a series of tunnels of which some are corkscrew in form, after the St. Gothard manner. The slopes on both sides were richly wooded, and sometimes dyed scarlet with dead birches. The stream of clear water babbled below in graceful curves and the old road wound beside it. At last we reached Limone, where we halted for the night at a simple inn. The railway is in active construction above Limone, and is destined to be carried through a long tunnel and down to the Mediterranean at Ventimiglia.

June 2.

Our ideal was to start at 5 o'clock this morning. In fact we started at 7.30, and then only with a struggle, for the luggage had to be divided into two portions—one to go on our backs and those of our men, the other to go round with the polyglot James and meet us at Casteldelfino. One is liable to carry what will not be needed, and to send away the most necessary things. After going a quarter of a mile we recollected that the camera and field-glasses had been left behind, and simultaneously the breathless James was observed hurrying after us for needful keys we were carrying off. The road before us was broad and excellent. We marched briskly up it, cutting off the zigzags so boldly that we ultimately lost the road altogether, and found ourselves contentedly advancing up a wrong valley. Sentries turned us back, and we then discovered that the

whole country-side is covered with fortified places, from the very sight of which civilian eyes are debarred. Without permissions from high authorities it is impossible to go anywhere in this part of the Maritime Alps. We ultimately reached the proper road once more, and hastened along it to catch up with our companions. It was a gay kind of a morning, and every one we met seemed to be gay. There were carters driving their teams with loads of bricks for railway bridges, and cracking their whips as they went. A man came running down the hill with a hand-cart, so balanced by a friend seated on its back edge that the weight of him in the shafts was almost counterpoised. The vehicle ran itself down the hill, and the carter's feet only touched the ground every ten yards or so. It must have been as good as a glissade.

Thus, in what should have been an hour's walk, but really took nearly two, we reached the mouth of the tunnel, which goes under the Colle di Tenda, and is some two kilometres long. We sat down to cool before entering its cold shadows, where water drips from the vault in a continual shower. When we started in, all with one consent began to shout and sing, and the same effect was produced upon others that followed. The hollow place rang with

"Oh, Jean Baptiste,
Why have you greased
My little dog's nose with tar?"

and the like classic ditties; and the Gurkhas, not to be outdone, raked up reminiscences of Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay, which they had picked up from Roudebush in Kashmir. The instinct of man to cry aloud from out of his darkness, physical or moral, may perhaps point to an origin of church music; and the stone vaults of Gothic churches may have had something to do with its development.

The tunnel was sixty-two lamps long, and we ultimately passed the lot and made our exit through the iron doors at the end. Some workmen, blasting an apparently aimless hole and chucking the stuff down into the stream, were the first beings we saw in the daylight. They directed us to the neighbouring Albergo del Traforo, where we hoped to find the man who was to get for us permission to climb in the neighbouring hills. He was not in, so Zurbriggen went up the road to the first military post to inquire for him, and, by the help of the telephone, succeeded in bringing him down. We presented letters from our friends of the Italian Alpine Club in Turin, and these, with some help from St. Maurice (what he had to do with it I could not make out, but he was in it somehow), apparently put a better complexion on our prospects. Having nothing more to do for the time, we ordered a meal, though we were not a bit hungry, and afterwards resigned ourselves to being bored.

This occupation was interrupted by the coming of the man under the patronage of St. Maurice who was to work the oracle for us. He, Zurbriggen, and I started off to walk up the hill and interview the military authorities about our *permesso*. We were armed with letters from the presidents of various Alpine clubs, with *visé* passports and other documents. In addition, a letter had been written on our behalf from the President of the Royal Geographical Society to the Italian Embassy in London, and this had been communicated to the War Office in Rome. We had every reason to expect a favourable result. We climbed about 500 feet to a house occupied by soldiers, where we had to stop whilst a telephonic communication was held with the upper regions. I only heard the near end of the conversation: "An English gentleman with his guide." "Wants to see the colonel." "Has letters for the colonel." "One English gentlemen." "English." "His guide, his domestic." "On foot"—and so forth. Ultimately we were told the colonel was out; we must wait. We waited an hour. The captain then rang us up. We might come on, provided that the man under the patronage of St. Maurice came with us. We climbed 1000 feet or more, and entered cloudland. We were close to the fort on the col. A ghostly captain emerged from the mist. The colonel had sent him to see our letters, and to assure us that we were undoubtedly most respectable persons, but that, &c. Our letters were read, and the captain went off with them to the colonel, whilst we sat down for half an hour and threw stones at our ice-axes. The clouds rolled and played about us, and opened occasional glimpses towards but never to the southern sea. The captain returned to tell us that they would not give us permission to go anywhere in the neighbourhood, except back through the tunnel or down to Tenda. We might go to Monte Clapier, or elsewhere in that direction, but this fortified circle of the hills was closed to all the world. He continued to assure us of his distinguished consideration, and then down we went, followed by three soldiers to watch us off the premises.

I see I have forgotten to say what we came to the Colle di Tenda for. This pass is chosen as a convenient eastern limit to the Maritime Alps. East of it the Apennines are by some considered to commence. As a matter of fact they do not; the two ranges overlap one another for a certain distance—the one sinking eastwards, the other, parallel to and south of it, sinking westwards. But for practical purposes the Alps may be counted as starting from the Tenda Pass, and the first peak of the range is the Rocca dell' Abisso. It is a trifling hump, but it is number one, and so we wanted to climb it. Unfortunately it commands a view of all the forts. A mule-path has been made up to it, and a sentry sits on the top. Monte Clapier,

which comes next to it, is the first real peak, and to this we had now to turn our attention.

June 3.

To start at 4 A.M. for a mountain is one thing—to start at that hour for a tunnel is quite another. There is nothing to awake one in a monotonous tramp in the dark. FitzGerald carries no knapsack, but fills his large pockets with things. It takes him some time to get up a momentum, but when that is accomplished all he has to do is to follow his pockets. Hungry, for we had not breakfasted; sleepy, for our night had been short; and footsore, we reached the station at Limone, entered the train, and went to sleep. A moment later and we awakened at Borgo S. Dalmazzo. We found our way to an inn through a gathering crowd. The *gens d'armes* marked us down as suspicious characters, and three of them marched in and accosted the guides. Satisfied for the moment, they retreated, but soon returned and took Louis Cassel into custody for having no passport. He was ultimately released, and we were enabled to finish our breakfast in the dirtiest sort of a *café*. In the corner of the room was a life-size marble statue of a mostly nude man, wearing the sort of crown with many points that instantly suggests the Old Testament, and gesturing in a vague manner, with a lot of fingers broken off at different joints. He was standing on a pile of apparently decapitated heads of children.

Zurbriggen and I sallied forth into the town, and found our way to a church where a confirmation was going on. "It must be at least six years," said he, "since a confirmation was held here; you can see that by the age of the children." White-hooded girls filled the north side of the nave; round-headed, specially cropped boys filled, and over-filled, the other. There were at least three boys to two girls. "That is as it happens," said Zurbriggen, "in our valley last year there were twenty-two boys born and eleven girls; sometimes there are as few as three girls." The church was dressed in red, and with its silver altar and the mitred personage before it, with his brodered cloak lined with green and held back to show the lining by two red-robed assistants, made an impressive picture. The bishop began his address: "It is unfortunately six years since a confirmation was held in this place"—one to Zurbriggen.

The diligence was at last ready to start, and off it rolled, groaning with all of us and two more men. I sat on the backless front seat, and slept the two and a half hours of the way. At Entracque I awoke. Had the valley been specially beautiful or interesting I should not have slept. No one sleeps through an eloquent sermon. The fame of us had unfortunately spread to this remote inn. It procured for us good treatment, good provisions, and an exorbitant bill.

When the cool of the afternoon came we started on foot, intending to sleep at the Monighet Châlets; but before we had gone 100 yards the way was blocked before us by soldiers, who had followed us up from St. Dalmazzo. We showed our papers, and they were satisfied at last, and then gave us information that was useful. On all these occasions we were most politely received by our interlocutors; but let it be understood that they rise from the ground on all sides, and that no climber can hope to reach ground which they are not willing he should reach.

At last we got off, and made our way up a stony mule-path for three hours, following a wild valley and its branch to a wilder cirque amongst the hills, where we pitched our little tent by a lake, and found a place of shelter under a rock for our followers. A grassy talus sloped up from the calm black lake to rocky walls seamed with *coulairs*, down which fell waterfalls from under beds of snow. The end of the lake rested against a wall of rock, over which an ice-fall once descended. Above that peeped crests and summits deeply snow-covered, and tipped with rose by the setting sun. As the pink passed up to the cirrus above, the Gurkhas pitched the tent among newly opened flowers—yellow pansies, white violets, cowslips, and the forget-me-not—through which are transmigrating, perhaps, the souls of those in all ages who have loved mountains. The night came quickly on. Warm airs enveloped us, and a gentle drift of high mist from the south roofed in the sky.

June 4.

At 4.15 A.M. we started to climb the Argentiera. The light of dawn was in the north as we passed round the lake and zigzagged up the cliff beyond it. The surface was blacker than ever, the waterfall that leaps toward it, as from the rock's heart, looked grand in the vague morning shadows. All the paths in this country are horrible to follow, for they are made of loose stones that never bind, and they form the track of streamlets from the snow. In an hour and a half we were at the top of the cliff and the far-off Piedmontese plain was before us, enframed by hills of striking form, all deeply enveloped in snow. As we approached our breakfast-place we saw close at hand, and little disturbed by our presence, a herd of chamois. They are seldom shot in this district, for it is a royal preserve. "They feed here like so many sheep," said Zurbriggen. Truth to tell, the sight of them failed to stir me, but it put the guides into a state of wildest enthusiasm. We had to descend three hundred feet to the unoccupied alp, near some ponds, and then crossing the flat, an ascent up steep grass slopes led us towards our col. It was a dull side valley that reached up before us, with a wall of rocks on our left and

rock slopes on our right. The only fine sight was the range of hills behind us, all white with belated snow. It soon became clear that the Argentiera in its present condition could not be climbed. Avalanches were pouring off it on all sides, and its rock walls were heavy with snow ready to fall. We were not sorry, being as yet out of condition a hard day's work presented little attraction. Accordingly we halted often. We sat on the grass amongst green lichen-covered rocks, with the rock-walls about us, the avalanches booming, and a fresh air stroking our hot faces, a deep blue sky overhead, in which the heavenly powers were spinning cirrus webs, Falling waters sang to us their eternal mountain song, how that all winter long the frost had bound them in his prison, but now the sun had come and set them free—they were off to the sweet fields and the bright villages, off to Venice and the sea.

From the alp to the col should take about two hours' steady walking; how many hours we took will not be revealed. The snow was knee-deep for the last half mile, and avalanches fell across the track. I toiled after Zurbriggen. "I can keep easily ahead of you uphill," he said, "but not downhill." "That is because you are heavy," I replied. "Well, if I'm heavy I'm not fat; but then, fat does not weigh much either, for you see fat is drink, but flesh is good meat, and that weighs well."

We sat by the shepherd's hut on the col for some time and watched the avalanches falling down the *coulloir* and *débris* fan which we ought to have ascended. Its foot is close to the col. Our descent led again over avalanche tracks, but no falling snow came near us. We had one or two rotten and almost perilously steep slopes to negotiate, and then we could glissade. In an hour we were at the Gias Laedrot, and the other face of the Argentiera was before us, with its steep *coulloir* and the remarkable peaks at its head. One of these has a vertical face, and is formed of light-coloured limestone, splashed with a stripe of red, just like Gusherbrum. Fitzgerald photographed it and I took him. Presently we were off again, following a good mule-path which led us to a corner where we saw plumb down into the luxuriant Valdieri and looked on to the roof of the large hotel of the Baths, planted at the foot of steep woods leading up to fine mountain sides where shadowed grassy deeps and gullies were mingled with sunlit knees and elbows of rock. We zigzagged down toward it, and a chamois darted away from our very feet and ran down as though making for the high road. The hotel was not yet opened, and no accommodation was to be had, but there is a small detachment of soldiers beside it and little Pinte for them which supplied us with wine, coffee, a table, and chairs. I hoped we might replenish our failing stock of tobacco here, and inquired of the man if he had any cigars? "I'm sorry, sir," he answered, "but *io mastico*,

and so don't require them." We sat outside the dirty little place, took our meal, and did our writing. Thus the day closed, with a slight gathering of clouds overhead and low down on the hill-sides.

No; it did not so close. The *gens d'armes* had been watching us, and after dinner they closed. They demanded "papers," and we gave them a lot, but they found them poor stuff. My passport they regarded as made for Monsieur Kimberley; besides, as it was *viséd* for France, it was useless for Italy. We finally produced a copy of the *Piedmontese Gazette*, giving, under the heading of "Sport," an account of our doings. This satisfied them. "That," they said, "is really a good paper, and worth all the rest of your letters and papers put together. Keep it carefully, and always show it to *gens d'armes*. It will be worth your while."

After this excitement we went for a short walk, and only then discovered the marvellous picturesque charms of the place—the walks in the woods, the view from the bridge, the hot spring in the hillside. Lovers of natural beauty should take note of the Bagni di Valdieri. The clouds thickened overhead, but M N O bade us have no care. "I have rheumatism in one leg, but it is at rest now. The weather will be fine." He was a true prophet. We retired to our tent before dark, but the coffee we had drunk, and a perambulating watchman with a lantern, kept sleep away.

June 5.

To-day we were to have crossed by a col to Vinadio, where we should certainly have been arrested, but fortune willed otherwise. It was eight o'clock before we lazily started. When one starts early one always hurries to gain all possible benefit from the shade, but a late start renders such haste unnecessary, so we dawdled from the very beginning. The road up the valley was alive with soldiers carrying straw-stuffed mattresses. They went for all the world like Bulti coolies, sitting down every time the corporal's back was turned. I said to him, "You have a job on hand this morning with these lazy men." "Oh, no!" he replied, "*fa divertimento*." In an hour and a quarter we reached the second King's hunting path, zigzagging up the hill to the south, and we turned up it. The flowers everywhere were delightful, and of such numerous varieties, all fresh and young, not a faded blossom amongst them. A few feet up the zigzags and we overlooked the beautiful old lake basin, flat and green, in which the King's hunting-box is built—a square of buildings like an oriental *serai*. A waterfall brightened the end of the lawn, and a fine cirque of peaks surrounded this charming retreat. Thenceforward we plodded upwards, till we came to where the path divides, no such division being shown on the map. Since the Fall, everybody goes wrong on these occasions; we went to the left

instead of to the right. We accordingly reached, after toiling up a variety of snow-slopes, of which one was rotten and avalanchy, a corniced col, which the barometer showed to be the right height, and where we contentedly sat down. The compass indicated north unexpectedly far to the right, and the lake we looked for was not in view. Still, the map is in many places so inaccurate that this did not unsettle us.

On calling for the provisions we found that the men had devoured all the meat at breakfast, and that the day was to be a bread-and-butter one. FitzGerald and I secretly purloined the end of a *salmi* in revenge. It was easily secreted, but the straits to which we were put to eat it secretly made its possession a doubtful blessing. The view from our perch was rather fine, as all such views must be, but none of the great peaks were in sight. Viso and Argentiera were hidden, but away to the west we looked over a series of white ranges apparently following one another like ocean waves washing southwards, with winter snow a foam drifting down their backs.

The descent led us down 1000 feet of steep snow wall. We started an avalanche before we had gone far, but its only effect was to clear the way before us to the level floor of the cirque at the head of the valley below us. We bent round leftward, and the mouth of the valley opened before us. In a moment we recognised the hills beyond. They were the same we had seen in the morning! We were going fast towards the Valdieri once more, and the side valley we were in was the Val di Valrossa.* In fact, we had gone up one side valley, crossed an intermediate rib, and were descending another side valley. It was too late to retrace our steps, and we had nothing to do but return to the Baths, and spend a second night there. At first I was minded to be annoyed, but a moment's reflection convinced me that we had had a delightful day, and that in fact one expedition was really as good as another. There was no chance now of being arrested, and that was really a loss.

Coming to a grassy flat, we lay in the sun, and were in a mood to praise everything. The air was delightful: flowers saluted us from every chink of rock; the tempered sun shone abroad over everything, and everywhere water was spurting and hurrying—crystal clear—over the grass and the rocks, and raising the streams to unusual flood. When we reached the valley we found the river broad and full, of a deep indigo colour in the low falling afternoon light. Where the water bent at the top of a large waterfall the sun struck through the body of it, and lit it up, from within, a shimmering

* Our actual expedition was this. We had started correctly up the King's path; then we diverged to the left into the Val Miana, instead of bending round to the col we intended to cross. The col we crossed was at the head of the Val Miana. We might still have crossed from the head of the Val di Valrossa to the Lago Soprano della Sella by an easy pass if we had found out our mistake in time.

green light such as every one remembers who has seen Niagara. As the evening came on the Baths were reached, and our tent set up in its old position. The wind now rose to a gale, and howled all night long amongst the trees; but our tent was well pitched, and we slept a perfect sleep till dawn next day.

June 6.

One of the rules of our journey was never to make two attempts at any expedition. Accordingly we had to start this morning round by the valley to our next climb. By all accounts we should be allowed to do nothing at Vinadio, and the route from Vinadio to Prazzo did not appear to be interesting. Accordingly we determined to make direct for Prazzo by the quickest valley route, and thence cross the Pelvo d'Elva to Casteldelfino.

We started down the valley at six o'clock on a lovely morning. A mile ahead its bed was filled with a boiling white mist silvered by the sunshine. The river, still crystal clear and over full, kept us company as we advanced down one of the loveliest dales it has ever been my delight to follow. Great fallen rocks diversified the wayside; the hills were broken by rock and grass slopes into light and shadow; all things growing looked so young and fresh; the turns of the way yielded new pictures from moment to moment. Then we plunged beneath the mist. It was opaque here, transparent there; it curled and twisted about us, now revealing in magic frames the most delightful glimpses of crags and peaks. Thus it is that Nature sometimes comes to the help of man. In almost every view there is some part which, if isolated, possesses those elements of balance and composition in line, or in light and shade, which make it an artistic unity. The trained eye finds these out for itself, and bounds them by its field of attention. But sometimes Nature is amiable and supplies the frame, when even the dullest detects the charm.

An hour's walk or so along the road we reached a little copse for all the world such as one sees in Dürer's engravings as background to the "Holy Family." We could not but halt awhile under its shadow and let the clock go round as it pleased. Presently we came to the opening of a side valley at S. Anna, where on the one side a gorgeous waterfall came down between picturesque houses, and on the other the King's hunting-box stood amongst trees on a grassy fiat. The valley opened somewhat, and became more luxuriant. Soft clouds gathered overhead, and cast upon the hills a splendid purple mantle. Where the Entracque valley joined there was an open area, endowed with a charm of spaciousness and wealth which only the lower Italian valleys possess. We plodded for a mile or so over a dusty fiat, and re-entered Valdieri, where we lunched and hired a carriage to take us and the packs to S. Dalmazzo, whither the guides preceded us on foot.

After lunch the inevitable *gendarme* appeared, clad in all the glory of a cocked hat, and armed to the teeth with a revolver, sword, and what-not. He had, as all of them have, excellent manners. He knew our names and all about us, where we had been, what we had done, and only desired to be satisfied as to our identity. That accomplished, he sat and talked with us; told us how French troops were massed this year on the frontier, and how that accounted for their own unusual activity. They had already, he said, caught five French officers this spring sketching their forts. They were naturally, therefore, on the *qui vive*. Then he launched out in praise of the Baths of Valdieri. They were re-opened by Carlo Alberto, but the Romans had first found them, when they were on the way to conquer France and the world. Those were great days. The Romans bathed wherever they found baths; that was why they were so great. Water makes men strong. Thus far the big bath-house had not paid well. The company that built it failed. Now a hotel-keeper from S. Remo had taken it. He was a brave man, and would do well. We were going to Monte Viso, he heard; Monte Viso was a fine mountain, far finer than the hills about there. He himself had climbed some hills. There was an Englishman last year at Valdieri, who climbed hills and took photographs. He enjoyed himself greatly. Assuredly he would return, and so probably would we. With that he shook hands with us, refused our cigars and wine (he drank nothing, and only smoked cigarettes), and was gone. FitzGerald then lifted his pocket off the second chair he had placed beside him to support it, we climbed into our crazy vehicle, and drove away.

The tram took us from S. Dalmazzo to Cuneo, and a steam tram thence to Dronero, an exceptionally picturesque place, with an old machicolated bridge of two high wide arches, spanning a gorge cut into the valley floor. The river curls round, and the houses are brighter round the edge of the bending gorge, with a cirque of hills behind them. In the market-place a *gendarme* accosted Zurbriggen. "You are one of Signor Conway's party; we know all about you, where you have been and where you are going—there is nothing that we don't know." We took our places in a tumble-down diligence which started from the "Inn of the Iron Arm of Giacoma Rittatore." An hour's drive brought us to S. Damiano, as the evening lights were gathering, and heavy rain was beginning to fall.

June 7.

At last, after good food freshly and well cooked, we had a long night in bed. We were early roused by a noise in the open space without. It was the monthly market-day. The stalls were setting up, goods unpacking, and a multitude of country folk gathering. Cows, goats, and sheep were in abundance, and presently sales went briskly for-

ward, with all the gay chatter, the meeting of friends, the greetings and haggings suitable to such occasions. Companies of soldiers marched from time to time through the crowd; baggage trains, mules, men on horseback and with led horses followed. It was an animated scene.

By eight o'clock our men marched away leaving us to follow them with the baggage at a later hour. The morning was devoted to writing and the pleasure of idleness. We wandered amongst the market-folk and noticed the strongly modelled and solemn faces of the men. Two met one another just in front of me, old men, like as brothers; they gazed steadfastly at one another and remained thus, apparently unconscious that the fitful wind had carried both their hats aloft together, and that all the crowd were laughing.

Before leaving the inn we inspected its great old *sala*, hung with huge seventeenth-century pictures, and sparsely furnished with what once were fine chairs and settees. In their tattered and forlorn condition they looked like stiff-backed aristocrats fallen upon evil days, but clinging desperately to the remembrance of their former glory.

The valley above S. Damiano is beautiful with a rare loveliness. *Débris* from the hill-sides once filled the floor across and made a wide flat area. Through the deep bed of conglomerate thus formed the river has again cut a gorge, within which it gracefully winds. In long green or wooded slopes the mountains spread down on either side to the fertile valley floor, villages are planted on the edge of the lower ravine, the sides of which are precipitous with birch trees growing on their ledges, now and then a waterfall leaping down over them. The floor of the ravine again is flat, with grass lawns of wonderful verdure, contained by the loops of the clear and hurrying waters. As we drove along, gazing at the series of beautiful pictures thus revealed to us, we turned a corner, and a long tendril of wild rose in full blossom reached out from the rocks on our right and arched the picture in. So entranced were we that an ice-axe, my companion for eighteen summers, leapt out of the carriage, and I did not miss it till we reached the trysting place, where our men awaited us. Aymonod went back a mile or so to look for it. He met some peasants and asked them if they had seen such a thing in the way. "Yes," they answered; "lying in the middle of the road." "Why did you not pick it up, then?" "Oh! why should we? It was not ours." And the next men we met said the same. "We saw it and left it; it was not ours." It lay where it fell till Aymonod found and brought it safely back.

We walked slowly up zigzags through the village of Stroppio and round the cirque of grass slopes above it all the gay afternoon. No meadows could be sweeter than the meadows of Stroppio in early June, carpeted with flowers, here in masses of white, higher up

dashed all across with gentian blue. We passed an old church, then another. Four of them stand in a row along a steep mountain arm. The views developed on all sides down into the entrancing valley, and then away eastwards over the Piedmontese plain, sparkling with dots of light where the sun shone on white house walls, strewn here and there with purple cloud-shadows, and bounded far away by blue Apennines over which a long wave of delicate cloud poured from the south, to melt into violet mist upon the plain.

In about two hours we rounded a col in the far side of the Stroppo basin and the similar and equally beautiful cirque of Elma opened before us, with the mass of the Pelvo beyond, and the col we were to cross on our right. A bare precipitous buttress of rock plunged down at our feet to invisible depths, an admirable contrast to the rounded green slopes and woods beyond. The Pelvo was clad in purple shadows and mysterious draperies of cloud and rain, through which the sun drove radiant shafts of light.

Thenceforward our way led us sometimes across green slopes rich in flowers, sometimes through woods of larch or birch, where the ground was as green and soft beneath the trees as on the open hill. The simple inn at Elma received us at an early hour, and the excellent host worked hard to make us comfortable. The coffee that he produced seemed worth a journey from London.

June 8.

At four o'clock I started with Zurbriggen and the Gurkhas. Fitzgerald followed with his guides at six. Our path circled and zig-zagged round the fair hillside. In the south the Maritime Alps were widely spread within the purple loveliness of early morning, a high mist ranging like a roof far above them. The Gurkhas were constant in their praise of the quantity and excellence of the grass. "It is not thus in our country. There the valleys are flat and green below between walls of barren mountains, but here the grass climbs all the hills." In two hours we passed a body of soldiers drilling, and so came to our col where we halted for breakfast and looked across to Monte Viso rising near at hand to the north. It is a poor-looking mountain from this side, not grand in form nor imposing in mass. Its toothed crest was combing some soft clouds that drifted over it. Presently there was a change and a puff of cloud seemed to come smoking off the peak. "That," I said to Karbir, "must be the smoke of your fairies' kitchen." He remembered the fancies of the men who live near the Roof of the World and was grave.

A suspicious lieutenant soon came to interview us and would have it that we were French; at length we allayed his suspicions. A long, undulating ridge led from our pass (the Colle della Birocca) to the foot of the Pelvo d'Elma. Peak, ridge, and pass stood to one

another as do the Dent Blanche, the Wandfluh, and the Col d'Herens, and the ascent of the peak is made by routes similar to those up the Dent Blanche. The analogy is a close one even to details. We walked leisurely in an hour to the foot of the peak, where we saw some grey hares among the *débris*. Bearing to the left, we scrambled into the first *couloirs* of the *arête* and proceeded to climb it. It was easy at first, but presently steepened till we reached a point which for some time mocked our efforts. The rock was smooth, hard, and ledgeless. Above us it curled over our heads. Zurbriggen climbed as far as he could to the left, then getting his back to the rock he curled round, for a moment facing and overhanging me, and so threw himself to the other side of the gully where he caught for an instant on the surface of all his person. One struggle, as of a man swimming, carried him up just far enough to enable him to catch on to a ledge by which he hauled himself up to a firm position. This was as difficult a bit of scrambling as I have seen accomplished. We now worked to the right, to the *arête*, by which we completed the ascent in two hours from the foot of the peak. FitzGerald, who followed us at an interval of an hour and a half, ascended by the *arête* all the way. The ordinary and lazy route from the foot of the peak is to traverse the whole width of the face of the mountain to the left and thus to reach the high S.W. shoulder whence an easy ridge leads to the top. That was the way we came down.

The view that spread around us, as we sat by the stone man on the top, was superb. It is well known to be one of the finest views in the Southern Alps. The Piedmontese plain spread abroad at our feet, incredibly soft and faintly varied in tone. The wave of cloud still poured over the passes of the Apennines to melt into haze beyond them. Silver ribbons of river wound through the violet flat. A few strips of cumulus cloud voyaged lazily in the sky. Near at hand were the rich and verdant valleys and the hills, green on the south, bare on their northern slopes. From the Argentiera peaks to the Viso the higher mountains encircled with a bold outline the richly coloured valley area at our feet. We remained for an hour drinking in the beauty of the scene.

The descent would, as a rule, be easy enough, but the mass of winter snow remaining caused difficulties of its own. One very steep and treacherous slope of snow had to be descended straight down. It was not long, but it seemed perilous enough, and I was glad to be off it. In an hour from the top we were lying again by our baggage on a bed of gentians. There FitzGerald joined us in due course, and all started on together. Casteldelfino was visible far, far below. We did not trouble about the widely zigzagging path, but struck an almost straight line down the hill. We came to grass slopes so smooth and steep that all we had to do was to set

our feet firmly together and shoot down. Karbir raced his little round cap, which rolled like a wheel on its own account. A path presently caught us, and led to a grass *arête* dotted with trees and shrubs and a very garden for flowers—rich especially in an *orchis*, which was in full blossom amongst large white Christmas roses. Nothing is lovelier, and few things rarer, than a steep wooded grass *arête*. Down it we went—first one side, then the other, then along its crest—with a twinkling change of views, this way and that, inexpressibly charming. Thus we struck the top of a groove, down which logs of wood are thrown for quicker passage to the valley. Its floor was covered with old pine needles; trees arched it over; its edges were embroidered with flowers. We shot ourselves down this straight descent with exhilarating swiftness. It landed us, breathless and excited, within a few hundred feet of the river. A bridge led across to the village of Posterle, whence we reached Casteldelfino in about an hour from the pass. With utter lack of foresight, I drank a litre of cold milk at once. Before long I was in a fever, and it was late the following day before I was well enough to quit my bed. Thus we pay for follies, but they are sometimes worth the price.

W. M. CONWAY.

THE ART OF THE NOVELIST.

“**A** MIXTURE of a lie,” said Lord Bacon, “doth ever add pleasure”—in other words, imagination, whether in poetry or prose, lends a charm to fact. That is his meaning, though he might have put it more pleasantly ; for fiction is not falsehood. On the contrary, it is the realities of life which too often are fundamentally false ; and it is the office of fiction to put those falsehoods right. For, if it be true that art is an endeavour to conform the shows of things to the desires of the mind, then it is surely no less true that fiction is an endeavour to conform the realities of life to the desires of the mind. In this busy world of ours, it unfortunately does not always happen that the good man prospers and the bad man reaps his deserts. Virtue is not uniformly triumphant. The rightful heir does not always come to his own again ; and the truest of lovers are not absolutely sure of listening to the music of their own wedding-bells at the end of the story. That all the wrongs of life work for justice, even though the operation of that divine law be hidden from us, is what no sane thinker can doubt ; but the fact remains that we do see the wrong and the suffering, and we do not always see the retribution or the reward.

Now the world of fiction, whether it be the fiction of the novelist, or the fiction of the dramatist, is a world governed by the law of poetical justice ; and herein lies the secret of its eternal fascination. It satisfies our inborn sense of right ; it transports us into a purer atmosphere ; it vindicates the ways of God to Man.

If we turn to the earliest examples of fiction, to stories written by ancient Egyptian scribes three or four thousand years ago, to the fantastic inventions of old Persian and Arab story-tellers, to the *Novelle* of the Italian Renaissance, to the cumbrous romances of

chivalry which were the delight of European Courts from the time of Francis I. downwards, we find them to be constructed, one and all, upon the same lines. Vice never goes unpunished, virtue never goes unrewarded, constancy is never unrequited. Orlando may be slain; but he has the supreme consolation of victory. Clorinda may fall mortally wounded; but it is by the hands of her lover. Juliet may drain the poisoned flask; but she rejoins Romeo, and death cements their everlasting union. In that world of fiction, as in the world of fact, there is sorrow, and parting, and death; but there is no ignoble failure. The good are wholly good, the great are wholly great. No petty motive, no passing shade of selfishness, no moment of unworthy hesitation, dims the pure mirror of their souls. In short, there never was a time, or a country, or a condition of society, in which the art of the story-teller did not go hand in hand with honour and valour and greatness of soul; or in which the reverse would have been tolerated. And if, in our own day, and not very far removed from our own shores, there has of late sprung up a depraved school of so-called realistic fiction, even that school, while delighting to depict vice, does not, I imagine, depict it as a thing to be honoured and imitated. I am not myself acquainted with the productions of that school, and I cannot, therefore, speak on this unpleasant subject in accents of authority; but the direct inculcation of vice by means of fiction is a phenomenon which the world, I believe, has never yet beheld.

Fiction, in short, whether in its rudest beginnings or at its highest point of development, is a striving after ideal good. In other words, it is an endeavour to conform the realities of life to the desires of the mind.

But you will perhaps tell me that I am placing the story-teller's humble trade upon too lofty a pedestal; that "motley is his only wear"; that it is his function to amuse, and that when he insists, not only upon adorning a tale, but upon pointing a moral, he ceases to amuse, and becomes, instead of a good story-teller, a dull preacher. I am heartily of that opinion. The didactic novelist is, to my thinking, the most intolerable of literary bores; and if I might legislate for him and his brethren, I would deport them all to some undiscovered island, and condemn them to read their own stories to each other for the term of their natural lives. It is not for the didactic story-teller, with his tag of moral ostentatiously tacked on at the end of the last chapter, that I am pleading. It is for the fiction which makes for ideal good, for that Beauty which is Truth, and that Truth which is Beauty. I am, above all, anxious to show you that it is upon this simple creed that the Art of the Novelist has been based from a time which is probably coeval with the dawn of literature.

One of the most ancient examples of fiction in the world, one which has survived the rise and fall of many an ancient and many a

modern empire, is an Egyptian romance entitled "The Tale of the Two Brothers." We have the original manuscript in the British Museum. It is written on nineteen sheets of papyrus, in a fine hieratic hand, and it was penned some three thousand two hundred years ago by a Theban scribe named Ennana. This Ennana was Librarian of the Palace to King Merenptah, the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus; and he appears to have written the tale by order of the Treasurer, for the entertainment of the Crown Prince, Seti-Merenptah, who subsequently reigned as Seti II. This prince has signed his name in two places on the back of the manuscript, these being probably the only autograph signatures of any Egyptian king which have come down to our time. This most venerable and precious document was purchased in Italy by Madame d'Orbiney, who sold it in 1857 to the authorities of the British Museum; and it is now known as the d'Orbiney Papyrus.

The story begins exactly like an old-fashioned fairy tale:

"There were two brothers, children of one mother and one father. Anpu was the name of the big brother, and Betau was the name of the little brother. Now Anpu he had a house and a wife, and his little brother lived with him as his serving-man. It was Betau who drove the cattle to the fields, and tilled the ground. It was he who threshed the corn and did the field work. It was he who drove the cattle to the pasture-land and tilled the ground, for this little brother was a good labourer, and he had not his equal in all the country. He followed his cattle every day, and he came back to the house every evening loaded with the produce of the fields. And he brought the produce, and placed it before his big brother in the place where he sat with his wife. And he ate, and drank, and he slept in the stable with his good beasts. And when the day dawned, and he had baked the bread, and placed the loaves before his big brother, he would take some bread with him to the fields, and drive his cattle to the meadow. And as he went behind them, they would say to each other: 'There is good grass in such a place.' And he, understanding what they said, would take them to the pasturage which they coveted. Hence, the cattle which were his charge became big and sleek, and multiplied greatly after their kind."

This is a simple, unvarnished picture of life in Egypt three thousand years ago. The parents of these two brothers were dead, and Anpu stood to Betau in the position of both father and master. Betau lived a hard life. He did not even sit at his brother's board. He ate and drank and slept in the stable with his beasts; and he not only sowed and reaped and threshed his corn, but he made and baked the bread. He was, in fact, little better than a slave. This shows a purely patriarchal condition of society, and it is historically valuable inasmuch as it gives us a glimpse of the home-life of the fellah in the time of the Pharaohs. That the cattle should talk, and that Betau should understand their speech, is quite natural in a story of this class, for Anpu's farm is in the pleasant land of folk-lore; and in the land of folk-lore, as we all know full well, the beasts of the field and the

birds of the air are gifted with that "discourse of reason" which Hamlet denied to them. A word, too, about the distinction between these two brothers. Anpu is the big brother, and Betau is the little brother; but this does not mean that Anpu is a man of more inches than Betau. On the contrary, Betau was evidently a stalwart son of the soil, and he did the work of half a dozen labourers. "Big" and "little" are here used in the simple nursery sense of "elder" and "younger," a sense in which we ourselves occasionally employ the word "great." The French "*grand-père*" is really "big father." We say "grandfather," which, though a literal translation, gives a different colour to the phrase. But when a yet earlier generation is in question, we revert to the primitive idiom, and say "great-grandfather," which is simply "big-big-father," and is good Egyptian.

"And when the season had come for tilling the ground, his big brother said to Betau: 'Go, make ready our gear, for the waters have gone down, and the land is good for tillage. Go thou to the field with the seed, and we will go to work to-morrow morning.' So said he. And the little brother did all that which his big brother had bidden him do. And when the next day came, they went into the field with their team; and they got to work; and their hearts were glad, very glad; and they laboured all day long, without halting even to rest."

After this, the story goes on to tell how the big brother's wife falls in love with Betau, who is horror-stricken, and upbraids her fiercely. Hereupon she foully maligns him to Anpu, who becomes "as a panther of the South," and sharpens his knife that he may slay his little brother, when Betau shall return from the field at close of day. But the faithful beasts lift up their voices, and warn Betau of his peril; whereupon he flies for his life, pursued by his elder brother. Suddenly a broad river, swarming with crocodiles, flows in between them. Awed by this miracle, and touched by the protestations of Betau, Anpu is at last convinced of his little brother's innocence, and at the same time of his wife's perfidy. So he goes home and slays her, and casts out her body to the dogs; but Betau, self-exiled, goes away to a place called the Valley of the Acacia, where he lives by the chase. By-and-by, however, the gods take compassion upon him, and create a beautiful damsel to be his bride and share his solitude; and Betau loves her dearly. One day, when he is out hunting, the river rises and pursues her. She escapes, but not before the acacia-tree has seized a lock of her hair, and thrown it into the stream. This lock of hair is carried by the current to Memphis, where it is fished up by one of the king's officers, who conveys it to Pharaoh himself. Now the perfume of the tress was so delicious that the king summoned his scribes and magicians, and they told him that it belonged to a daughter of the gods. Hereupon the king sent out messengers to

north, south, east, and west, that they might find this maiden of divine birth. But when they came to the Valley of the Acacia, Betau slew them all. Then Pharaoh despatched more messengers, and many-archers and armed charioteers, and with them a woman, who tempted the wife of Betau to be faithless to her husband, and become the wife of the king of Egypt. And she went, and the king saw her and loved her, and made her his queen; and all the land of Egypt was glad. After this, Betau goes through many surprising adventures; is twice killed, and twice comes to life again, the first time as a bull, and the second time as a persea-tree. Lastly, he becomes re-incarnate in human form, and ends by killing his perjured bride, and becoming king over all the land of Egypt.

I have given but the barest outline of this curious tale. It has, however, been admirably translated into French by Professor Maspero; into German by Brugsch and Ebers, and into English by Birch, Goodwin, and Le Page Renouf. It has also been made the subject of a comparative study by Mr. W. N. Groff, a young American Egyptologist of some distinction; and it has recently been published in facsimile, with critical notes and a transcription into hieroglyphic characters, by Professor Moldenke, of New York. From these and other translations, those who desire to become better acquainted with one of the oldest fictions in the world may take their choice.

The story, however, is not one story, but two. The first part, the pastoral narrative which depicts the life of Anpu and Betau, is a tale complete in itself. The Valley of the Acacia to which Betau betakes himself is the Valley of the Shadow of Death. To go thither is to die; and Anpu mourns his faithful and devoted "little brother" when it is too late. A more simple story was never written, yet it contains the elemental stuff of which all the romantic literature of after ages was compounded—love, treason, jealousy, vice, virtue, murder, remorse. And, above all, the beauty of goodness and the pathos of unmerited suffering are in its pages; and it brings with it a breath of those far-off days, "when love and all the world was young."

The second part of the story, the fantastic adventures of "the daughter of the gods," the transformations of Betau, and his resurrection as king of Egypt, is clearly a later addition. The tale of Anpu and Betau bears the impress of extreme antiquity. It may be as old as the hieratic script in which it is written, it may be as old as the Pyramids; but the sequel is stamped with the taste of the Ramesside period, when extravagant incidents were the literary order of the day, and idyllic simplicity was out of fashion. It may be that this sequel was written by the worthy librarian of King Merenptah, though, more probably, his was a work of dovetailing and adaptation. As, however, the skilful use of scissors and paste is known in polite

language as editing, we will say that Ennana edited "The Tale of the Two Brothers."

That the ancient Egyptians were novelists and readers of novels was what no one suspected till Madame d'Orbiney purchased her famous papyrus in 1857. The Egyptologists of Europe were, in fact, fairly scandalised to find that these "grave and reverend signiors," whose mummies were so eminently respectable, had tastes as frivolous as our own. Since that time many more specimens of ancient Egyptian fiction have come to light, tales of adventure by land and sea, tales of enchantment and magic; even historical romances and ghost stories.* These discoveries have cast a new light upon the early history of literature. They show us that Egypt was not only the birthplace of all our arts and all our sciences, but that the Valley of the Nile was in truth the cradle of romance. It was from Egyptian sources that Herodotus derived many a narrative which he innocently accepted for fact and repeated as history; and it is from these sources that the Arab story-tellers of the Middle Ages drew many an incident familiar to us all in the pages of "The Thousand and One Nights." "The Shipwrecked Mariner" † (who, by the way, performs the astonishing feat of sailing up the Nile as far as Nubia, and thence gaining the open sea) is cast, like Sindbad the Sailor, upon an island peopled by serpents. General Tahuti, in a story called "The Taking of Joppa," ‡ introduces his soldiers into the beleaguered city by means of a stratagem less successfully attempted in after-ages by the "Forty Thieves," that is to say, he conceals a certain number of men in big jars which are carried by others of their comrades, disguised as captives laden with booty. Once inside the gates, the pretended captives liberate the soldiers in the jars, and take possession of Joppa and its inhabitants.

In "The Story of the Doomed Prince," § whose father isolates him in a castle on the top of a mountain in order to defeat the fulfilment of a fatal prophecy, we recognise the central incident of the tale of "Prince Agib, the third Royal Mendicant"; and in the story of Rhodopis, as told by Herodotus, the Egyptian original of Cinderella and the little glass slipper.

Magic plays an important part in most of these old Egyptian tales, those who are learned in the Black Art being able to change themselves at will into birds, beasts, or trees. Hence, probably, the transformations and sorceries which so abound in "The Thousand and One Nights." Hence, too, perhaps, the taste for similar incidents which colours the early Greek and Latin romances.

We modern novelists are well pleased when our stories find favour

* An English translation of certain Ancient Egyptian tales, in illustrated form, will shortly be issued by Professor Flinders Petrie.

† From a Twelfth Dynasty papyrus.

‡ From a papyrus of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

§ From the same papyrus as "The Taking of Joppa."

in many lands, and are translated into many tongues; but if tried by this test, the second part of "The Tale of the Two Brothers" throws all our modern successes into the shade. We find it reproduced in every age and in every civilised land. In France, as a fairy tale; in Italy, as one of the stories of the "Pentamerone"; in Germany, in Hungary, in Russia, in Lithuania, in Roumania, in Albania, in the Peloponnesus, in Asia Minor, in Abyssinia, and even in India, it appears and reappears as a popular story current on the lips of the people. Betau is always betrayed and persecuted by a woman, is killed and comes to life again as a horse, as a bull, as a cherry-tree, as an apple-tree, and so forth. The horse is beheaded and the cherry-tree springs from a drop of his blood. The bull is slaughtered, and the apple-tree which bears golden apples shoots forth from his head. The wicked woman is always a princess; and Betau, whatever his nationality or station, invariably ends by slaying the sorceress, and becoming king over all the land. Other incidents in the original Egyptian tale, incidents necessarily omitted in my brief summary, crop up in a variety of Asiatic myths and legends. To enumerate them would be tedious; but I have said enough to show that Betau has been pursued by his evil genius through some fifty or sixty centuries, and become nationalised in many a land unknown to the ancients. These cannot be mere coincidences. The armies of the great military Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth Egyptian dynasties occupied the known world of their time, and the stories which went round their camp fires by night were carried farther, we may be certain, than even the terror of their arms. The Phœnician traders who brought the products of Tyre and Sidon, of Cyprus and Crete, to the markets of Memphis, took back with them to Syria and the islands of the Ægean not only the amulets, and ivories, and woven fabrics of Egypt, but the folk-lore of the Nile Valley. Repeated from lip to lip, from land to land, these oldest of popular tales were carried like the thistle-down by every wind that blew, and took root on every shore. They have even been known to come back, like home-sick wanderers, from Europe to Egypt. In 1882 when Professor Maspero brought out his volume of "*Contes Egyptiennes*," translated from the original papyri into most charming French, he included in that collection the well-known story of Rhampsinitus and the robbers, as told by Herodotus. Three years later, he was startled to find an Arab version of this tale circulating among the natives of various villages in Upper Egypt. The thing was so strange that he determined to sift it to the bottom. At last he discovered that an Italian gentleman living in Erment had good-naturedly been reading some of these very "*Contes Egyptiennes*" to his Arab neighbours, rendering them from the French into vulgar Arabic as he went along. Now, your Arab is a born story-teller. He hears a tale but once, and it lives in his memory as though printed on his brain. So

these Arabs of Erment had repeated the history of King Rhampsinitus to the Arabs of Luxor, and the Arabs of Luxor had repeated it to the -Arabs of Neggadeh, and so it had travelled from village to village. By this time, it is doubtless as popular in every part of modern Egypt as it was in ancient Egypt when Herodotus jotted it down in his note-book.

That this story should have been resuscitated in the Nile Valley more than twenty centuries after the language in which it was written has been dead, buried, and forgotten, is a very interesting fact; and that it should in the first place have travelled from Egypt to Greece, and thence, in a later age, have come home again to Egypt by way of Paris, is really one of the curiosities of literature.

I fear that I have lingered too long beside the pleasant waters of the Nile; but the fact that novels and tales were written by the scribes of Egypt before Hebron and Zoan were founded, is indeed very extraordinary. And we must remember that these ancient romances are the parent-source of all the light literature of mediæval and modern times. The great Mesopotamian nations had, apparently, no school of fiction. The clay cylinders and tablets of Borsippa, of Warka, of Babylon, of Nineveh, have as yet yielded nothing in the shape of a popular tale or a popular song. Legends of gods and heroes, chronicles of victories, cold-blooded records of hideous tortures inflicted on prisoners of war, calendars, contracts, accounts, magical formulæ, and the like, have come down to us in abundance from the libraries of these grim, practical, and eminently disagreeable people; but nothing, absolutely nothing, which brings them into touch with ourselves upon the common ground of imagination or sympathy. When, therefore, we lose sight of fiction in Egypt, we lose sight of it for a long time in the East, and follow it to the West, to Greece and to Rome.

The loves and wanderings of Dinias and Dercyllis by Antonius Diogenes, the "Babylonica" of Jamblichus, the "Theagenes and Charicles" of Heliqdorus, Bishop of Tricca, the "Daphnis and Chloe" of Longus, and "The Golden Ass" of Apuleius, are the most celebrated fictions of the classic age; but they are very dull reading, and I cannot conscientiously recommend them. It is not, in fact, till we reach the middle of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the Age of Romance can be said to begin. And what a beginning! The long, sterile night of the Middle Ages was barely over. The monasteries of Europe and the Levant were the last homes of learning; and the Renaissance of Art had but just dawned in Italy. Then, suddenly, as suddenly as the spring breaks in Siberia, "the shores of old Romance" blossomed from East to West with a luxuriance which has no parallel in the history of literature. The popular tales of Persia and Arabia in the East, the "*Gesta Romanorum*,"

the romances of chivalry, and the Italian *Novelle* sprang up side by side with the *Fabliaux* and the Romantic Epic in the West; and straightway the air was full of magical voices, and every forest was haunted, and genii and ghouls, pilgrims and paladins, Charlemagne and Arthur, the Cid and Haroun-al-Raschid took possession of the imagination of the civilised world. For those who loved adventures by land and sea, combats with giants, aerial flights on the backs of griffins, and "hair-breadth 'scapes" of every impossible kind, there were the veracious histories of "Ogier the Dane," of "Tristan of Lyonesse," of "Parsifall and Perceforest," and "Lancelot du Lac"; while for those who preferred love-stories, and merry conceits, and bitter jests of the failings of abbots and friars, there were the tales of Boccaccio, Bandello, and Sachetti, the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," and a host of similar collections. How lively a picture we may conceive of the warmth and light which this flood of romantic fiction brought into the life of the upper and middle classes of England and Italy, France and Spain! The châtelaine in her lonely bower, the knight in his camp, the burgher in his chimney-corner, were alike carried away by the fancied perils and triumphs, sorrows and joys, of their favourite heroes and heroines. Francis the First, paying the penalty of rash valour in his prison at Madrid, passes hours of rapture over the adventures of "Amadis of Gaul." His sister, Marguerite of Navarre, amuses her leisure hours by writing the "Heptameron," in imitation of the "Decamerone" of Boccaccio. In England, the "Morte d'Arthur" is printed by Caxton, as he himself tells us, at the urgent desire of "many noble and dyvers gentlemen of this realm"; and Wynken de Worde, Copland, and others of his successors, go on printing and reprinting it. For the "Morte d'Arthur" was to England what the Charlemagne cycle was to France, and "The Cid" to Spain. It breathed the spirit of chivalry, of gallantry, of religion, which, as it has been well said by Hallam, are "the three pillars that support the literature of the Middle Ages." We can enjoy the "Morte d'Arthur" to this day in the quaint old English of Sir Thomas Malory; but the bulk of the romances of chivalry are inexpressibly fantastic, tedious, and extravagant. I doubt if any of us could now read "Amadis de Gaul," or "Tirante the White," or indeed any of those works which adorned the library of Don Quixote. They turned the brain of that worthy knight, and I doubt not that a severe course of the same reading would do the same for us.

To the age of knights and giants succeeded the age of Dresden china, when romance was nothing if not pastoral. Every hero is now a shepherd and every heroine a shepherdess. The season is always spring, the topic is always love, and it is a world of pink and blue ribbons, lambs and kids, crooks, pipes, and kisses. In Spanish, the "Diana" of George de Montemayor; in French, the "Astrée"

of d'Urfé; in English, "The Arcadia" of Sir Philip Sydney, may be styled the three typical works of this school. There are charming passages in "The Arcadia," and it is written to a stately measure, like the accompaniment to a *pavane*; but I question whether it has been really read by any one save Dunlop and Hallam during the present century, and I do not believe that it will *ever* be read through again.

Yet I would rather be condemned to a severe course of Sir Philip Sydney and his school than to even a light *régime* of Madame Scudéri and her compeers. Her school was the school of heroic romance, and the heroic romance—stilted, affected, and intolerably tedious—was the degenerate descendant of the romance of chivalry. In these masterpieces of dulness, which were the delight of the *beaux* and *précieuses* of the Hotel Rambouillet, Roman emperors and Saracen emirs, Persian monarchs and Ethiopian sultans, Alexander, Ponce de Leon, Cleopatra, Boabdil, Darius, and Coriolanus figure in bewildering juxtaposition. But who is there to-day that knows the "Polexander" of Gomberville, or the "Cassandra" of Calprenide, even by name? Have any of us read the "Almahide," or the "Clélie," or the "Cyrus" of Madame Scudéri? They were great books in their day, but they are only big books now. "Polexander" was six thousand pages long; "Cassandra," and "Cyrus," and "Clélie" each filled ten stout octavos. Poor Madame Scudéri! It is impossible not to feel kindly towards her—she took so much pains to be learned, she took so much pains to be elegant, she took herself and her romances so seriously; and at ninety she had the mortification of outliving her immortal reputation, and of being mercilessly ridiculed by Boileau.

I will not attempt to conduct you through the dismal desert of the next century of romance. It is a desert relieved here and there by a spring and a date-palm, but otherwise wearisome exceedingly. I will but name "Gil Blas," "La Nouvelle Héloïse," the delightful fairy-tale of Perrault, "Joseph Andrews," "Tom Jones," "Roderick Random," "Clarissa Harlowe," the "Vicar of Wakefield," and our well-beloved "Robinson Crusoe." Does "poor Robin Crusoe" indulge in too many moral reflections? Is "Clarissa" just a little tedious? Could we spare, say two-fifths, of "Gil Blas," and the rest? Nay, then, let us try to look at them through our great-great-grandmothers' spectacles, rather than with the critical double eyeglasses of to-day. Let us be to their faults of taste a little blind, and, above all, let us gratefully acknowledge that they inaugurated the era of simplicity and truth.

And now, at one step, we come to the creator of the great modern school of English fiction—to the author of "Waverley." His single figure, the figure of Scott the Novelist, filled the entire stage of prose romance during the first thirty years of our century. To his

contemporaries that figure seemed colossal. There were many who likened it to that of Shakespeare himself. Viewed from our present standpoint it is no longer colossal, and no one would now place the author of "Waverley" on the same plane with the author of "Hamlet"; yet we must never lose sight of the fact that Scott was not only the founder of our school, but that he was himself that school for more than a quarter of a century. Shakespeare, take him for all in all, was the greatest master of passion and poetry that the world has seen. We could name twenty of his sonnets any one of which is worth all the rhymed romances of the writer of "Marmion." In one scene from "Macbeth," or "Lear," or "Othello," Shakespeare rises to such heights of tragic insight as Scott could never have scaled. It is not in these loftiest and rarest of all attributes that Scott is to be even distantly compared with Shakespeare; but, if at all, it is in his fertility, his grasp of complex humanity at so many different periods, and under such a variety of circumstances. Merely to rehearse the names of certain of his novels is to set in motion a series of magnificent historical pageants in which the actors are not only clad in their habits as they lived, but are creatures of flesh and blood like ourselves. Such are "Ivanhoe," "The Talisman," "Quentin Durward," "The Fortunes of Nigel," "Woodstock," "Kenilworth." Living, as Scott lived, in the most picturesque capital of modern Europe, surrounded by the old historic buildings which had witnessed all the most stirring episodes of the national life of Scotland, he found his material ready to his hand. He was literally "the Heir of the Ages." The Tolbooth and the Canongate, Holyrood and Arthur's Seat, the squalid splendour of the Old Town, the proud memories of the Castle Hill, were they not all his? And had they not been waiting for him ever since the fatal night when Prince Charlie gave his last State ball in the panelled gallery which no Stuart ever trod again? Given these, given his boyish surroundings, given his inborn passion for minstrelsy and legend, and his strong archaeological bent, it would have been a marvel if Scott had not worked the rich mine which lay so near the surface of his native soil.

Whoso would do fullest justice to Sir Walter Scott's cycle of stories must go to Edinburgh. It is not till one has looked over to Leith and down to Holyrood from the Castle battlements that one realises how all these captains and fighting-men, those sturdy burghers, and preachers, and baillies, and hot-blooded Scotch lords, and passionate partisans, are no mere shadows projected upon a background of painted canvas; but portraits, portraits of men who once lived and died, and who, in a sense, are living now. Scott's characters are not profound. Their depths are easily sounded. They know no obstinate questionings of the unseen; their souls are not overshadowed by "the burden and the mystery of all this unintelligible

world"; but they love, they hate, they fight, hunt, feast, traffic, and cut one another's throats in a supremely natural and hearty way. In a word, they are thoroughly human, and not a little commonplace. And it is precisely these qualities, their humanness, their commonplaceness, together with the correctness of their costumes and the verisimilitude of their surroundings that have made their prosperity.

Now, I will own that I am no friend to the historical novel. I hold that it is built upon radically unsound foundations, and that it is next to impossible for any novelist truthfully to depict the men and manners of the far past. It is not enough that his archæology is strictly correct. It is not enough to say that human nature is but human nature, and must therefore be in every age the same. Human nature is not in every age the same. The fine fibre of the conscience vibrates to one note in one century, and to another note in another century. Novels which portray the costumes and tricks of speech of a former age, but which at the same time falsify the life of that age by suppressing its grossness, its cruelty, and its debauchery, are the most *unhistorical* of novels. They mislead more than they teach. The real historical novel is, to my thinking, the novel which paints the living world about us. Our models are before our eyes; and faithfully to depict the social and public life of men and women as they are, to study, not merely their actions, but their motives, to seize the spirit of our time, and to hand it on to future generations, that, I venture to think, is history of an invaluable kind. Are not Scott's modern stories, after all, those in which his great powers rise to their highest level? Do we not love best his "Guy Mannering," his "Heart of Midlothian," and his immortal "Antiquary"? What would we not give for an unbroken succession of such novels beginning, say, from the time of the invention of printing! And think, only think, what a treasure of information as to the home-life, the standard of culture, the habits, manners, amusements, and occupations of the people of our own time is laid up for the use of future historians in the novels of George Eliot, of Balzac, of Erckmann and Chatrian, of Henry James, of William Dean Howells, of Mrs. Oliphant, of Dickens, Anthony Trollope, and of Thackeray!

These last three are essentially representative writers of what I should like to call the historical novel of contemporary English life. They wrote at the same time. They had an absolutely parallel experience. The same clubs, the same drawing-rooms, the same parks, streets, and places of public amusement were familiar to all three. And yet with what different eyes they viewed the social structure of their time!

Dickens was essentially a caricaturist. Trollope was an admirable portrait-painter. Thackeray was a clairvoyant. Or, to put it differently, Dickens depicted his fellow-men as they are not: Trollope presents

them as they appear to the world; Thackeray reads them through and through.

As a humorist pure and simple, Dickens has no rival in English fiction; and it is as a humorist that he will hold his place in the literature of his country. I fear we must admit that his pathos is stagey, and that his sketches of society are grossly exaggerated. But the immortality of the "Iliad" is not more assured than that of "Pickwick."

In this triumvirate—Dickens, Trollope, Thackeray—I would assign a very prominent place to the author of "Framley Parsonage." He was himself a typical Englishman, bluff, hearty, straightforward; passionately fond of field sports, yet at the same time a thorough man of business, and a thorough Londoner. He was intimately conversant with the life and haunts of the upper and upper middle classes; and he had a very considerable knowledge of Parliamentary life, and of Parliamentary men. Also he made an exhaustive and affectionate study of the British parson; and the British parson, till Anthony Trollope took him in hand, was an unexplored field of research, notwithstanding that Parson Adams and Doctor Primrose are dear to us. Now, the British parson plays a very important part in English national life, especially in country parishes and provincial towns, and until the publication of "Barchester Towers," he had been treated by our novelists as a mere lay figure. But in Anthony Trollope's hands he became one of the most life-like characters in fiction. The meek domestic chaplain, the starving curate, the hunting rector, the courtly archdeacon, the henpecked bishop, and a hundred others throng "thick and fast" upon our memory. It is a portrait-gallery in which no one canvas is exaggerated, and in which caricature has no place. And herein lies the secret of Trollope's strength. He never exaggerates. He has humour; but he never allows it to run away with him. He has pathos; but it is a manly pathos, reserved and self-contained, with no snivelling in it, and no display of white pocket-handkerchief. There is no more tragic figure in fiction than the Reverend Mr. Crawley, nor any more tragic situation than that in which he is placed by the disappearance of the twenty-pound-note. Yet with how few touches and in what sober tints it is painted! As with his tragedy, so it is with his pathos. It is as the pathos of life itself. Do you remember that scene in "He Knew He was Right," where Sir Marmaduke and Lady Rowley receive a telegram from their married daughter in Italy, to say that her mad husband is "much worse," and to ask that his old friend, Hugh Stanbury, should go out to her? Besides this married daughter, Sir Marmaduke and my Lady had three other daughters—Sophie, Lucy, and Nora; and Nora and Hugh Stanbury were lovers. But Hugh was poor; and Sir Marmaduke withheld his consent. The situation, consequently, was awkward.

However, Stanbury is summoned; and he at once says that he is willing to go—ready to start by the next Continental train. Many things are hurriedly arranged, and then comes “good-bye.”

“‘I will send a message directly I get there,’ says the young man, holding Lady Rowley by the hand.

“‘God bless you, my dear friend,’ said Lady Rowley, with the tears running down her cheeks.

“‘Good-night, Sir Marmaduke,’ said Hugh.

“‘Good-night, Mr. Stanbury,’ replied Sir Marmaduke, stiffly.

“Then Hugh gave a hand to the two girls, each of whom sobbed, and looked away from Nora. Nora was standing apart, by herself, holding on to her chair, and with her hands clasped together. She had prepared nothing—not a word, not a thought, for his farewell. But she had felt that it was coming. If he could say farewell with a quiet voice, and simply with a touch of the hand, then she would do the same. Nor had he prepared anything. But when the moment came, he could not leave her after that fashion. He stood a moment, hesitating—not approaching her—and he merely called her by name—

“‘Nora!’

“For a moment she was still—for a moment she held by her chair—and then she rushed into his arms.

“He did not care much for her father now; but he kissed her hair, and her forehead, and held her closely to his breast.

“‘My own, own Nora!’

“It was necessary that Sir Marmaduke should say something.

“‘Mr. Stanbury,’ he said, ‘let it be so. I could wish for my child’s sake, and also for your own, that your means of living were less precarious.’

“And thus Sir Marmaduke’s opposition was withdrawn at last.”

Now, this is a very simple little scene; but I protest I know none of which the simplicity is more natural, or more touching.

To find a parallel to it, I must turn to the pages of an author whom we know as intimately, and hold, I venture to think, in as much affection as his own countrymen. The time is morning, just after breakfast, and the place is Boston. The schoolmistress is going to her daily work, and he whom they call “The Autocrat” walks with her part of the way. Presently they come to the “common” where the paths divide; and there is one which they call “the long path.”

“‘I felt very weak indeed, though of a tolerably robust habit, as we came opposite the head of the long path that morning,’ says the Autocrat. ‘I think I tried to speak twice without making myself distinctly audible. At last I got out my question—

“‘Will you take the long path with me?’

“‘Certainly,’ said the schoolmistress, ‘with much pleasure.’

“‘Think,’ I said; ‘think before you answer. If you take the long path with me now, I shall interpret it that we are to part no more.’

“The schoolmistress stepped back, with a sudden movement, as if an arrow had struck her. One of the long granite blocks used as seats was hard by—the one you may still see there, close by the ginka-tree.

“‘Pray sit down,’ I said.

“‘No, no,’ she answered softly. ‘I will take the long path with you.’

“The old gentleman who sits opposite at breakfast met us presently, walk-

ing arm-in-arm, about the middle of the long path, and said very charmingly: "Good morning, my dears."

This is all. Not another word; and it is the shortest, the simplest, the prettiest little love-scene that I know.

And Thackeray? I have spoken my mind very freely about them all; I have had the courage of my opinions. Shall I not say exactly what I think of the author of "*Vanity Fair*," of "*Esmond*," of "*The Newcomes*?" Am I to speak without hesitation, without reserve?

Well, then, I think he is the greatest master of fiction the world has ever seen. As I have said, he read his fellow-creatures through and through. The human heart had no secrets for him. All its weaknesses, all its littlenesses, all its tendernesses, were open to him. No man had a more passionate loathing of all that is base, or a more passionate admiration of all that is lofty, simple-minded and loyal. I am lost in amazement when I hear it said that Thackeray is a cynic. What is it then to be a cynic? Is it to uphold the sanctity of love, of honour, of truth? Is it to paint a heart attuned to such unselfish chivalry as the heart of Major Dobbin? or a life of such heroic self-abnegation and stainless honour as that of Henry Esmond? or to show, not by precept, but by the example of Colonel Thomas Newcombe, how good it is to be faithful and honest, to be brave and humble, to love God, and to be in charity with all men? I have searched his pages in vain for Thackeray's cynicism. I have found only his infinite sympathy with all that is best, or even second best, in his erring fellow-men. He is the most human of humanists, and as often as not, when there is a jest on his lips, there are tears in his voice.

I do not know what Thackeray's method of work was; but of one thing I am certain—and that is, that his characters were to him absolutely real, that he believed in them, suffered with them, rejoiced with them, as though they were creatures of flesh and blood. His own heart beats under the lines, as he traces them with his hand. That is why they are so real to us; for no storyteller can possibly make his readers believe in characters which he does not believe in himself.

And this, I take it, is the inmost secret of the art of the novelist, sincerity. It is of no use to "make believe" as the children say. It is of no use to dress up a company of puppets, and put fine speeches in their mouths, and pull the wires this way, and that way. It is of no use to describe scenery which you have never seen; or people living in a class of life to which you have no access; or emotions which you have never felt. Such work rings hollow; and although it may amuse for an hour, there is nothing satisfying in it, and nothing enduring.

I am ashamed to refer to myself in this connection; but when it

comes to a question of work, of the story-teller's craft, and of the tools to be used in it, one can but fall back upon personal experience. I have repeatedly been asked how I set to work to write a novel, and the only answer I can give, in all seriousness, is that I lay in a stock of paper, a box of quill nibs, and a big stone bottle of the best and blackest ink. "But how do you invent the plot?" asks my questioner. It seems to me that I do not invent the plot. The plot comes of itself. It flashes upon me suddenly, unexpectedly, when I am walking, perhaps, or in some way actively employed. Sometimes it but half reveals itself. That is to say, it lacks some essential motive. In this case, it is useless to puzzle over it. I let it alone, and by-and-by, in the course of a few hours, or a few days, the solution flashes upon me in the same unexpected way. Unconscious cerebration may have been going on, but it was absolutely unconscious. And so with the characters. They present themselves just as real personages might walk into my library, and introduce themselves and their business. It seems to me that I look at them face to face, just as I should look at living visitors. I do not "invent" their features, or their moral qualifications, or even their actions. I am conscious of no mental deliberation about what they shall do or say. They do absolutely as they please. They say what comes into *their* heads, not what comes into mine! To me, they seem as living men and women, having passions, prejudices, emotions, and wills of their own.

"Why *did* you let Crosbie jilt Lily Dale?" I asked Anthony Trollope one day.

"Why did I 'let' him?" he repeated. "How could I help it? He *would* do it, confound him!"

This was not said in jest. It was earnest. I know exactly what Trollope meant. Given the creation—if you care to give it so fine a name—given the creation of a certain character, all the actions of that character are as necessarily governed by the laws of his being as if he were a living and breathing entity. I have myself been in the same way constrained and mastered by puppets of my own making. Indeed, I once seriously damaged the success of a story by giving way to the wrong-headedness of the principal characters; and, moreover, I knew quite well at the time that by so giving way, I must inevitably mar the popularity of the book. It is therefore from these humble experiences of my own that I judge when I say that Thackeray was sincere.

I spoke just now of Henry Esmond. After all that I have ventured to say in disparagement of historical novels, I am bound to confess that "Esmond" is, to my mind, Thackeray's masterpiece. But it is a case in which the exception proves the rule. Thackeray's

knowledge of the history, literature, and social life of the time of Queen Anne was so profound and so intimate, that he could not really have known them better had he been a contemporary of Addison and Pope. He had ample materials ready to his hand in the rich store of news-letters belonging to that reign; and he made a supremely skilful use of those materials with the result that "Esmond" is not only his masterpiece, but that it is also the best historical novel ever written. There is one scene in "Esmond," one among many of almost equal excellence, in which spirit, dignity, and nobleness rise to their highest level. I refer to that scene in which Esmond and young Lord Castleton follow Prince Charles Edward to Castlewood House, whither the prince has pursued the beautiful Beatrix, Lord Castleton's sister and Esmond's cousin. They arrive at night, to find the house shut up, and the prince lying asleep upon his bed. He wakes, and is stung by the ceremonious contempt with which Esmond informs him that by dishonourably pursuing thither the sister of his host, he has missed the golden opportunity which would have restored him to the throne of the Stuarts.

"The Prince started up, seeing two men in his chamber.

"*Qui est là ?*' says he, and took a pistol from under his pillow.

"It is the Marquis of Esmond,' says the Colonel, 'come to welcome his Majesty to his house of Castlewood, and to report of what has happened in London. Pursuant to the King's orders, I passed the night before last, after leaving his Majesty, in waiting upon the friends of the King. It is a pity that his Majesty's desire to see the country, and to visit our poor house, should have caused the King to quit London without notice yesterday, when the opportunity happened, which in all human probability may not occur again; and had the King not chosen to ride to Castlewood, the Prince of Wales might have slept to-night at St. James'.

"Parbleu, Monsieur, you give me too much Majesty,' said the Prince, who had now risen, and seemed to be looking to one of us to help him to his coat. But neither stirred.

"We shall take care,' says Esmond, 'not much oftener to offend in that particular.'

"Sir,' says the Prince, burning with rage (he had assumed his royal coat unassisted by this time)—'Sir, did I come here to receive insults?'

"To confer them, may it please your Majesty,' says the Colonel, with a very low bow; 'and the gentlemen of our family are come to thank you.'

"Malediction!' says the young man, tears starting into his eyes with helpless rage and mortification. 'What will you with me, gentlemen?'

"If your Majesty will please to enter the next apartment,' says Esmond, preserving his grave tone, 'I have some papers there which I would gladly submit to you; and by your permission I will lead the way.'

"And taking the taper up, and backing before the Prince with very great ceremony, Mr. Esmond passed into the room through which we had just entered into the house.

"Please to set a chair for his Majesty, Frank,' says the Colonel to his companion, who wondered almost as much at this scene, and was as much puzzled by it as the Prince.

"Then, going to the crypt over the mantelpiece, the Colonel opened it, and drew thence a bundle of papers.

"'Here, may it please your Majesty,' says he, 'is the patent of Marquis sent over by your royal father at Saint Germain's to Viscount Castlewood, my father. Here is the witnessed certificate of my father's marriage to my mother, and of my birth and christening. I was christened of that religion of which your sainted sire gave all through life so shining an example. Dear Frank, these are my titles—and this is what I do with them. Here go baptism and marriage—and here the marquisate and the august sign-manual with which your Majesty's predecessor was pleased to honour our race!'

"And, as Esmond spoke, he set the papers burning in the brazier.

"'You will please, sir, to remember,' he continued, 'that my family hath ruined itself by fidelity to yours—that my grandfather spent his estate, and gave his blood, and his son to die for your service—that my dear lord's grandfather (for lord you are now, Frank, by right and title too) died for the same cause—that my poor kinswoman, my father's second wife, after giving away her honour to your wicked, perjured race, sent all her wealth to the King, and got in return this precious title which now lies in ashes, and this inestimable yard of blue ribband. I lay this ribband at your feet, and stamp upon it—I draw this sword, and break it, and deny you—and had you completed the wrong you designed us, by Heaven, I would have driven it through your heart, and no more have pardoned you than your father pardoned Monmouth—Frank will do the same—won't you, cousin?'

"Frank, who had been looking on with a stupid air at the papers as they flamed in the brazier, took out his sword, and broke it, holding his head down.

"'I go with my cousin,' says he, giving Esmond a grasp of his hand. 'Marquis or not, by the Lord! I stand by him any day. I beg your Majesty's pardon for swearing; but . . . I'm for the Elector of Hanover!'

There is yet one more point to be scored in favour of the story-teller's craft, one service which it is sometimes—perhaps often—in the story-teller's power to render to his fellow-men. He can for a little while, now and then, come between the sorrowing heart and its sorrow, between the sufferer and his pain. It may be the merest drop of the waters of Lethe, yet that drop brings a moment's relief to the wounded heart, to the aching nerves, to the tired brain. And it is this blest privilege, a privilege far above fame or gain, or any worldly guerdon, which is the exceeding great reward of all story-tellers, great or small.

AMELIA B. EDWARDS.

THE HOME OR THE BARRACK FOR THE CHILDREN OF THE STATE.

HOW startling is the ignorance of some people ! How one's own ignorance must startle others !

"What are pauper schools ?" came from the lips and mind of a cultivated lady of middle age, and rather more of this world's experience than falls to many women. She had leisure and brains. She paid her taxes and read the newspapers, and yet she knew nothing of the condition of the 24,341 children who belong to the State, to whose support she contributed, and for whose welfare she, like the rest of us, is responsible, and therefore, in my humble judgment, in duty bound to know something.

It was that lady's question which called this article into being. Those who know all about pauper institutions had better not read it, or anyhow only the last three pages.

CONDITION OF THE CHILDREN BEFORE 1853.

Before 1853 the children of the State were housed in the work-houses among the adult paupers. They associated with the vicious and low, heard their conversation, saw their habits, took in by contact their principles, and were then turned out into the world to get their own living and spread abroad the moral standards and lazy dodges which sooner or later brought them again to the workhouse. Efforts were occasionally made at classification, but "no regulation, however stringent, can prevent the contaminating association of the children with worthless adults," wrote an ill-contented Guardian in 1841 ; and Miss F. Davenport Hill, herself an authority on Poor-law matters, writes in 1857 : "Young women who grow up in a workhouse form a class proverbial for audacity and shamelessness."

To divide the children from the adults, to remove them altogether from the workhouse and its associations, was the dream of Poor-law reformers, and in 1853, chiefly owing to the efforts and clear-sightedness of Mr. Carleton Tufnell, Sir James K. Shuttleworth, and Mr. Edwin Chadwick, the dream became a reality. The first scheme was to settle the children in groups of forty each; but an evil counsel crept in, which recommended that 500 should be the fixed number. As time went on even that was exceeded, and now there exist three schools of over 500 children, one over 600, two over 700, and one that shelters more than 1000 young lives. Colossal schools, ten-acre fields in which to cultivate human flowers, each one of whom requires the special care of a cottage gardener. To the children-lovers of those days, who were accustomed to see the small beings huddled in among the refuse of humanity and kept ever within four dreary walls, the separate schools must have seemed the realisation of an almost Utopian hope. Specially planned and built to meet childish needs, removed from all that had hitherto caused the chief difficulties in their training, what more could be wanted? Experience has replied.

Nearly seventeen years ago Mr. Selater Booth, then the President of the Local Government Board, made me a Manager of one of these District Schools—that at Forest Gate, which has lately been so notorious in the Press.

I joined the Board, with but few ideas on Poor-law and its administration, but with a deep-rooted principle that the maxim “that anything would do for the pauper” was wrong, both from the humanitarian and the economic point of view; and with the belief that every human being had the right to that sort of training which would best fit him, or her, for a place as a worker in the world.

CONDITION OF FOREST GATE SCHOOL IN 1878.

When I joined the Board of Management the school at Forest Gate was not in a good condition. It had been built some ten years as a district or joint school to accommodate the children chargeable to the Whitechapel, Poplar, and Hackney Unions, but Hackney had recently parted company with the other two, after rows and scandals which are perhaps best forgotten.

Things were then settling down to peace, and the need of progress called forth all that was best among the better disposed of the managers.

At that time there were 216 children belonging to Whitechapel and 344 chargeable to Poplar in the school. The buildings in which they were housed were well built and commodious, the dining-hall handsome and airy, and the block included an infirmary for the sick,

a receiving ward for the new comers, a laundry, and an infant department, all entirely separate from the main building, which consisted chiefly of the schoolrooms and the dormitories. These were all lofty, light, and, of course, hideously clean apartments. The children were dressed in a uniform, and no one had his or her own clothes. They wore any that happened to fit, as they were handed out on the day of the weekly change. The soiled garments were sent to the wash, and whether torn or unduly dirty, the delinquent escaped the rebuke or punishment which might have been a training to carefulness. Silence reigned at meal-times. The regulation weight of food was handed out to each child according to its age, but regardless of its size, appetite, taste, or physical condition. Dull food dully eaten does not conduce to robust health.

The hours out of school were not play-hours. The girls scrubbed the vast areas, I had almost said acres, of boarded rooms, but they were not allowed even to do it together. Each child was placed a few yards off the other. The boys quarrelled or shivered in the yards, unless they enjoyed bullying a smaller "chap," or paralysing the poor brains of the half-witted by having "games" with him.

The children were not called by their names. Each was commonly addressed as "child." They had no toys, no library, no Sunday School, no places in which to keep personal possessions, no playing-fields, no night garments, no prizes, no flowers, no pets, no pictures on the walls, no pleasure in music, no opportunities for seeing the world outside the school walls. Life for them was surrounded with limitations, not the limitations which necessarily bound the horizon of us all, the conquest and the use of which are the means by which characters grow, but the limitations which are imposed by an unnatural life and the ruthless requirement of discipline—a discipline far exceeded what was desirable for the ordering of ten or twelve children, but which had become necessary because some 600 children had to be considered.

CONDITION OF FOREST GATE SCHOOL IN 1888.

For ten years the Board worked, first under the conscientious chairmanship of the late Mr. James Barringer, and later under the patient but more adventurous guidance of Mr. H. J. Cook, and then we have an inspector's opinion that if Forest Gate did not stand in the first rank among pauper schools, it certainly stood high in the second class. Many and important were the changes that had been brought about. The children romped in playing-fields, dug and delved in little gardens, talked busily at meals, wore night garments, owned three sets of day apparel; possessed toys, large ones, such as rocking-horses, swings, bats, dolls'-houses, to be played with in common; small treasures,

such as dolls, puzzles, books, and boxes, which now lived in personally owned "lockers," and taught even the veriest thief by inheritance to respect *meum* and *tuum*. The children swam and drilled, walked out or gambolled in the yards, all with a mien that spoke volumes of the needs so silently borne, and of the enjoyment of the new life so gladly accepted. Prizes were offered and won, and a library was voluntarily worked by ladies "out of doors," to use the pauper child's expression.

Bare rooms had been decorated with pictures, and high hope was to be read through many a motto on colour-washed walls. Flowers grew in the windows, cats kittened in the laundry, canaries sang amid the whirr of the patent centrifugal wringer. Concerts and entertainments were given almost weekly by the staff, or ladies, or gentlemen, with power to cause pleasure. Each girl was called by her Christian prefix. Each boy by his sire's name. On Sunday afternoon the great hall was turned into a busy Sunday School, when the children came into contact with good hearts and gentle influences; and as enough teachers volunteered to allow of the classes being small, each child, anyhow for that one afternoon, got the individual notice that every little one craves for. A savings' bank was started and pennies were both saved and spent when the managers thought well to have a treat, and the happy hundreds spent a long day by the sea. Kindergarten and its "gifts" brought interest and variety into the infants' school.

At meal-times a happy buzz arose from amid the long tables, and such interest as the conversation provided did something to make the coarse food more appetising. Individual tastes were consulted, at least as far as quantity was concerned, for the children were given less to begin with, and encouraged to ask for more.

Recreation rooms were provided for both boys and girls, and the long winter evenings were anything but dreary, for when school was done and work over the children gathered in the brilliantly lit, hot-pipe-heated rooms and played draughts, bagatelle, lotto, or tiddly-winks.

In order to prepare the elder girls for the life of service, two small homes had been started, in which five or six girls were received for a few months before their first start was made into the world. One of these little training homes I had and have under my own care at Hampstead, and there we have trained 135 girls in small groups of from three to seven. The other little training school was carried on in rooms set apart for the purpose in a wing of the great building. They did something, but not much, to counteract the barrack influences, but their very existence proved that in the managers' opinion the education given in the school was not calculated to fit the girls for the work in which they were to be engaged, and by which they were, in future, to keep themselves off the rates.

CRITICISMS ON THE PALATIAL SCHOOLS.

Does it not sound satisfactory? "The place is magnificent"—"too good for paupers"—"education beyond their need"—"far better conditions than the working classes get in their own homes"—"it pays to be a pauper"—"hard on the ratepayer," are comments freely passed on show days when the school is open to guests and the children delight all spectators as they exhibit their handiwork, or drill simultaneously as one man, and hush their happiest, rowdiest noise, at the first clink of the superintendent's bell.

"Far better conditions than the working classes get in their own homes." "Educated beyond their need." "Hard on the poor rate-payers," are the criticisms. Let us see if justice lives in them. Results will tell.

THE DOMESTIC RESULTS OF THE BARRACK SCHOOL SYSTEM.

From these colossal schools the children go out singly into the world; the boys into the Army, shops, or trades; the girls into service. To follow the boys there is no agency, and though individual officers sometimes keep up an acquaintance with the lads, still no register is kept, and there is not sufficient evidence to enable judgment to be given about the success or failure of the massed system of education on boys. Concerning girls we have plenty of evidence. In 1881 a Poor-law official writes, and the Local Government Board publish his report: "When our girls go out to service they are frequently called stupid because they are unacquainted with the names and uses of kitchen articles, whereas it is simple ignorance from not having seen or used them." In the Barrack Schools meat is baked in gas ovens, potatoes are cooked in a copper. How is a girl to know about saucepans, turn-spits, and basting-spoons? The tales told of their ignorance of life are legion, and would be comic if they did not so often lead to tragic results, for mistresses will not keep girls who "need so much telling about everything, that one of course expects them to know."

"If you please, sir, mistress wants a reel of cotton," startled a greengrocer in a London suburb, the District School-bred girl going to him, as she would to the matron at the school store on giving-out day.

"I don't know, ma'am, how the money all went," said another confused buyer. "I think the gentleman said the mutton was 3s. 4d. a pound, but I'm not sure; and the greens did not cost so much."

A third girl, on being sent to the post-office and told to buy the stamps for a parcel, left the hapless packet lying on the counter, and walked a mile and a half back to her mistress, conscientiously carrying

the stamps. A fourth put a telegram into the pillar-box, while a most intelligent lassie of fifteen, on being told to fetch the tea-leaves for sweeping, carefully put unused ones in her dustpan, and seemed to think they would have some occult influence on her domestic operations. Many times have I seen a pauper girl, fresh from the schools, try to light a fire. With pathetic patience she will linger over it for half or three quarters of an hour, wondering why the elements do not work, but confident with a hope, born of ignorance, that they soon will, when she has probably choked out the air, put on damp wood, and then smothered all with small ash, or crushed it with too gigantic "nobs." Angry, sometimes harsh, is the mistress or housekeeper, herself often over-worked, or over-anxious, at what she calls the girl's "wilful stupidity" or "naughty indolence"; for she cannot know that these giant institutions are warmed with hot air or water heated by a furnace in an engine-house, kindled and kept going by a skilled engineer; and that many children so reared hardly see a fire. "To make the fire for mother," to keep it up "against father comes home," is the duty of every child over ten in its natural home; and the effort develops resources which no number of hot water pipes can ever produce.

Is the critic answered? Are these pauper children brought up in "far better conditions than the working-classes get in their own homes?"

THE INTELLECTUAL RESULT OF THE BARRACK SCHOOL SYSTEM.

As long as the Poor-law Schools and the Public Elementary Schools are under different Government Departments it is impossible to compare results, but from the more general inspection of many schools I should judge that the intellectual training given in Poor-law Schools is inferior.

Mr. Mozley (Local Government Board Report of 1874-1875) remarks "that it is difficult to know on what subjects to speak to workhouse children so as to excite in them an interest," and Mr. Wm. Holgate adds to this in his Report of 1886 by referring to the "naturally weak intelligence of these children, increased as it too often is by the narrowness of vision induced by life in an institution."

One could multiply examples to illustrate these opinions, but it is not necessary. Those of my readers who love child-nature and who know the variety of mental food that its awakening intelligence requires, will find no cause for wonder that the pauper child is dull, its vision being limited by four high walls. Parentless, relationless, firesideless, it is served, fed, tended, taught by officials who, however kindly, are themselves enjoying no home-life and, therefore, are unable to bring the simplest of natural joys within the reach of their charges.

THE HYGIENIC RESULTS OF THE BARRACK SCHOOL SYSTEM.

But even supposing that I am right in my opinion, so reluctantly arrived at, that the Barrack School system fails in producing good domestic or intellectual results, I might still be told that health was more important than experience to those who have to earn their living by manual labour, and that careful supervision was more effective in forming the habits that conduced to economic success than intellectual accomplishments. We have then to consider how the health of the children turns out when they are reared in masses of hundreds together.

"It must be obvious to Boards of Guardians," says the Local Government Board in a circular letter, "that when large numbers of children are congregated together ailments, in themselves comparatively slight, may, by reason of their infectious nature, act very injuriously on the general health of the school."

On this subject figures carry their own arguments.

In Forest Gate ophthalmia raged for years, and in 1888 a third of the children were ill with it. This means that their happiness was blighted, their education stopped, their health injured. In some cases it meant also that their eyesight was permanently damaged. At the Hanwell Schools, after a severe visitation of the same sort, Dr. Bridges, the Medical Inspector of the Local Government Board, made a report from which it appears "that out of 2649 distinct cases of ophthalmia only 539 could be traced as having been imported, the remainder arising from contagion within the school buildings." Leytonstone, Leavesden, Ashford and Norwood have all been attacked by the same malady; Brentwood has now 192 children affected with it; indeed, Dr. Bridges' experience causes him to say that "from a chronic type of the disease he never yet found any pauper school absolutely free"; while in Mr. Nettleship's report we find it stated that the sight of "9 per cent. of the children of the State had been permanently injured"—"that only 20 per cent. of the whole population of these schools had healthy eyelids, and that ophthalmia fastens more freely on the children brought up in these schools, in fine country air, freely fed, and with all appliances for cleanliness than on those of our dirty, crowded courts who live under the unhealthy conditions of poor town life." That "all appliances for cleanliness" is no figure of speech may be gathered from the fact that at Forest Gate a clean towel was given to each child every time it washed.

So much for ophthalmia; but, before we leave the subject, I should ask my readers to reflect for a few moments on the future lives of boys and girls who are turned out capitalless into the world, their only stock-in-trade injured by a disease against which they are

powerless, and which has been engendered by that state of life into which it has pleased a protecting Government to call them.

I recall the despairing mistress of one of my thus injured girl friends : "She's all right in herself, poor creature, but she makes mistakes the lodgers won't overlook, even if oneself does. She can't see the dust, and puts down the trays on nothing. She tumbles over things which are plain in sight, and pokes her face so close to the food that it ain't nice. I can't keep her, but I don't know what she's to do if she leaves me."

Nine per cent. thus handicapped. Let those who think the palatial schools are "hard on the ratepayer" look into the wards of the able-bodied workhouse, or seek among the lock beds of infirmaries and hospitals, and they will see that it is not the cost but the failure of the system which make it hard on the ratepayer.

In these great schools, even fever and diphtheria are not unfrequent visitors. For years, in Forest Gate, we were rarely free from scarlet fever. At Brentwood it has recently broken out. At Ashford, in 1885, typhoid fever struck down nearly 300 out of the 660 children then in the school; and at Leavesden 48 children have had diphtheria this year. And this does not end the dreary catalogue of ills to which massed children are subject. Itch, bad heads, ringworm, skin diseases, sore ears, scrofulous diseases, are always in their midst; complaints caused or increased by crowding, malnutrition, incidental to the unnatural conditions imposed on them by the life chosen for them by their guardians.

In the House, on June 4, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in answering a question of Mr. Bartley's, said that he could not tell him how many of the children of the State had suffered from ophthalmia, scarlet fever, measles, throat complaints, and other infectious maladies, during the last ten years, but that he could tell him, if he wished, how many deaths had occurred in the schools during the last three years.

The answer is wide of the mark. Such diseases are not fatal but disabling.

"It is these," as the *British Medical Journal* remarks, "which are the torments, the terrors, and the miseries of child-life in Barrack Schools, which are not only torturing to their unfortunate subjects and drawbacks to their further progress in life at a later age, and obstacles to their proper training and teaching in the schools, but they are also a source of enormous and unnecessary expenditure to the ratepayers."

THE RESULTS OF SUPERVISION IN BARRACK SCHOOLS.

It was New Year's Eve. Good folk had been seeing the dawn of a new year with bowed heads and bent knees, and full of aspiration, were walking home after the close of the service, when glare and smoke around a barrack school told of the children's need of help. Many brave men

offered succour; but twenty-two smothered or charred corpses, laid out in a long bare room told the tale of that night's work. The coroner sat, the jurymen asked questions, keys were shown, plans produced, systems explained, good intentions commended, sufferers condoled with, verdict given, children buried, monument put up. What more would you want? Only to put the saddle on the right horse, and to declare that the *system* was to blame; that the tragedy was caused by the massing of so many children together; that they, by their number, became unwieldy when individual action alone could save them; and that there is no organisation, however complete, which is not sometimes defective, and that it is these emergencies which show the weak spot, and cause the simple incident to become a ghastly accident.

* * * * *

It was a scorching day, one of those days when life is real joy if spent in a garden, a real pain if spent in proximity to a kitchen fire, or in the near neighbourhood of a crowd of hot, greasy, fretful children. Dinner-hour was noon. About that time a trusted servant of the establishment, passing through the dining-hall, saw fly-blown meat on the trays that had been set for the children. It was none of her business, but a woman's heart grows bold where bairns are concerned, and she complained. The officials took no notice.

Presently, child after child fell sick: little heads drooped, hot stomachs had pains, noisy throats retched, till at last the doctor was busy with 141 patients. But from his skilled hands death took two poisoned lives.

Once more the formula of an inquest was gone through. The coroner, as usual, was sure nothing was wrong, and not only exonerated from blame all concerned, but began an encomium on the management of the school, when he was interrupted by a man who had "something to say." His "something" adjourned the inquest, and finally led to an inquiry by the Local Government Board; and then what the newspapers call "startling disclosures" were made. It was stated that meat was often buried, that the children were frequently fed on the officers' waste instead of fresh meat, and that the dietary table was frequently broken. Statements not only made but proved, and in judicating on which the Local Government Board write:

"With regard to the explanation of the school superintendent, forwarded with your letter, the Board consider it extremely unsatisfactory that 52 lbs. of meat should have been charged as taken out of the store on the 22nd of June last to make soup for the children, when, in fact, the greater portion of the meat used for the soup was meat remaining from officers' joints taken out of the store on previous days. The Board consider it equally unsatisfactory that the superintendent should have to admit that instead of soup being entered as being given to certain of the children on the same day, bread pudding, not entered in his accounts, was given them."

What happened, as a result of this letter, is pretty well known, for the press have not had "a conspiracy of silence" on this matter.

The Board of Management replied that they considered "it satisfactory to find that nothing more serious has resulted than the errors in book-keeping referred to in the letter of the Local Government Board," and they immediately took steps to withdraw the suspension of Henry Elliott, the man who had "something to say," not in order to show him and others of the staff that they honoured him more for his bravery in daring to tell what he had seen, than for all the good work he had given them during the eighteen years he had been in their service, but in order that they might call upon him to resign; for on this point the Local Government Board had written:

"The case of Mr. H. Elliott has received the very careful consideration of the Board, and it seems that, though certain of his allegations are apparently without justification, while others much over-state the facts, certain of those made in regard to the provisions are not altogether without foundation. Moreover, it is not clear that he has not been actuated in the matter by a misdirected zeal for the interests of the children. Under these circumstances, whilst the Board are of an opinion that Mr. Elliott's services in connection with the school should cease, they would propose, with the concurrence of the Managers, to remove the suspension on the understanding that he forthwith places his resignation in their hands."

Does this tale speak well for supervision or its results? for the supervision by the Local Government Board Inspector of the Managers? or for the supervision by the Managers of their Superintendent?

The verdict must be failure. The Managers manage badly, and the Local Government Board apparently do not object. Otherwise how can we account for the mild rebuke of the Local Government Board, the (almost ridiculous) self-congratulation of the Managers, and the readiness of both to sacrifice and silence the one man who had dared to tell the fact that, instead of the food allowed by the dietary tables, the children had meat with maggots.

"No one," writes the *British Medical Journal*, May 26, 1894, "can believe for a moment that the matters brought to light by the Local Government Board Inquiry were accidental and unprecedented abuses. What was accidental was the discovery of the evil."

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On a certain day in April 1894, at 8 o'clock in the morning, A. B., aged 13, was admitted into the infirmary of one of these barrack schools. At 4.30 p.m. the doctor saw the child. At 5 o'clock the skilled nurse went out, it being her evening "off duty." At 8 in the evening the wardswoman, in whose care she had been left, noticed that the child was restless. Half an hour later she found her on the floor and delirious. At 9 o'clock the skilled night nurse came on duty, and seeing the gravity of the case immediately summoned the

Superintendent, who sent for the doctor, who, however, did not come, but gave the messenger a bottle of medicine. At 10 the child died. Nearly three hours later, the doctor came.

The inquest was held, a *post-mortem* made, and the verdict returned was that the child A. B. "died from cardiac failure, consequent upon an attack of pleurisy and pneumonia."

Now consider these facts. For five, six, or seven days patients with pneumonia are in high fever. On the fifth, sixth, or seventh day the temperature goes down and the heart's action has to be stimulated by frequent doses of alcohol, in some form, until the system has had time to recover and nature do its normal work.

Among 200 or 300 girls is it wonderful that no one with experienced eyes had happened to notice that A. B. was flushed? or that no one had kissed her who would be likely to remark that she was unduly hot? Amid so many plates, is it strange that her untasted food was not remarked, or very odd that her listless ways passed with nothing more than a rebuke? A row of little beds in the long dormitories, a row of little bodies generally too sound asleep to notice any neighbour's wakefulness. An official inspection before shutting-up time; a loud sounding bell that acts as caller—all excellent conditions if people were machines; but for little growing children, with varied temperaments and different bodies, an unholy system. When there are so many children massed together it is impossible that any officer, however alert or sympathetic, should know how one sleeps. A. B. occupied one of these beds. Who could know that she had tossed and turned all night, or longed for a drink of water till morning came? All must be treated alike till complaint is made, and children shrink from complaining. "My nurse used to shake and pinch me and threaten me with horrible futures," I was told by a grown girl of the wealthier classes, "but it never occurred to me ever to tell mamma; I thought it was what I had to expect from her." In the barrack schools it does not do to encourage complaints—a discouragement which numbers and discipline brought to such a pitch in the infant department of the Hackney Schools, that the woman called "Darling" by the matron was able for years to beat the silent children with stinging nettles, and bang their uncomplaining heads against the walls until blood came from their ears.

But Ella Gillespie must not be taken as a type of workhouse officials. There are many noble hard-working men and women who give themselves with all generosity to the care of the children. From these I have often heard complaints that the massing of the children prevents them from doing all that their kind hearts prompt them to do. "I often have to tell them they are 'shamming,' when I would like to cosset them a bit," one school official told me; "but what should we come to if we petted up every child where there are so many?"

If the supervision breaks down in matters relating to organisation

and physical well-being, how much oftener must it fail in matters relating to character, and then it has a deeper influence and wider results. Take truth-speaking, for instance. Any one who has any dealings with little people knows the time and patience that have to be used to come to the bottom of a conflicting story, to get at the facts with sufficient accuracy to be able to warn this child that it must not pervert the truth by exaggeration; or to impress on the other one that lying must not, even silently, be indulged in. To do this for children by the hundred, is impossible. The "straight, slight thread of truth" is seen to be wavy and fat, as it is tossed and tumbled about amid so many, and the children lose the teaching, immeasurably important to every young thing, of knowing that their elders have an undeviating standard by which all and each are judged. Temper, immodesty, unfairness, evil talk, indolence, dishonesty, greed, are the special faults of the pauper, and if there were any need, pages could be written to show the difficulty of eradicating such sins from childish natures, which have, as their birthright, the tendency to vice, and as their heritage, weakened capacities for distinguishing the trees of good and evil, with an unusual strength of desire to taste of forbidden fruits. In any conditions and in any home it is not easy, but when many children are placed together it is impossible.

For the children in the street one can do little. With pity that becomes pain one studies their low ways and ugly faces. But once paupers, they have become the children of the State, and as such we have them in our hands. To them we are bound, in a very real sense, to be our "brother's keeper." In barrack schools we can make ourselves to many among them their Cains.

THE REMEDIES FOR BARRACK SCHOOLS.

The evil can be partly remedied by adopting the boarding-out system, and placing orphan girls and boys as inmates in an ordinary workman's home. The father becomes the manly influence and the protecting support under which the child can nestle, and the mother, if she is the right sort, takes the homeless bairn not only into her house but into her heart. The foster-parents themselves are closely supervised by a committee, and both committee and homes are inspected by Miss Mason, a lady official of the Local Government Board. Her sole work is the inspection of boarded-out children, and at the conclusion of her report published in the Blue Book of 1892-1893 she says: "I am still of the same opinion as to the excellence of the boarding-out system, if well managed."

In the last three words much is covered. Those who are suspicious about boarding-out are not without ground for their fears. A few unfortunate errors have somewhat injured the system in public

esteem, but I would submit that no one pretends that boarding-out will work if the Homes are not faithfully and vigilantly supervised. Unless the committees, which should include working women, are prepared to do this without fear or favour, they had better not attempt the work, which should be considered as a responsible labour, and not as a new opportunity for playing Lady Bountiful in country villages. A more general adoption of the system, under perhaps the control of the Village Councils, might produce a local public opinion which would do much to prevent abuse or neglect.

The cost of each child so provided for is 4s. a week for food, £2 a year for clothing, besides an allowance for medical attendance, physic, and extra nourishment if required. Say £13 a year, all told. But boarding-out can only be legally used in the cases of orphans and deserted children, and Miss Mason says her "experience is increasingly against the boarding-out of elder children," and that "nothing could be more dangerous than a system of boarding-out feeble-minded girls." Foster-parents, also, are only human, and, therefore, it is not wise to give them excessively trying children, or those whose habits almost preclude love being given to them. Thus it is but a small remnant that can be boarded-out.

The question still remains how best to bring up the bulk of the children whose guardian is the State. I venture to answer that small cottage homes are the best solution—homes which should not, if possible, take more than twelve in number of the comparatively permanent children, or twenty of the "ins and outs." These latter require special provision, as the following figures will show.

Between the Lady Days of 1893-94, 608 children were admitted into the Forest Gate schools and 543 discharged. Of these :

477	children were admitted once	. . . . .	...
20	"	" twice	. . . . . 40
16	"	" 3 times	. . . . . 48
3	"	" 4 times	. . . . . 12
5	"	" 5 times	. . . . . 25
1	"	" 6 times	. . . . . 6

608

and, writes the clerk, Mr. Lough, to whose courtesy I am indebted for these figures :

"There is no doubt that the number of duplicate admissions would have been greater but for the operation of the beneficial rule of having only one admission day in a fortnight. For instance, A. T. was admitted with parents to the Poplar Workhouse eleven times during the year, but could only be sent to the schools on four occasions."

It requires a knowledge not only of the poor but of the criminal and degraded classes to imagine such lives as these little "ins and

outs" live. As "ins" they fret and rebel against a discipline which is too general and too unloving to have for them any attraction. They sow seeds of sin in fruitful soil, teach tricks and describe wrongs of which it is a shame men should speak. As "outs" they escape all law, get scanty and irregular food, and play havoc with the poor physique with which they started. To them the State owes special care, if for no better reason, so that it may not support them ultimately as prisoners or paupers. In small cottage homes they would have the best chance. There, under the close supervision of the home mother they might develop their germs of good and their individual characters, and learn that it is righteousness alone which exalteth an individual as well as a nation. Handicraft might be made interesting, and the hope of earning something take the place of the desire of besting somebody.

Careful study of the diet suitable to half-starved frames might save much doctor's stuff; for there can be no doubt that part of the ill-health that afflicts the "ins" comes from the over-working of the digestive organs that are used to go on short commons when their owners are "outs."

Cottage homes also would allow of the classification that all Poor-law reformers agree to be necessary; and it must be remembered that classification does not necessarily mean that all of a sort should be put together. We can picture a cottage home ruled by a working-woman as its mother, containing the helpful girl of fifteen, the weeny babe of three, the delicate child to whom the cosiest seat must always be given, the cripple who must be helped to school.

We can imagine the resources that would be called forth in the elder girls as they protect and guide, teach and scold the younger; and the affection developing into restraining love that the smaller might lavish on the big of the family. In the economic system there seems often to be no work for the mentally afflicted; but it is work to create tenderness, and their place in the cottage home would be to draw out pity and to foster consideration for the helpless.

The cottage homes could be built in groups, if that were best, around a sort of village green, with a school, an infirmary, a store, a laundry, in common, much as they are arranged at Dr. Barnardo's Village Home at Ilford. In some cases the cottage mothers would be unmarried or widows, in others the husband might be the village shoemaker, blacksmith, cowkeeper, gardener, tailor, or farm labourer. In some cottages where the father could help to manage, boys might live with the girls, and brothers and sisters be brought up in natural proximity. In other cases the sexes might be best kept apart, and meet only at school or play. Or it may be found possible to avoid the pauper colony altogether, and plant the homes separately, in houses that already exist and could be made available.

Some of the Guardians have already adopted cottage homes, and those who have sing loud songs in praise of the system. Some advocate twelve as the number for each cottage, some thirty-two as at Hornchurch, or forty or sixty as at Banstead. For myself I would submit that the lower number is the best, inasmuch as it more closely resembles the natural family, few of us being blessed with the parentage of more than twelve children; and because, also, there are more women of good hearts to be found whose brain power is equal to the guidance of a small number of individuals, but who, if given more to manage, would either get confused or take refuge in the making of law that killeth. But the exact number is less important than the principle that each home should be small enough to allow of personal care and individual development.

The children may yet be dealt with in a third way. They could be placed in small homes, managed by ladies or gentlemen, to whom the Guardians could pay the 6*s.* or 7*s.* a week which is allowed for each pauper child when they are undertaken by other institutions. For educational purposes the children could go to the Board School, and thus learn, by mixing with outside lads and lasses, some of the lessons that only come from friendship and contact. Such homes are not difficult to manage, and the delight and interest that they bring into the lives of all concerned is not inconsiderable. The ladies who have done this work could tell of worries, it is true, but their longer stories would be of joy and hope; while the children's growth in good and the development of their individual characters is in itself an evidence of their happiness.

Such a home is shortly to be started by Mr. E. B. Sargent, one of the first residents in Toynbee Hall, who, after giving six years of his life to the practical study of methods of education, by maintaining an elementary school in his own house, is now going to open a certified home for the orphans of pauper parents. To quote his own words, he "is about to investigate one of the most vital of State problems—namely, how far the tendencies of the pauper class are hereditary; or, to put it in good Anglo-Saxon, 'will breeding overcome birth?'"

THE COST OF PAUPER CHILDREN.

The cost of maintaining children in barrack school buildings is large. At Ashford it amounts to £31 1*s.* 4*d.*; at Forest Gate, to £25 12*s.* 2*d.*; at the Central London Schools, to £36 8*s.*; at the North Surrey Schools, to £30 8*s.* 8*d.* All these figures are exclusive of the capital charges and of the repayment of interest, or principal, of the loans raised for improvement purposes. But it cannot be argued that the cost of cottage homes will be much less. At Hornchurch, where the Shoreditch Guardians have built a delightful

children's village, the cost of each inmate is £25 17s. 8d. At the Banstead Village Home, belonging to the Kensington and Chelsea Union, the cost per annum per child is £25 15s. 8d., and these figures, like those taken above, are exclusive of capital charges and interest. But if the system is not much cheaper, 'it can yet be affirmed that it is more suitable for its purpose.

The barrack system has failed—failed to keep the children healthy while at school, failed to turn them out bright, self-reliant, industrious men and women, failed in economy for the ratepayers, failed in happiness for the children, failed to help them to develop their individuality, or to teach them to love, which, after all, is the cornerstone of every staple system of education.

Only a few of these indictments can be brought against the village homes. They are not economical, but, so far as time has allowed experience, the smaller number enables a higher standard of health to be reached and maintained, and allows a greater scope for the treatment of difficult or peculiar characters. In the case of those children who can be boarded out, both thought and experience unite to commend that system, but when legally it cannot be done, cottage homes, or small certified schools, with their opportunities for classification and affectionate supervision, should, I venture to think, be adopted.

As immediate practical proposals I would submit—1st, That the Local Government Board refuse to allow additional building to be made to Barrack Schools; 2nd, That all new school buildings should be built on the cottage system; 3rd, That, when possible, existing barrack-school buildings should be taken and used as asylums, infirmaries, or other institutions where the numbers have necessarily to be large.

But before conviction comes inquiry, and before laws are made public opinion has to be educated. Thus I would urge that the Government should forthwith appoint a Royal Commission or other method of public investigation to inquire as to the welfare of the children in the schools; a Commission that, including a woman or two, would go untiringly into the details, which to the State child means happiness, character, health, growth, and capacity for future earning; a Commission that would consider the rates and those who pay them, and weigh well whether the palatial schools were not "hard on the ratepayer," inasmuch as they fail to make the children healthy, wise, and glad when young, or useful, wealthy, and independent when grown to their full estate.

HENRIETTA O. BARNETT.

[Since these pages were written the President of the Local Government Board has promised that the barrack system shall form the subject of a public inquiry, either by Royal Commission or by a Committee of the House of Commons.]

HOW WE THINK OF TONES AND MUSIC.

PSYCHOLOGISTS as well as musicians have many times been misled in their judgment concerning musical ability in persons who seemed to possess a perfectly clear idea of the tones, chords, harmonies, and modulations of a musical piece without, however, truly comprehending the music as a whole; they may even enjoy each chord or interval by itself, may be delighted with the sound they hear, without finding any peculiar edification in an artistic musical performance. A closer examination often shows that in these people the ability is wanting to comprehend the mass of tones and chords as one connected whole, to find out the organic union in the succession of sounds. Such persons may be unusually skilled in the science of tones, but are nevertheless absolutely unmusical. Who knows how many people who daily astonish us by their clever talk on the most complicated compositions and by the most thorough analysis they are able to give of them, do not belong to this class, and are not at bottom quite deaf to all the beauties of the divine art? But whether we can in all cases exactly distinguish such people from real musicians or not, an insight into the psychological structure of their mind will facilitate our reaching a definite conclusion.

How do we think of tones at all? Surely, we are not all alike, and the tones in our mind have as different shapes as words and their meaning. Just as in hearing the word "justice" one may think of the law-court, another of the characters in which the word is written, while a third hears it spoken in his mind; so in thinking of a tone, one associates it with the written note or the key-board, the other with the motion necessary to play it on an instrument, the third is satisfied with the sound alone. The individual whose mind acts according to the first of these habits is evidently a visualiser in

tones, and is of greatest interest to an outside observer when he has become a virtuoso in his peculiarity. In teaching thorough bass, or studying it with others in the same class, where it is intended for general education only, you may be able to observe him at his best. He will write the most remarkable exercises, in which even the severest critic could not find the slightest mistake; he will find the greatest delight in reading music-notes without playing them, and yet in execution he will fail, and as a listener he will remain cool and indifferent. He is a virtuoso in inventing written music-notes; but a musician he certainly is not. Of course this unusual music-writing ability is not necessarily opposed to musical ability, but the fact that the former is at times directly opposed to the latter, and *vice versa*, is in itself remarkable enough.

To illustrate this difference I may mention an incident which has struck me and others as showing the complexity of a seemingly very simple psychical action. As a boy I was once asked to write down the note "A," which I was naturally expected to be able to do, as I had played the piano for nine years. To my own and others' surprise I did not in the least know on which of the five lines to place the point, until it occurred to me to put a point on and between each line, among which nine points I at once found out the "A." Thus I knew the way from the written note "A" to the corresponding "A" of the key-board; but my mind would not work backwards in the same way until after deliberate practice. This might also be due to the fact that in playing we not only recognise the notes each one by itself, but also—and sometimes chiefly—by their respective position. How far this is the case is clearly shown by the difficulty of playing MS. music, where the relative position of the notes is not so strictly maintained as in printed music. But the above-mentioned failure is so striking that even practised players, who are not accustomed to write music, may try the experiment with the highest and deepest notes, and the result, I am sure, will be the same.

Another type of mind is that which thinks of tones only in connection with the movements employed in playing such tones on the instrument. This *tone*-type is only with difficulty to be distinguished from the corresponding *music*-type, for one can think of music as a whole—not only of single tones and chords each by itself—in exactly the same way, and associate it with instrumental movements. To make clear my point, I will illustrate this type by instances that came under my own notice at different times. After a first performance of Meyerbeer's "*L'Africaine*" in a provincial town, a gentleman who had been present played on his return home, to a party of friends in whose company he had been, different themes from the opera for about half an hour without interruption. Great was the admiration of his audience, who exclaimed: "What a memory; what great musical talent!" Being only superficially acquainted with the music,

they did not notice that his examples were not quite correct, and that he only played just the beginnings of various motives, all else being his own combination of them. Some time after it struck his friends that he had in no degree improved in his improvisations from the opera, but quite the contrary; knowing the opera, as they now did, better, they found fault with his playing, until at last his "liberties" became absolutely intolerable. The disillusionment was complete when they found out that the musical memory of the quasi-musical genius had, after all, not only been far inferior to their own, which had improved in time, but that he was also scarcely able to repeat singing what he had played just a minute before. In one word, the "genius" turned out to be what is commonly called entirely unmusical. And this same individual played for hours without interruption and without mistake from beginning to end. You set him down before the piano, and his fingers were at once set in motion over the keyboard, always producing the most pleasing harmonies. An artist of finger-movements, but not a musician. I should compare him to certain laureates of verse who offer their service of making poems for certain occasions on any given subject, and who actually write them with astonishing skill and in a very short time, and yet are no poets, and never produce anything approaching to poetry. Our finger-artist is an analogue to these word-artists. Another man whom I knew as a player came under my observation for many years. He also had this capacity for improvising to a great extent, sitting for hours at the piano, always varying his working out of new themes into new combinations. He also called forth unbounded admiration, and great expectations were attached to his future career. Yet, the longer one observed him the more one got the impression that nothing would come out of his playing; it was a perpetual trifling, with no soul in it. In his daily life he lost himself entirely in his tone-combinations, and nobody could get him to serious work. He never composed anything, had limited inventive powers, and lived continually in a *juste milieu* of harmonious sounds that never led to any worthy productions and never would lead to them. He could not, it is true, be called unmusical; but yet his music was far inferior to what one would have expected from his improvisations. His musical ability was overpowered, as it were, by his skill in the movements of tone-production. And this is a circumstance that in some degree may happen to the greatest musician, and may explain the fact that it is not considered quite correct for a composer to compose on the piano; the usual conventional finger-movements of a practised player, which he is accustomed to execute, interfere with the freedom, the inventive power of his imagination, and he gets chords and modulations into his composition which are only the muscular reminiscence of what he has played from the compositions of others.

A third tone-type is satisfied with the tone as such, and associates

nothing with it. It may be that to this class those persons belong who possess the remarkable memory for pitch of tones (the *absolutes Tongelächtniss* of the Germans), which is, as we know, quite independent of the memory for melody. This extraordinary power of accurately remembering the pitch of tones has recently been designated as memory for timbre. What we really recognise or judge of is not the height of tone as such, but the peculiar timbre it assumes in certain pitches, by which timbre we indirectly recognise the height or depth of a tone. This fact has been brought to light by Professor Kries, through observations which showed the manifest difference of judgment according to the variety of timbre produced by different instruments. Thus, a person who recognises the pitch of a tone on a trumpet may fail to recognise it on the violin. We all know that the tone, say E, sounds much higher when sung by a bass voice than sung by a tenor; it sounds higher on the F-trumpet than on the C-trumpet; higher on the G-string than on the D-string of a violin; and it is significant that, while speaking of these examples, we involuntarily call the timbres high- and low-sounding; although the height is always the same, the tone only sounds as if it were different. In no instrument is this so clearly shown as in the clarinet, where even musicians of little experience will easily recognise the pitch by means of the different timbre, which may be divided into three quite distinct regions.

A peculiar instance of mental tone-representations has recently been made known to me by a gentleman who could not hear tones or music without at the same time imagining their proper pitch. Should it happen that he thinks the tone just heard is E flat, while at the same time he sees the violinist touch the open E string, his pleasure would be entirely spoiled, so strictly is his hearing dependent on imagination of tones in their proper pitch.

It is self-evident that judgment of pitch requires that the tone in its pitch must be fixed somehow; the vast realm of sound with its indefinite possibilities of distinction must be brought to a certain definite standard. To this end the human voice is entirely insufficient, for it admits of all tones and intervals, and subjects them, moreover, to all the changes of physical condition. But the instrument serves this purpose: it strictly settles the tone in its pitch and furnishes the required starting-point for definite judgment. It is also remarkable that people who do not play any instrument, but are musical, have little or no memory for pitch, unless they judge of pitch indirectly by means of the efforts they have to make when singing the tone in question. In teaching how to sing, the aid of an instrument is indispensable; and here again its use makes us acquainted with a long order of definite tones which enables us to think of them more clearly, to hold them in our memory more distinctly, than it would ever be possible to do without its aid. Now the elaboration of a whole system

of tones wholly depends upon our clear ideas of them (*Tonvorstellungen*), and as these ideas in their clearness and definiteness depend upon the use of instruments it is evident that the facts of our tone-system are a practical product based on the nature of instruments. This system has grown out of the structure of the player's hands and lips rather than of the ear or voice or the laws of sound. Only in so far as the production of tones by instruments depends upon the natural laws of sound and vibration does the system also indirectly depend upon them, but it modifies the abstract rules of physics according to the practicability of the instrument.*

I have come to this conclusion now, which I confess is somewhat out of the way of my original task, merely from psychological considerations connected with the present subject; and it appears to me like an approval from an outsider when I remember that ethnological researches have brought me to the same result.

We have spoken of different psychical types, by which we understood the different forms in which we represent tones in our mind when merely thinking of them—forms which vary according to the associations of tones with other thoughts or mental pictures. We have also seen that this ability of mentally representing tones does not make up the musical mind. Music, as a whole, is something more than all tones taken together, and we may be able to have tones in our mind without having music. Now the question arises, may not the contrary condition also be possible—cannot we have music in our mind without tones?

Such a question seems a contradiction in itself, for whatever else music may be besides tones, tones form an indispensable element of it; but an understanding, and even a good memory for music, is nevertheless possible without *clear ideas* of the tones of which it is composed. To elucidate this, I will mention an interesting and unconscious disclosure of such psychic mechanism which I lately observed in a musical friend of mine. While sitting with him in lively conversation, the discussion turned upon Leoncavallo's "I Pagliacci." "How does the opera begin?" he suddenly asked, "it is such a striking theme"; and while endeavouring to bring it back to his mind, he said, "It is like this," and moved his finger in a straight line in the air, suddenly finishing the motion with a zigzag movement, accompanying the whole performance by an indiscriminate whispering. This movement was evidently the only remnant of the

* The musical system may be compared to the grammar of the language. Nobody ever invented the grammar and compelled the people to speak accordingly; but language was first spoken in a certain way and then systematised. Therefore a system can as little as a grammar be an entirely free invention, and if it were it would be good for nothing. It can only be the registration, the arrangement of a material that had already existed, and in the production of which the means of production and its purpose can have been the only formative principle. This once accomplished, nobody can entirely throw the system aside; and people (or in the case of music the artists) still continue to contribute, through new productions, to changes and variations of the material, which the systematiser has invariably to take into account afterwards.

music in his mind, and repeating it several times he, at last, succeeded in quoting the phrase quite recognisably to any one who knew it.

When he had found it, he was himself surprised. Fancy, he said, how one can bring a tune back to one's mind by thinking. He was not aware that the unconscious association with movements helped him to restore to his memory what otherwise would have been lost. It will also be observed that the notes of the passage themselves give a figure whose outline would correspond to the movement shown in the air by my friend; but it was not this note-picture which he reproduced with his finger, and of which he knew nothing, but the picture of the movement which he originally and directly associated with the music. I say the music, not the tones, for he had no clear idea of the tones; he was not quite decided whether the passage in question had a chromatic or diatonic scale, and did not quite know whether it ended in the interval of a fourth or a third. His musical example had the same indecision in it as the singing of savages, and I am sure that in his quotation, although I did not measure the tones, third and quarter tones must have occurred. But the performance was so quick and indistinct that its slight mistakes did not in the least interfere with the impression which it gave as a whole.

This instance is only a confirmation of the rule that we retain music in our mind just as we hear it. In the most cases, we do not distinctly perceive *every* tone, and yet we get the whole framework, as it were, of the music into our mind, and recall it by means of this framework; we recall the music, as a whole, although not quite distinctly and definitely in all its elements. And we hear or perceive music just as it is actually played, *i.e.*, with numerous omissions, various mistakes and involuntary variations such as the greatest artist, the best orchestra cannot help making sometimes. If we were to catch a musical performance, even of a first-rate instrumentalist, by means of a phonograph, and then slowly reproduce and analyse it, we should very likely be astonished to see how incorrectly he played. And yet his performance was good enough for the general impression, and even the most attentive hearer might not have been annoyed by its inaccuracies. It is not otherwise with the music we have in our mind; in it are all the defects, and very likely still more, of its execution. This sufficiency of even a slightly defective performance can only be explained by the fact that the single tones and chords are not the only elements of which music consists; there are also the rhythm, the time, and the different shades of increasing and decreasing force, which count for as much in the general character of a music-piece as the single tones; they are what I should call the expressive powers of music. Indeed in the beginning of music (historically speaking) they are even more important than the single tones. We know from many trustworthy reports of travellers that

most savages do not, as a rule, carefully settle the single tones of a melody, they tap as it were in the dark, change the tones at any repetition, sharpen the intervals when under excitement, flatten them when fatigued, and use all sorts of intermediate third and quarter tones which are most difficult to reproduce by the modern musician. This is not due to a difference of system—for they have no regular system—but to the same incapacity of distinctly representing the tones in their mind which I noticed in my above-mentioned highly civilised musical friend. Thus we may say from a psychological as well as from an ethnological point of view (ontogenetically and phylogenetically as the biologist would say), that not ready-made tones led men to music, but the other elements of music compelled men to include tone (first indistinct, then distinct) as one of them.

If it is not necessary then to entirely grasp each tone in order to quite understand music, why, it might be asked, were tones brought into a strict system at all? why do we keep our compositions within it, if—exaggerating the question—a simple noise would be as effective as it actually was among savages in primitive time, for even this organised noise had its expressive powers? The reasons for this transition are :

First, the impulse of an economic principle, just as urgent and effective in our mental life as in nature. As in our mind single conceptions serve our intellectual economy—for they express in one short term what could otherwise only be said in a long and troublesome succession of words—so in music distinct tones and chords, ready-made modes and intervals, express in much shorter time, by more simple means and with more chance of effect, what otherwise could only be uttered through a long and exhausting effort of vigour and work. We may obtain the highest emotional gratification in a concert of four stringed instruments of one hour's duration, and still be equal to exertion of any kind and amount. Savages take the whole evening and night (or several of them) with an army of instruments and performers in order to laboriously work themselves up to an inspiration which only ends in perfect exhaustion. And I very much doubt whether their art, although more extensive in quantity, is more intensive in quality.

The second reason for the transition from noise to music lies in the need felt for variety. Without doubt there is more variety possible with distinct figures than with a gliding shapeless mass. The possibility of combinations with distinct tones and chords is indefinite; with mere noise there is almost none at all. Whenever we take into consideration the important part which the strong desire for variety in primitive art played among savages, we cannot help acknowledging this as the chief formative principle in the structure of music. An artist who would teach the people new games and new songs, a man

with ingenious imagination, could easily win the hearts of almost every "savage" population, would willingly be acknowledged the superior, be admired and almost worshipped by everybody. In this way at least trustworthy accounts speak of the natives of Africa, Australia, and the South Sea Islands.

But this only by the way. We have seen in what relation our ideas of tones (*Tonvorstellung*) stand to those of music (*Musikvorstellung*), that the capacity for the one does not necessarily imply the capacity for the other, that they are not in direct proportion to each other, and that the first assumes different shapes in the minds of different individuals. Is not the same the case with our ideas of music as a whole? Or, in other words, how do we think of music? We can distinguish different mental types of music representation as in tone representation. One may associate music—without clearly thinking of its tones—with visual pictures, landscapes, scenes, &c.; another with motions (as employed in playing, or dance movements, or in acting); a third has no kind of association, and is satisfied with the sound alone. But it cannot emphatically enough be stated that a certain tone type does not invariably imply a music type of the same class. Thus one may be a visualiser when thinking of music, but may belong to the motor type when endeavouring to clearly represent and to follow each tone and chord, and *vice versa*. Not every musician constantly tries to get all the elements into his mind when he listens to music, very often they are only the means of putting him into an emotional state of high inspiration, which is as such and in itself more valuable to him than the clear idea of the tones. A good musician will nevertheless be able to retain the tones in his memory—even if they are not especially attended to during the performance, and then he may think of these tones in whichever way is peculiar to him. But if we ask to which mental type a musician belongs we shall always have to distinguish between his mental representations of tones and those of music.

Which of these representations has the most significance for the musical mind? This is a question the decision of which may vary according to the character of the composition under consideration, or even of the period of musical history. It will vary according to the composer's habit of considering these tone-elements by themselves apart from, or in addition to, the consideration for the music as a whole. We may follow these differing degrees of concern on the part of the composer through different periods, and may say that in considering the rank of tone-representation (*Tonvorstellung*) and music-representation (*Musikvorstellung*) in classical compositions precedence must as a rule be given to the former. If, however, we think of modern romantic music, it will be quite otherwise. Take a number of characteristic chords out of Mozart's "Don Juan" and of Wagner's.

"Ring des Nibelungen," and you will at once see the difference. In Mozart's work more care is taken with the single stones of the building, and yet Wagner's work is richer in its entirety. Consequently, in appreciating the two works, or in letting portions of them pass through our mind, the psychological attitude will have to be different in each case, and I can fancy that not everybody will at once be able to assume the appropriate one. This may partly explain the difficulty a composer has to overcome when taking to entirely new paths, and may excuse the obstinate resistance often shown by a part of the public. It was not willing or not able to change the attitude of mind towards the work of art. I remember an incident which was related to me when Wagner first conducted his "Lohengrin" in Vienna. The double-bass-players were at that time not able to bring out the passages precisely as they were written. Naturally they expected from Wagner a serious reproof after the first rehearsal; but as nothing of that kind was forthcoming they voluntarily apologised for their insufficient rendering of the part. But Wagner thought it did not matter at all; as long as only the general effect were produced, a few tones more or less would not make any difference. We need not make capital out of this opinion; it was certainly not meant as a dogmatic principle that all music should be played in this way, but merely that in this case the chief point of the composition was not each of the tones, but some other and larger effect not altogether dependent on them. I do not think, however, that a similar principle could equally be applied to any composition by Mozart, and we must certainly be very careful with each tone when playing a fugue by Bach, otherwise all would go wrong. I also do not say that one principle is the right one and the other the wrong; they are both justified, and the free choice lies with the composer's genius. I can well understand now the confession of a very musical friend that most sonatas of the classical school and all oratorios and masses did not give him the least satisfaction, while he thoroughly enjoyed and understood all modern, and especially opera music. He took the composition all in all and did not stick to single parts. It is easily intelligible why the old composers were so anxious to indicate the mode in which the piece was written, a custom which composers like Berlioz and Liszt never took the trouble to follow. It evidently served to facilitate the *Tonvorstellung*—i.e., to enable the hearer to follow all the chords and transitions in their proper pitch and thus to get a clear idea of the tone-elements. Now let us fancy a musician who has been used for many years to this method, listening unprepared to a concert where Berlioz and Wagner are performed; he *must* fail to find the artistic beauty of it, and then will follow the characteristic verdict such as used to amuse us at the time of their first appearances. I well remember an occasion when, on coming out

of a Wagner concert, I overheard two musicians of the old school exchange their impressions. "Francis," said one, "could you always follow the harmonies; did you ever know in which mode the passages were written—which kind of chord was struck—when the themes began and ended, and if you happened to know it for a moment, could you follow the subsequent transitions?" "No," said Francis. "Now you see what rubbish this Wagner writes." Francis and his friend were evidently accustomed to listen to music by grasping each of the tone-elements without ever getting the remotest idea of the whole as such. Overwhelming theoretical considerations drowned the artistic effect in its totality. Failing the perception of the tone-element they had no impression whatever, except that of an indiscriminate noise to which not seldom the music of the new school was compared. Insignificant as this incident may seem, we shall think more highly of the underlying psychological principle if we remember that the celebrated composer Cherubini pronounced Berlioz's Requiem—his most melodious and popular composition—as being no music at all; to such a degree can even a composer fail to find out the musical beauty in its totality when he once critically begins to stick to the elements.

We have spoken at such length of all the single tone-elements as differing from the music as a whole that we may expect to be questioned as to the natural conditions for this discrimination. In answer we are bound to say that every attempt at an explanation can only be disappointing. We can neither measure nor weigh nor analyse the impression produced by genuine music, by which I mean something more than a clever, skilful tone-combination, nor intentionally acquire those qualities, that tendency of mind, which we call musical, if Nature has not provided us with the same, if she has not bestowed on us that divine gift which carries us away on the waves of tone into those spheres and regions where no earthly trouble prevents the mind from unfolding its wings for its full vigorous flight into the world of imagination. Depressing and disappointing as it may be for the intellect to learn that it can never get to know precisely the secret key to the paradise of art, this hindrance will nevertheless remain the most valuable part of our poor humanity. For all the charm, all the romantic mystery of art would vanish, if we were to catch the divine spark under the microscope of science and bury it within the walls of our intelligent skull. Its boundless freedom alone leaves us the vague feeling of general elevation, inexpressible in words and indefinable in scholastic systems. Let this precious jewel glitter in all its wondrous uncertainty and it will highly reward us for not having taken the veil from its face, and for never having pretended to get the impious question answered: What are you?

RICHARD WALLASCHEK.

THE POLICY OF LABOUR.

THE Labour movement is no longer a purely Trades Union movement. Within the brief limits of a few years it has undergone a complete change in its economic faith and political beliefs. In this change is to be found the real significance of the recent great labour revival ; as it is the most potent fact in current politics. It is not too much to say that prior to 1888-9 Trades Unionists had not, except in one or two isolated instances, conceived for their organisations any functions beyond those of directly regulating their conditions of employment. Their economics were those of their employers. They freely accepted as an inexorable law of nature, if not as the highest ethical precept, the economic formula, "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest," and did not stop to contest its application to the bartering of human labour. All they attempted was to reduce the competition between "the human commodities" to a minimum by organising as effectively as circumstances would allow. So too in their polity. They as readily received as gospel the individualistic dicta of the Manchester exponents, though their logical effect was to doom the workers to a life of unmitigated industrial oppression, and held as a dangerous heresy any idea which involved State interference with the conditions of employment of male adults.

But it was not likely that our system of elementary education, and our institution of a cheap press would go without their political fruits. When workmen could read, the social revolution had begun ; and it only needed the persistent propagation by bands of earnest Socialists of the fascinating doctrines of social reconstruction to complete the emancipation of the workmen from their mechanical thought and unquestioning political credulity. They soon began to recognise

that the oppressive industrial system under which they were toiling was not an ideal arrangement "fixed up" by Providence. They also saw that the science of economics was not, as they had hitherto been led to believe, a series of peremptory ethical precepts, but only an exposition of the relation between the different factors which then happened to operate in the production and distribution of wealth, and had to be altered and modified in the light of every additional factor which might be introduced from time to time.

Getting thus far, it was inevitable that their seething discontent and new social yearnings should find an outlet. Mr. Hyndman prophesied in 1887 that it would be through the channel of a "revolution." He even fixed 1889 as the year of grace when such an event would happen. But then Mr. Hyndman had been making a close inquiry into Continental Socialism, and in his ardent study of foreign theories and methods had forgotten the innate characteristics of the Britisher.

Instead of a "revolution" we had a series of equally dramatic but perfectly constitutional events. The match-girls, under the able leadership of Mrs. Besant and Mr. Herbert Burrows, carried the first outwork for the unskilled army in 1888. Then came the colossal but silent victory of the gas-workers, followed a few months later by the world-stirring episode of the Great Dock Strike. We were on the flood-tide of commercial prosperity. What could be done by the down-trodden and oppressed dockers could be accomplished by all other workers. Such was the palpable argument that possessed the minds of the toilers from one end of the United Kingdom to the other. Strike followed strike; new union after new union sprang into existence, and thousands upon thousands of fresh members rolled into the ranks of the older unions. Wages jumped up, hours were reduced, "sweaters" received their quietus by the hundred, and conditions of employment were humanised in all directions.

So great a movement, dominated by new ideas, could not find full expression for its yearnings and its aspirations within the confines of the older methods. To the more impatient souls Trades Union action on the old lines appeared only to take them up an industrial *cul de sac*. But there were others who were less impatient and more practical. Though as fully imbued with the new principles, they frankly recognised the practical difficulties in the way of their application. They saw in their unions not a fruitless waste of energy, as did the more doctrinaire socialists, but a vast power of indispensable importance in the gradual realisation of their ideals. Their principles began to take immediate shape in new programmes and fresh policies. They at once declared enmity against the old *laissez-faire* school in the political arena, and the "free trade in human labour" theorists in the industrial sphere. Their first notorious formula was that the public, through all their administrative depart-

ments, imperial and local, not being subject to the vicissitudes of the private trader, should be model employers. In the next place, they declared definitely in favour of State interference with the employment of the male adult "industrials." These two far-reaching principles formed the fundamental tenets of the new movement. To indicate to what extent they have been applied, what new political factors they have developed, and the real import of these factors, is the chief purpose of this paper.

The first body to adopt the principle in a modified form of the public being a model employer was the late London School Board. At the instigation of the two socialist members, Mrs. Besant and Rev. Stewart Headlam, it passed a resolution in 1888 to the effect that in future all contractors should pay "fair wages" to their workmen.

It is worthy of note at this point that though the School Board thus set an historic example, it has, under the reactionary *régime* of the Diggleites, been the first to put back the hands of the clock. By every conceivable device the present Board majority have attempted to undo the progressive labour work of their predecessors. They have rescinded the schedule setting forth the actual rates of wages to be paid. For a period of many months they steadily declined to enforce the payment of the recognised wages by their contractors, and referred the complaining workmen to the police courts for redress. They have outraged the progressive sentiment of the community by employing themselves, and permitting their contractors to employ labourers at labourers' wages on the recognised work of skilled artisans. They have also persistently declined to pay their own workmen the recognised Trades Union rates of wages, and to work them the recognised hours. This backward step in the "public" labour policy is fortunately, however, peculiar to the present London School Board, and for that reason, if for no other, will, I doubt not, be fittingly remembered by the London workmen at the next election in November.

The most conspicuous example of the public model employer is that of the London County Council. They have fixed for their own workmen a minimum wage of 2*ls.* for a maximum working-week of forty-eight hours. Every workman is given the right of appeal, in the event of any grievance, direct to the committee under whose department he may be employed. In the case of the men employed by contractors, the Council have been equally humane. With a full consciousness of the terrible miseries arising from the sweating system, they have expressly prohibited sub-letting, except in peculiar cases, where a special sanction has to be secured. They insist upon the payment of the Trades Union wages and a full recognition of the Trades Union conditions of employment, and severely punish, by the imposition of a heavy fine, any breach of contract in this respect.

But they have taken a considerable step beyond these purely protective restrictions. Believing that more efficient workmanship and more humane conditions of employment, at a less cost to the rate-payers, can be obtained by eliminating the middleman, they have instituted a large Works Department for the performance of work direct, without the intervention of the contractor. At present some 1400 men are employed. The results have so far more than justified the expectations. The first work, entered upon in a necessarily experimental way, has turned out a great success. In nearly every instance it has been performed at a considerably less cost than that stipulated for in the original tender, without friction with the workmen, and much more efficiently than experience has shown to be the case when done by the private contractors. In a report which the chairman of the Works Committee brought before the Council on February 1, 1894, he stated: "Of fourteen jobs executed by the Works Committee, there has been a saving of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the total of the estimates. The estimates were £20,911 1s. 4d.; the actual has been £18,265 1s. 2d. The work has been carried out in a highly satisfactory manner. There is, I believe, no better work to be found in London."

The estimates, it may be explained, were put in competition with the tenders of the private contractors, and were in each case lower by a considerable amount. It is scarcely too much, perhaps, therefore to expect that, encouraged by such favourable results, and under the gentle stimulus of a growing opinion, many other public bodies will shortly be found following in the footsteps of the London County Council by establishing Works Departments for the performance of their own work direct.

The House of Commons, too, have accepted the model employer principle for the several Government Departments. On February 14, 1891, on the proposal of Mr. Sydney Buxton, M.P., they adopted the following resolution:

"That clauses be inserted in all Government contracts requiring that the contractor shall under penalty observe the recognised customs and conditions as to rates of wages and working hours that prevail in each particular trade, and that the contractor shall under penalty be prohibited from sub-letting any portion of his contract, except where the Department concerned specifically allows the sub-letting of such special portions of the work as would not be produced or carried out by the contractor in the ordinary course of his business."

This resolution, being somewhat loosely worded, has depended largely for its effectiveness upon the sympathy or otherwise of the head of the Government. During the late Government comparatively little was done to put it rigorously into force. Much more has been done since the advent to office of the present Administration. But even yet its application is far from being fully satisfactory. A great deal of

unnecessary sub-letting is still allowed, and many contractors are permitted to employ their men under what the Trades Unionists designate "unfair" conditions. At the present time the London Trades Council have a special committee sitting, whose object is to draw up a report and a series of recommendations to the Government for the satisfactory compliance with the spirit of the resolution.

In the meantime, though the Government has not nearly reached the level of a "fair house," a good deal has been done in the direction of humanising the conditions of employment of the men directly engaged by several of the departments. Mr. Campbell Bannerman, for example, has conceded the eight-hours day to the Ordnance and Small Arms Factories, but, unfortunately, has thought fit to accompany this progressive step by an order prohibiting the right of public meeting to the employees of the Small Arms and Powder Factories. This is a matter of grave import to the present Administration, especially after Mr. Campbell Bannerman's own declaration, that "the Government should be in the first flight of employers." If freedom of speech and the right of public meeting are good for the workers of the private employer, they are equally good for the public employees, and will therefore have to be frankly conceded if the Government are not to draw down upon their heads the anger of the whole labour movement. The wages under the War Department are still unsatisfactory, but the minimum for the unskilled labourers has been raised from 17s. to 19s. per week.

The eight-hours day has been adopted under the Admiralty, and wages have been slightly raised by Lord Spencer, but for unskilled labourers they are still one shilling below Mr. Charles Booth's poverty line of a guinea per week.

The condition of things in the Post Office has been slightly modified by Mr. Arnold Morley, but they, too, are still far below a satisfactory level. Mr. Morley has refused to reinstate all the postmen who were so ruthlessly dismissed the service by Mr. Raikes for exercising their right of combination. Conditions of employment are in a lamentably unsatisfactory state at the Post Office, Telegraph stores and workshops; and the mail-cart drivers in the employment of the Post Office contractors are still required to work under most objectionable conditions.

So that, practically, all that can be fairly said is, that the Government recognise the model employer principle, but have only taken the preliminary step for its full application.*

A very large number of provincial bodies have given practical sanction to the principle of their own and their contractors' working under the recognised Trades Union conditions of employment. Accord-

* For full details of what labour reforms the Government have and have not accomplished, Fabian Tract No. 49 is an excellent guide. It can be obtained at the Offices of the Society, 276 Strand, W.C.

ing to a recent House of Commons Return, moved for by Mr. John Burns, M.P., there are 140 Urban Sanitary Authorities in England and Wales who now impose in all contracts stipulations as to the conditions under which men are to be employed. But this return does not give any particulars as to Scotland and Ireland. Neither does it include any bodies other than the Urban Sanitary Authorities. Altogether there are doubtless nearly three hundred public bodies in the United Kingdom carrying out the principle in one form or another of being the public model employer.

Further, many Town Councils and others in co-operation with Boards of Guardians have started experimental works for the relief of the unemployed.

Labour bureaux, too, have also been formed in different localities for the purpose of aiding men to secure employment.

Then, too, there are those larger municipal experiments, some of long standing, but many quite recent and novel. Bristol, for instance, has long possessed its own docks; Glasgow runs a series of model lodging-houses; Huddersfield works its own trams; while many of the municipalities own their gas and water supply. All these experiments involve the principle of the public being employer of its own labour, and are of supreme importance in view of the growing claims that it should be a model employer. But of their success or non-success we know little or nothing. Beyond the special information regarding the unemployed and labour bureaux experiments in the special Report issued by the Labour Department, and the items appearing from time to time in the *Labour Gazette*, we have no available data whatever to guide and direct us. This is to be deeply deplored. In a country where we make progress, not in the light of any abstract theory, but from experiment to experiment, and at a time when the whole tendency is to collective control, it is of the highest importance that we should have available in a collected form every conceivable detail regarding these experiments, properly attested by expert knowledge.

Acutely feeling this want leads me to suggest the official establishment of a *Local Government and Poor Law Gazette*. We have our *Labour Gazette*, controlled by men who are experts in the matters with which they deal. They have already been able to render very great service to the community by the valuable and properly attested character of their information. To take three instances only. The masterly Report alluded to, which they issued on the "Unemployed," while it brought sad disappointment to the unduly optimistic, was the means of effectively preventing a repetition of many perfectly futile experiments. It was the best possible antidote to the wild and demoralising remedies for the unemployed problem proposed by several well-intentioned but hopelessly impracticable philanthropists. Again, the flood of statistical light that the Labour Department were able to

throw upon the conditions of employment in the shipping and mining industries contributed largely to the ultimate settlement of both the Hull and the mining lock-outs. In each case they presented bottom facts, and thus prevented exaggerated statements on either side warping the public judgment. Similarly might we have reliable knowledge presented to us of all the municipal experiments, helping us to pursue the right path, to avoid precarious pitfalls, and to differentiate between that policy which makes for waste, friction, and anarchy and that which makes for economy and social well-being. Cannot the President of the Local Government Board do something?

Belief in the principle of State interference with adult males has grown by leaps and bounds. It has already been stated that the opinion of the workers has swung round on the subject. So too, very largely, has the opinion of both political parties. Especially has the Liberal party gone ahead. Up to a few years ago the average Liberal conceived no higher purpose in politics than to merely go on ever developing and repairing the political machine. They frankly declared that the State was not to do anything for the workers that the workers could do for themselves. Then, with a rich though grim humour, they practically put everything the toilers wanted into this latter category. When, at last the workers awoke and talked of using the machinery, many of the older Liberals grew much alarmed, and spoke in terms of loud lament about infringing the basic principles of society.

That this is not quite the case now may be gathered from Mr. Asquith's statement at the recent great meeting in St. James's Hall, that—

“Politics are becoming less and less a question of constant and mechanical rearrangement. . . . Politics, if they are a pursuit worthy of intelligent and high-minded men, are, in the long run, the science and the art of social well-being, and depend upon it that it is only in so far as the policy and the proposals of this party or that tend in the long run—I will not say to equalise people's position before the law, but to equalise their opportunities of attaining and enjoying the elementary conditions of a humane and civilised life—it is in that degree and to that extent that, when they come to be arraigned before the bar of history, they will stand or they will fall.”

If more tangible evidence be needed of the sweeping character of the change, it can easily be found. Two or three examples will, however, suffice. The Factory Act of Mr. Matthews imposes conditions for the protection of men as well as women, young persons and children. The Bill recently introduced by Mr. Asquith, and now before the House, goes a great deal further. It seeks to extend protection to dock and riverside workers, and confers upon the Home Secretary the power to prohibit employment of workers, if he thinks necessary, in a trade “certified . . . to be dangerous or injurious to health, or dangerous to life and limb.” The Bill also prohibits the use of lead or arsenic in tinning or enamelling of iron hollow ware.

Again, the Employers' Liability Bill, introduced last Session,

declined to sanction the individualistic practice of "contracting out," and also extended the principle of liability so as to include "injuries to health" caused by an unhealthy trade.

Probably the most striking illustration of the rapid growth of the belief in the efficacy of State interference is that afforded by the Miners' Eight-hours Bill. In 1887 the vast body of miners regarded the proposal of limiting their hours of labour by legislative enactment as wild, utopian, uneconomic, and opposed to the best principles of polity. In 1888 opinion seemed more evenly balanced. In 1889 there was a majority of miners in favour. In 1890 the first Bill was introduced, but overwhelmingly defeated. The same year Mr. Roby, Liberal candidate in the Eccles bye-election, found it necessary either to support the Miners' Eight-hours Bill or abandon the contest, and chose the former alternative. In 1892 it was defeated by 270 to 161; but in 1893 it was read a first time by a majority of 279 against 201.

But working-class opinion has gone very much further in the direction of the principle of State interference than is represented by these concrete proposals. At the Annual Trades Union Congress held last September in Belfast a far-reaching collectivist resolution was carried. It set forth, as a "fighting principle," that "all candidates receiving financial assistance (from a proposed Parliamentary fund) must pledge themselves to support the principle of collective ownership and control of all the means of production and distribution, and the labour programme as agreed upon from time to time by the Congress." This resolution was finally carried by 150 votes to 32 in a congress representing a million organised workers, and may, I think, be fairly taken as approximately reflecting the opinions of the working classes throughout the country on this crucial subject.

This great growth in collectivist opinion has necessarily given an enormous stimulus to the plea for direct labour representation. It is no longer a matter of a few solitary John the Baptists crying in the wilderness. The demand for labour representation has become general, real, and earnest. The whole Trades Union movement has definitely declared in its favour. Many of the unions have done much more than this. They have expressed their willingness to "pay the piper." The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, with a membership of 71,000, have resolved to raise a Parliamentary fund, and already, by means of a single threepenny levy, have provided a fund of £800. The National Society of Boot and Shoe Operatives, with 30,000 members, have voted to maintain one member. The Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants, with a similar membership, have done likewise. The National Union of Teachers have established a fund for promoting the candidatures of two of their members. The Amalgamated Society of Tailors have decided to run and maintain one of their members. The Tyneside and National

Labourers' Union have adopted a similar resolution. Most significant of all, perhaps, the cotton operatives, with their vast localised vote in Lancashire, have issued a circular to take a ballot on the question. And no one who knows the quiet revolution which has taken place in Lancashire working-class opinion can for a moment doubt the issue. Highly incensed by the refusal of their present members of Parliament to support a legal eight-hours day for textile factories, they are determined to take the matter into their own hands. The Dockers' Union have given special facilities to their officials to stand for Parliament, and as a result their Secretary, Alderman Ben Tillett, is again standing in Bradford, and Mr. Tom MacCarthy, an organiser, is standing against Mr. C. H. Wilson, the Liberal shipowner, in Hull. Several of the local miners' associations in the Miners' Federation are also contemplating serious candidatures. The Trades Union Congress, too, have taken official action; first at Glasgow, and then at Belfast, they resolved to establish a special fund for promoting labour representation, "independent of either political party."

These declarations and decisions, be it understood, are quite apart from what may be done by the Independent Labour party primarily (though often in co-operation with Trades Unions and other bodies), and represent practically new forces called into play since the last General Election. What the Independent Labour party may be able to accomplish is at present purely problematical. There is, however, as Lord Rosebery wisely observed at St. James's Hall, a growing party in the country who say to both parties, "A plague on both your houses, a plague on all your parties, a plague on all your politics."

The gravity of this development as a factor in existing politics can scarcely be exaggerated. It is so dangerous to Liberalism that if it is not to be hopelessly swamped in many of the industrial constituencies, the Liberal party will have to do much more than prate in pretty platitudes about the desirability of labour representation. Liberals will have to make up their minds very definitely to clear the way for it. It is not enough for Lord Rosebery to speak in moving terms of eloquence of the new spirit and the fresh forces at work, and then to do nothing to give it free expression and definite embodiment in labour representation. His retort may be that he is fully alive to the need, that his Cabinet colleagues are favourable, and that Parliament Street is yearningly anxious to secure the clear running of labour candidates, but that they cannot interfere in the local choice by dictating from headquarters. This is very well in theory. But in practice a great deal can be done. The supply of "undesirable" candidates can be withheld from Parliament Street, and effective pressure can easily be put on to help in the choice if there is a real desire to help Labour representation. The *Westminster Gazette* fully recognised the situation when on May 2 it declared:

"The situation at the present moment is this: everybody on the Liberal side is favourable to labour candidates in general, but when it comes to any particular case, everybody alleges that somebody else is unfavourable.

"The M.P. if tackled on the subject says: 'I should be delighted to make way for the labour man, or to stand with him (as the case may be); but my local chairman of committee won't hear of it.' The local chairman says: 'We of the committee should be delighted to accept the labour man; but the fact is that the middle-class electors won't have him.' The middle-class elector says: 'We don't object to the labour man at all; but the truth is that the working-classes do not care about being represented by one of their own class, and least of all by this particular candidate.' We will not mention names or places; nor do we suggest that the description given above applies to all constituencies where there is a risk of conflicting Liberal and labour candidatures. But undoubtedly the main difficulty in the matter is a local difficulty; and in some localities the game of Spenlow and Jorkins is played a good deal too much.

"There is only one way. . . . In selected constituencies, where, after due consideration, labour candidatures seem desirable, the Liberal leaders should intervene—just as Mr. Balfour intervened in a similar crisis at Birmingham—to bring Messrs. Spenlow and Jorkins to book."

But apart from the mere question of selecting candidates, the leaders of the Liberal Party can do much to secure a more equitable representation of labour. They can carry out the promises made at the last election, and pass a measure for providing the public payment of election expenses and payment of members. These are the two most essential things for labour representation. They are two of the very few democratic measures which can be passed without troubling the House of Lords. As primary questions of finance Sir William Harcourt can deal with them in the Budget next spring if the Government lasts as long. The adoption of the "principle" by a vote of the House of Commons is interesting as a political entertainment; it will not suffice to satisfy the Labour party. If payment of members and election expenses are not actually conceded, then the Liberal party will have labour representation to face in such a way as will "snow them under" in a good many constituencies. Nor will it be enough for them to assert that the concession of payment of members means the sacrifice of the very wealthy Liberals. No doubt it does mean this. But if the very wealthy Liberals will go bag and baggage over to the enemy on so elementary a plank in democratic reforms as payment of members, then they will go over on many other questions that are now looming up. The Liberal party have to recognise that they cannot run with the hare and hunt with the hounds: they cannot serve mammon and humanity. They have either to say good-bye to "vested interests" which will "rat" at each fresh lap of the democratic wave, or the labour movement will say good-bye to them. If they now attempt to conciliate the wealthy Liberal by alienating the labour movement, they will find that when they have alienated the former by touching his vested

interest, they will not have the numerical strength to reconcile labour with any such concessions.

It is therefore to be hoped, in their own interest, apart from that of the vast working classes, that they will go courageously for payment of members as well as the payment of election expenses.

There is little doubt that the next few years will witness a great growth of labour representation along lines independent of the Whips of either party. Sentiment in this direction is daily gathering volume. I think that it is equally certain that the movement will focus itself into a large national organisation. Whether it will, however, take the form of a development of the present Independent Labour party, or a new organisation emanating from Trades Union Congress, is as yet doubtful. If the former, then I am persuaded that it will not be along the suicidal lines indicated by the "Manchester Fourth Clause." This proposed clause of the party rules, which its supporters failed to get carried at the last conference of the Independent Labour party held at Manchester in January last, stipulates :

"That members of the Independent Labour party pledge themselves to support and vote only for candidates at any election who have adopted the objects, policy, and programme of the Independent Labour party, and who are not members, or in any way nominees, of the Liberal, Radical, Conservative, Unionist, or Irish Nationalist parties."

There are doubtless constituencies where the Liberal candidate may be a tyrannical employer, to whom, in spite of all his political professions, it would be undesirable for the Labour party to give the slightest sanction or support, and where the Tory candidate is also too hopelessly reactionary to be even considered. Here, for the purpose of imposing a salutary lesson, it may be admissible to sanction an abstention vote. But to lay such a course down as a *national* policy I deem to be as foolish as it is mischievous.

Under existing circumstances, I think the wise and practicable policy, and the one which is rapidly commending itself to the intelligent men in the labour movement, is to secure the promotion of a labour candidate, with the full backing of all Labour and Progressive bodies if possible. Failing this, then to secure the selection of a satisfactory Progressive. Where this even is impossible, then to squeeze both candidates to the utmost. Only under the gravest and most exceptional circumstances ought advice to abstain to be tolerated.

On these lines, steadily and conscientiously pursued, a considerable representation of labour may be secured without disfranchising the workers, alienating some of the best progressive sympathies of the community, or bringing anarchy and disunion into the ranks of those who are bound for the New Social Jerusalem.

• CLEM. EDWARDS.

INTELLECTUAL LIBERTY AND CONTEMPORARY CATHOLICISM.*

"There must be daylight in bird's cages, in order that the birds may feed; but there must not be too much, lest they discern other birds that are free."—*Vurro*.

MY recent article on the "Papal Encyclical" has brought me a number of letters from priests and laymen thanking me for having publicly given expression to views which are entertained in secret by those intelligent Catholics to whom the Bible is not yet become a book with seven seals. Among these letters two are signed by theologians of eminence who, while fully endorsing the theses I put forward, disapprove the form in which they are couched as being too emphatic, and blame the tone of the article as irreverent. Everything I had to urge—and they are candid enough to admit that I overstated nothing—might, and indeed should, have been tentatively suggested instead of being categorically affirmed, and more than all else, it was my bounden duty sedulously to avoid everything calculated to wound the susceptibilities of the venerable head of our Church whose person should be shielded by at least such majesty as doth hedge a king.

I am not now concerned to rebut these charges which are irrelevant to the points at issue. With regard to the alleged emphatic form of my article, what it comes to, in ultimate analysis, is this: that I allowed my opinions, before giving them utterance, to degenerate into convictions—a deadly sin in the eyes of those who play with "views" as with counters, the value of which is conventional. I and those Catholics, to whose sentiments I gave utterance, lack that peculiar suppleness of intellect which enables one to treat in a light, playful, offhand manner, problems which are really matters of life and death. Our Church, like the old ash, Yggdrasil, with its threefold root

* This paper was written before I had seen Father Clarke's article in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW of July, to which I hope to reply in the next issue. If the official spokesmen of the Church—men like the Rev. Father Brandi—had adopted a tone similar to that of Father Clarke, my articles would have long since lost their *raison d'être*.

reaching up from hell through earth to heaven above, and on whose branches—if anywhere—hangs the fruit of life everlasting is apparently being gnawed away by a serpent, a new Nithhögr. And we who notice this are blamed for not lying down in the refreshing shade of its foliage and lapping up the terrestrial honey that drops from its boughs, careless of what may come after. It may be a heroic virtue thus to shut our eyes to the bearings of the Biblical and other problems on the authority of our Church, on the shaping of our religious dogmas, and on the quality of our faith; but we humbly confess that it is a virtue which we have yet to acquire. Nay I, for my part, avow that I am devoid of the mental or moral faculty that might enable me to grasp the motives that could inspire a desire to cultivate it. Here we are confronted with a series of alleged facts which run directly counter to beliefs heretofore cherished on a par with revealed dogmas. We know that these alleged facts must be either true or false. If demonstrably false, they should be refuted by professional theologians who are liberally rewarded in this life, and we would fain believe in the next, for dispelling the clouds of error that obscure for a time the light of religion. If true, why not recognise them with candour, and set about re-shaping those beliefs which presuppose their falsity? And whether true or false, what right have our theologians to hide their heads in their desert sand, like a herd of silly ostriches, in the vain hope that, seeing not, they will not be seen, and to order us to go and do likewise? Are we then to cut off from our communion all those thinking brethren who refuse to base their faith in the Church and their hope of salvation on a mere accident of birth? “Here are our religious beliefs,” exclaim our spiritual guides; “the discovery that conflicts with them is neither true nor a fact. The more learned among you must bestir themselves to find reasons to controvert it.” “Here are undeniable facts,” we reply, “it is now the theologians’ turn to stretch their formulas till they cover them.” If the allegations in question were doubtful, my argument would be worthless. Therefore, I confined myself to certainties, and formulated them as positively and dogmatically as I knew how.

The considerations that underlie and the motives that dictated the charge of irreverence towards his Holiness the Pope are highly respectable in themselves, and would, under ordinary circumstances, have given the tone to my article. But the circumstances are very far from ordinary; and to gild the pill in the present case would have been to imitate the affectionate but conscientious mother who, convinced of the wholesome effects of the birch-rod as an aid to education, always thoughtfully administered narcotics to her darling before applying it. Had it been my lot to broach the subject for the first time, it would indeed have behoved me humbly to “submit, suggest, and venture to point out” the advisability of taking it into

consideration and then, to relapse into respectful silence, leaving it to the coming generation to wait for results. But it was no new topic that I undertook to discuss. The question had been mooted long years before ; it had been brought forward often enough, at first privately, hesitatingly, respectfully, then publicly, confidently, emphatically, and the danger of neglecting it had been dwelt upon again and again. But all to no purpose. Nay, those who in reply to the question, " Watchman, what of the night ? " had dared to report that all was not well, were summarily dismissed from their posts, to serve as a warning to others. I had myself, in April 1893, endeavoured to kindle a spark of interest in the subject among our theologians, and in a tone which the most susceptible Catholic will not describe as wanting in respect to our Holy Father. And with what result ? The spokesman of the Vatican, a reverend Jesuit Father, in an abusive article published in this REVIEW, scoffingly asked whether I fancied that Catholic divines were ignorant of these things, and haughtily declared that he would not waste one word on the subject. " Not one word." And seven months later appeared the Papal Encyclical,* emphatically promulgating doctrines which children now in their nurses' arms will live to hear as emphatically disowned. Was this the time to couch words of warning in courtly phraseology, and deliver them in an undertone that would have been forthwith drowned by the drum ecclesiastic ? Surely, if it was our duty to raise our voices at all, it behoved us to make them very distinctly heard. And this, we trust, we have accomplished. Had the meanest of Æneas's oarsmen sharply pinched or soundly shaken Palinurus as he sat dozing by the rudder, not only would he have saved the trusty pilot from a premature death, but he would have likewise rendered an inestimable service to the entire Trojan crew. If a zealous and heroic Catholic, by adopting analogous rough methods, had hindered Pope Urban VIII. from seriously compromising the Church by his condemnation of the Copernican system, he would certainly have been abused by the theologians and possibly burned by the Holy Inquisition of his time, but honest divines of the present day † would call his name blessed.

* The rumours current in well-informed theological circles that the second and more important half of the Encyclical was an afterthought, suggested and advocated with warmth by a certain Italian Cardinal (Mazella), and adopted with considerable reluctance by the Pope, are wholly foreign to the question, and draw whatever interest they possess from the light they throw upon the back eddies and under-currents of contemporary Catholic theology.

† Not very much sooner. Pope Urban's condemnation of the Copernican system was consistently acted upon by the central institutions of the Church down to the first quarter of the present century. As late as the Pontificate of Leo XII. (1823-1829), Professor Setele's book on astronomy was forbidden to be printed by the ecclesiastical censor in Rome (Magister Sacri Palatii), because the motion of the earth round the sun was described therein as a fact. Professor Setele appealed to the reigning Pope, who authorised the publication, and for the first time removed Galileo's works from the Index of forbidden books. A classic illustration of the ecclesiastical interpretation of the proverb, *festina lente* !

It is now become painfully evident that something more than mere unimpassioned argument is required in order to open the eyes of the advisers of our Holy Father to the appalling danger with which, thanks to their spasmodic and retrograde movements, the Catholic Church now stands face to face. If the utter indifference to Biblical studies exhibited in the past was a blunder, the systematic repression inaugurated at present is little less than a crime. The Papacy is no doubt better warranted than most institutions in relying upon the chapter of accidents to repair the grave mistakes of the past; but surely it would be flying in the face of Providence were it to count upon chance to make good the avoidable errors of the future. No species of temerity is so dangerous as the courage born of error, as no delusions are more fallacious than the trust that springs from half-knowledge.

Now, the heart of the matter is this: while for us the question is a Sphinx riddle, a matter of life and death, for our antagonists it has shrunk to the dimensions of a question of mere tactics. It is impossible for one who has read the Encyclical and the special pleadings of those who uphold it to rid himself of the unpleasant impression that what they seek and are concerned for, is not truth pure and simple, but such notions as are most conformable to the prevailing theological theories. They begin by accepting the doctrines of the school which glories in ignoring the Bible, and then exhort the clergy to cast about for reasons to support them. "The music in the third act does not at all render the thoughts or harmonise with the moods of the *dramatis personæ*," angrily exclaimed the poet to the self-complacent musician. "Very well," was the characteristic reply; "there, you have my music, now go and write words to fit it." Unfortunately for theologians, the Bible is an accomplished fact which cannot be abolished or modified, the Author of which keeps continually warning them more distinctly than in words: *Quod scripsi, scripsi*. But what they believe to be still possible, that they are moving heaven and earth to effect. And religion has to defray the cost.

Our theologians are, in fact, taking a leaf from the book of a clever lawyer who once boasted that he could drive a four-in-hand through any Act of Parliament, and the consequence is that our Church is now in the throes of a painful metamorphosis which has little in common with organic growth. It is undergoing a process of reorganisation, the final success of which is contingent upon secrecy and silence. We shall wake up some fine morning to learn that our eternal salvation depends upon our firmly believing doctrines which have the approval of the bulk of theologians, however false they may be in themselves. Nay, we are even now warned that we must do this without hesitation!

In olden times all the hopes, beliefs, doubts, and aspirations that

stirred men's souls to their nethermost depths, firing some to deeds of fanaticism, inspiring others with the heroism of martyrs, were of a nature to be satisfactorily dealt with by means of that apostolic tradition of which the Church was the repository. But many of the abstruse metaphysical problems which in those days were capable of causing upheavals and giving rise to bloody wars and ruthless persecutions, merely raise a smile on the lips of practical Christians of to-day, who either wholly ignore them or else accept them *en bloc* without question or curiosity. The needs of modern times are of a different order from those of the past, including problems of politics, education, physical science, &c. &c., and the Church, in order to be abreast of the times, must, it is believed, be in a position to solve them summarily and authoritatively. But why infallibly, if infallibility has not been guaranteed to its decrees on these subjects? Apostolic tradition, which is admittedly the basis of all infallible definitions, whether of Church or Pope, cannot be stretched so as to cover all these heterogeneous matters. It will not, for instance, be seriously maintained that the unwritten teachings of the Apostles included a revelation of the necessity of the temporal power of the Sovereign Pontiff. And yet upon this, as indeed upon all modern questions and movements, the Pope, it is claimed, must possess the right to speak with the certainty of being heard with respect and obeyed with alacrity. Even when all the elements of a solution lie well within the limits of verifiable facts, or the sphere of physical sciences? "Even then, also," is the reply. His power must, in a word, be as unlimited as that of Richelieu, who once boasted that no one could venture to utter five words, whatever their import, without exposing himself to the danger of imprisonment. "Two and one are three," exclaimed a bystander, triumphantly, fancying that he had practically refuted the omnipotent Cardinal. "Wretch!" shouted the statesman, "you dare to—deny—the—the mystery of the Holy Trinity? Off with the blasphemer to the Bastille!" In like manner his Holiness the Pope is being endowed by theologians with the awful faculty of solving all problems, political, social, scientific, &c., with the ease of an able leader-writer, and with the finality of an infallible authority from which there is no appeal. And as no one can give that which he himself lacks—*nemo dat quod non habet*—the same theologians vindicate for themselves, in their capacity of the "teaching Church," the privileges which they so generously concede to the Sovereign Pontiff.

Thus the tendency of this process of modernisation is twofold: on the one hand to confer an enormous power upon the theologians of any given period, who, under the direction of a few clever and zealous men, can easily be induced to advocate any particular view or views desired, and thus impose them upon the "crowd of the faithful,"

with the binding force of a revealed truth, *even though they should turn out to be manufactured errors*; and, on the other hand, to apotheosise the Pope, to whom, little by little, attributes are being ascribed which have never belonged to the sons of men. The practical outcome of this tendency will be to impart to Papal Encyclicals, Letters, &c., the force of defined dogmas, and to encircle his Holiness's head with the aureole of canonised saintship.

Now, with neither of these innovating tendencies are my friends and myself in sympathy. The grounds upon which we protest against the action of the new dogmatopæic agency are self-evident. Our objections to the extension of papal infallibility beyond the limits marked out by the Vatican Council, and our emphatic refusal to countenance the pernicious doctrine that the Pope cannot sin are briefly these. God alone can bestow infallibility, and none but an Œcumenical Council or the Pope speaking *ex cathedrâ* can declare it to have been so bestowed. In the absence of any such solemn declaration, the velleities and suggestions of hole-and-corner men, nay, the belief of the teaching but non-learning Church, are but as the tinkling of brazen cymbals. What reasons, for instance, can be urged to induce us to accept implicitly the opinion of his Holiness, in whatever form short of a definition *ex cathedrâ* it may be embodied, on any of the questions raised, say, by Bible criticism? Absolutely none. He was endowed with the gift of infallibility in order to minister to the needs of the Church. If he refrains from having recourse to it in the present case, the presumption is that the interests at stake are not of vital importance. His personal knowledge? He possesses none, unless he received it by way of direct revelation from above; for his Latin ode on the telegraph, though an elegant performance, affords no proof of his acquaintance with Hebrew. The scientific knowledge of his advisers? But it is admittedly on a par with his own; they glory in their nescience. Their sole claim to be heard lies in the circumstance that they have succeeded in isolating Catholics from the Biblical movement in Europe till the ignorance even of our own clergy is become proverbial. And now, turning round, they exclaim, "Hearken unto the words of wisdom that flow from the lips of our Holy Father!" We have listened in Amyclean silence and with wonder unmixed with admiration, sorely tempted to inquire, "Whose is this image and superscription?" That of the infallible Vicar of Christ or of the author of the elegant ode to the telegraph? And when we have satisfied ourselves that it is the sign manual of the latter, can we be justly blamed for refusing to confound the poet with the pontiff? Would it not be treason to the Church to sanction the opposite principle?

Again, the maximum number and the superlative degree of such divine graces as belong to Leo XIII. as Pope, do not differ by one

hair's breadth from those which were enjoyed by the very worst and most unprincipled of the long line of his predecessors. The infallibility with which our present Holy Father is endowed is in all respects identical with that which characterised Urban VIII., Alexander VI., and John XII.; and the most important of his countless Encyclicals possess, if anything, a less binding force than belonged to the official declarations of Honorius I., which were afterwards condemned as heretical by his pontifical successor and an infallible council. In like manner, the degree of reverence which we owe to the holiest and humblest of our pontiffs, as Pope, does not exceed by one iota that which Catholics of former times were bound to exhibit to the most licentious and shameless of the Pornocrats. The point is so clear that it would be needless to argue it were it not that the theological caucus which manufactures "dogmas of the teaching Church" is silently and systematically making a distinction between the popes of former and those of modern times which bids fair to crystallise into a recognised difference; and the belief is gaining ground that, as the temporal power from which St. Peter and his immediate successors would have recoiled with horror is become absolutely indispensable to the modern papacy, even so the impeccability of the Sovereign Pontiff, which Sergius III., John X., John XI., John XII., &c., never in their wildest moments dreamt of claiming, is a necessary attribute of the rulers of the contemporary and future Church.

The rise and progress of this semi-idolatrous notion is clearly traceable from the time when our present Holy Father was declared to be personally a model of piety and sanctity down to the day when he was first proclaimed absolutely incapable of sinning in virtue of his holy office. The respect in which he was rightly held from the time of his election has gone on *crescendo*, till now it differs little from the sentiments which constitute religious worship. To be wanting in those sentiments to-day is to be almost as an heathen man and a publican, as was shown by the humiliation of the learned Cardinal Pitra. This venerable Benedictine wrote a letter a few years ago to the clerical editor of a Catholic periodical in Amsterdam, in the course of which he recalled with melancholy pleasure the zeal and self-sacrificing spirit of Pius IX., during whose reign the Catholic cause was everywhere in honour. This eulogy of the dead Pope was held to be in some sort an insult to his living successor, and Cardinal Pitra was compelled to publish an abject apology, and to express his heartfelt regret for having unwittingly hurt the delicate susceptibilities of Leo XIII., whose diplomatic successes have rendered such incalculable services to religion.

Now it gives an adverse poise to the thoughts of all Catholics whose hearts beat warmly for the cause of truth and justice, to compare that commemoration of Pius IX. by a humble prelate with the following

extract from a pompous eulogium of Leo XIII. published by the Russian semi-official *Novoye Vremya* a few weeks since, on the occasion of the appointment of a permanent official agent of the Tsar at the Vatican: "The views of the present Pope concerning the mission of the Catholic Church are absolutely free from that fanaticism which, under Pius IX., strained to the very utmost the relations of the Roman Curia with almost all the representatives of the secular power in Europe." * If the eulogy written by Cardinal Pitra constituted a disguised affront, what are we to think of the patronising encomium published by the *Novoye Vremya* "of whom to be dispraised were no small praise." Alas! *non bene olet qui semper bene olet* is a proverb the truth of which is being painfully impressed upon us at the present moment. And Leo XIII. is invariably spoken of in such fulsome terms of adulation as would no doubt grievously shock his Holiness himself were he aware of the practice. The *Civiltà Cattolica*, the official organ of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, describing the wickedness of my last article, says: "The evident scope (thereof) is to darken, or at least to shroud the splendours which, from the pontifical throne, occupied with such glory by Leo, irradiates all nations." † If the reverend editors of that somewhat militant review were not possessed by an insuperable repugnance to Goethe, I should feel tempted to remind them of the saying of that truly great man: "Incense is a tribute for gods alone; to mortals it is a deadly poison."

It is only fair to say that, in practice, the Pope is no longer treated as a mere mortal, while in theory the process of apotheosis has likewise been formally begun. His utterances are looked upon as oracles destined to change the course of the world, and the views on scientific subjects to which, whatever their source, he appends his seal and signature, are deemed to outweigh the certainties of science and the evidence of one's senses. We too—nay, all genuine Catholics—burn with a laudable desire to see our venerable chief become the moral centre of the entire civilised world, working successfully to establish peace upon earth among all men of good will. And therefore, we are pained to note the obstinacy with which his present advisers adopt the very means which render this end for ever unattainable. Why, for instance, hazard opinions on Bible criticism which are devoid of all solid basis, run directly counter to plain every-day facts, and compromise the authority of the Holy See; and then order us to make an act of belief on the subject—an act which "has no relish of salva-

* *Novoye Vremya*, May 31, 1894. The translation given in the text is literal and has been verified by no less than five different persons, two among whom are Catholics. I am informed that several other Russian papers were still more enthusiastic in their panegyrics of the "wise, diplomatic Leo XIII." as compared with the fanatical Pius IX.

† *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 1894 (second half, p. 417).

tion in it"? Is it not clear that before forming an opinion, even for one's own self, upon such intricate subjects, one must have seriously studied them or at the very least have consulted people who have taken the trouble to investigate them? Why publish a new Encyclical inviting the Slavonic Orthodox churches to enter the true fold on the understanding that all their privileges will be scrupulously respected,* at the very moment when the privilege possessed by every clergyman of the Greek rite,† viz., of being the husband of one wife, is being withdrawn from the Ruthenians in America, numbers of whom are leaving our Church in consequence? Why, in a word, abuse a golden opportunity and turn the Sovereign Pontiff, whose age, position, education, disinterestedness, and charity predispose Christians and heathens alike to listen to his words with profound respect—why, instead of extracting all the good possible from these exceptionally favourable conditions, turn the Pope into a mere Dalai Lama, and set him up to be worshipped as an idol?

But perhaps English readers, from whom the schemes of our theological wire-pullers are generally kept carefully concealed, may fancy that I am fighting with windmills which I mistake for giants. Such, I regret to say, is not the case. The theory is systematically inculcated in our schools and seminaries that the Sovereign Pontiff, in virtue of his office as Christ's vicar upon earth, *cannot possibly sin*, not even if he would! The utter absurdity of the notion might seem a sufficient reason to warrant disbelief in its spread—nay, in its very existence. But disbelief is impossible, in the face of evident, eloquent and painful facts vouched for by the most eminent members of our clergy. The Rev. Abbé Duchesne, for example, who is widely known as a zealous Catholic, an exemplary priest, and a distinguished professor of the Catholic University of Paris, writes, in a letter dated September 20, 1888: "We possess a seminary in which the impeccability of the Pope is currently taught." The impeccability of the Pope! Thus far have we progressed since the Middle Ages. Were the lives, then, of Alexander VI., of Sergius III., of John X., John XI., John XII., &c., free from sin in any sense but that in which the Bible is exempt from errors? But, perhaps, the novel theory is but the fad of some over-zealous professor in the seminary which his colleagues indulgently tolerate and his pupils contemptuously reject? No; it is the doctrine which is officially taught, and which every cleric in the establishment must duly assimilate in order to propagate it in turn when he becomes a priest. What is its sanction? Terrorism, pure and simple. "*No one dares to raise his voice against this absurd doctrine*," continues the Abbé Duchesne; "this would be tantamount to denouncing oneself as inferior to some

* This Encyclical was issued recently.

† Even those who are Catholics and in communion with Rome.

one else in zeal for the honour of the Holy See. The fact is significant." * In what, one would like to know, does this peculiar zeal for the honour of the Holy See differ from the zeal of the Thibetan Buddhists for their Dalai Lama?

Now the deplorable state of things of which this and countless analogous facts are significant, supplies at once the most complete justification of the tone of my article, and the most satisfactory explanation of the dissatisfaction which it produced in certain clerical circles. We respectfully but firmly protest against the apotheosis, even of Christ's Vicar, who, after all, is but a man, and therefore saturated with human nature. As Goethe truly said: "Where lamps are lighted, there are oil stains; where candles burn, there are snuffs; it is only the luminaries of heaven that shine forth pure and spotless." But lest Goethe's words should fall upon deaf ears, I will quote a memorable passage from a memorable discourse lately addressed to his diocesan clergy by the venerable Archbishop of Erlau—the brightest light of the contemporary Hungarian Church—which supplies food for reflection to those impatient theologians who would canonise the living and praise the day before the sun has set. Archbishop Samassa, whose own life consists of a series of admirable illustrations of the virtues that should adorn a spiritual shepherd, describing, a few months ago, his visit to Leo XIII., says:

"From the Basilica of St. Peter I forthwith repaired to the palace of the Vatican, in which the Pope resides, in order most respectfully to pay him homage and give expression to my profound veneration.

"But I will not conceal from you the feeling of *silent compassion* that took possession of me in that palace. Many and various were the emotions that stirred my spirit. The Vicar of Christ hovered before my mind's eye, invested with the highest dignity and authority, but I likewise beheld the instrument and executor of this same sublime greatness—viz., the *man*,† and we know that nature, which brought him forth into the world, was not a mother, but a stepmother, endowing him with a disposition impatient of hardship, subject to fear of all kinds, slothful in work and *hankering after power*, and that he rose to a position which is lofty but not tranquil, sublime but not secure. 'I consider the ascent,' exclaims St. Bernard, 'and I fear the fall. I contemplate the pinnacle of the dignity and I gaze down into the depths of the abyss that yawns beneath it. I am conscious of the height of the honour, and I apprehend hard-by the danger of which it is written "When man was in honour, he showed no understanding."‡ If he deviate from the way of the Lord, he is buried in that same place, so that it may bear witness against him.'

"And truly great things are demanded of him to whom, as Christ's Vicar, the words, 'Feed my sheep; feed my lambs,' were addressed. For if it be

* "Nous avons un séminaire, où l'on enseigne couramment l'impeccabilité du Pape. Personne n'ose élever la voix contre cette doctrine absurde; ce serait se dénoncer comme inférieur à quelqu'un en zèle pour l'honneur du saint-siège. Ce fait est un indice!"

† The italics are mine throughout.

‡ This is taken from the xlixth Psalm (the xlviiiith in the Vulgate), and is cited according to the Vulgate.

reasonably required of other bishops that they should offer no pretext for censure, how much more reasonably of him who is as far above all the other bishops as these are above the priests. But, alas! the nature of every one of us who lives is a mixture of good and evil, and we should be either angels, if no stain of improbity tarnished our lives, or else intolerable to God and man alike, if no mixture of good tempered the filth of our vices. *It is in vain, therefore, that we require of the Pope that he should distinguish himself in every species of virtue, and be devoid even of the smallest vices, that a life untarnished by any blot should remove him from the range of criticism and censure.* One may rightly demand and require, however, that he should distinguish himself by the principal virtues among his contemporaries and be free, if not from all vices, at least from those which, when contracted by private individuals, ruin families, and when practised by princes subvert the mightiest kingdoms.*

These wise words come with the freshness of a whiff of pure *puszta*† air, sweetening the mephitic atmosphere of a fever room.

But to return to the Church, which is now undergoing the "rejuvenating" process in the Medea's cauldron of theology, and to the "crowd of the faithful," for whom new chains are being hurriedly forged without warrant or need. The success of this operation depends, it is felt, on its being carried out noiselessly, secretly and, above all things else, without challenging the attention of unfriendly critics. This is why so little is known about it, not only beyond Catholic circles, but likewise within, where the delusive notion is being fostered that there is no genuine intellectual liberty outside the true fold. Even phlegmatic English Catholics, carried away by this pretty idea, have been known to rise to lyrism when publicly expatiating upon the practically boundless liberty which is the glorious birthright and exclusive privilege of the members of our Church; and an English Catholic scholar, whose own freedom of speculation had, it seems, just been summarily curtailed, lately went so far as to extol that glorious prerogative to the skies in a formal palinode, the perusal of which would, I am assured, have added poignancy to the tortures of the damned.‡ The sincerity of all these honest and humble souls, which far outstrips their acumen, is above suspicion, and it would be ungracious not to pay, even to the shrewdest of the flock, the tribute embodied in the belief that they would scorn to use any means to deceive others save those which they employed and employ to delude themselves.

The tactics which are resorted to in England and America with caution, are practised on the Continent without moderation or disguise. It is not Catholics only who there repeat with parrot-like persistency

* Oratio quam Dr. Josephus Samassa, Archi-Episcopus Agriensis ad Clerum diocesanum habuit. p. 22. The italics are all mine.

† *Puszta* is in Hungary what the *steppe* is in Russia.

‡ Professor Mivart's articles on Hell, which let in a ray of hope, if not on the souls of the damned, at least upon those of their friends upon earth, it was impossible for me to read when they first appeared. Unfortunately they have since, I understand, been placed upon the Index of Forbidden Books, none of which, not even Milton's "Paradise Lost," a good Catholic would venture to peruse without having first obtained a special authorisation.

what Catholics alone ardently desire to believe, as the most efficient means of persuading themselves and others of its truth. Easy-going non-Catholics are also frequently induced to lend their voices to swell the deafening chorus. A very amusing and instructive instance occurred a few weeks back which throws a curious side-light on other things besides Continental journalism. I affirmed in my article on the Papal Encyclical* that this document had been received with respectful silence by Catholic newspapers and wholly ignored by the political press. The fact was unpalatable and its disclosure doubtless disrespectful to our Holy Father; an effort was therefore made to remedy the evil before denying its existence. The result is that *even anti-Catholic* newspapers have, *since the publication of my remarks*, broken silence in order to sound the praises of the Encyclical which appeared in autumn last year. The *Vienna Neue Freie Presse*, for instance, cannot be truly described as a clerical organ. It is not even a Catholic journal, seeing that as recently as six weeks ago it was solemnly denounced from the pulpit by a zealous parish priest† as an anti-Christian publication to be loathed by all true followers of Christ. Yet on the useful principle that the devils who believe and tremble may be profitably allowed to bear witness in favour of a good cause, the *Neue Freie Presse*, shortly after the publication of my article, was induced to insert, in the guise of a leader, an unctuous sermon panegyricising the matchless wisdom of Leo XIII., who in this Encyclical granted absolute intellectual liberty to Catholics. "The Pope who composed an ode on the telegraph, giving proof of the same wisdom with which he applied the *tolerari posse* to temporal kingdoms, draws the lines of demarcation between faith and knowledge, and draws them so that they possess *the degree of elasticity which is postulated by the spirit of the age*" (*Neue Freie Presse*, 29th April, 1894). And the Encyclical of which this is predicated forbids Catholics to study Higher Criticism or to admit that there can be an error on any subject in any book of the Bible!‡ As loyal subjects of our Holy Father we should have been overjoyed to discover the faintest traces of a basis in fact for the grandiloquent panegyric of which the foregoing extract is but an indifferent sample; and as Catholics it is our painful duty to show that we are actually being deprived of that liberty which was once in truth our birthright, and are being deprived of it wantonly, systematically, and to the serious

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April 1894.

† The Rev. Dr. Deckert, a pious parish priest of Vienna, who travestied the Lord's Prayer for several days running in order to fan the lowest passions of the populace and set them loose against their Jewish fellow-citizens; but there was no ecclesiastical voice raised against this firebrand, who turned the house of God into a platform of the devil. On the Continent Catholicism is dominant in places; this accounts for many of the strange and unholy practices that shock English Catholics.

‡ As an interesting detail I may add that the *Neue Freie Presse* actually published in another column a short extract from the Encyclical which had appeared the year before, as—news. In some men of the theological genus the wisdom of the serpent would seem to be inborn.

detriment of our Church and of true religion. I would request those English-speaking Catholics who feel disposed to deny this grave assertion to ponder on the following striking facts and to draw such inferences from them as they may deem warranted.*

When Pope Leo XIII. ascended the throne of St. Peter, chemistry was expounded in our schools and colleges exactly as it is taught all the world over. It was chemistry, and nothing more. Our present venerable Pontiff, however, laudably desirous of annexing intellectual as well as temporal domains, lost no time in changing this, with the glorious or deplorable † result that we now have a perfectly orthodox Catholic chemistry, as distinguished from the godless chemistry of other people. "Catholic chemistry!" readers may exclaim; "such a science seems to the full as impossible as 'comparative history,' and besides, if any such wide-reaching change were really in contemplation, we should have heard it discussed long ago." To this I reply that it is of the essence of all such reforms—as I have already pointed out—to be conceived in mystery and brought forth in darkness. Nor is it easy to grasp the force of the objections which can be urged against orthodox Catholic chemistry by those who welcome Catholic philology and glory in Catholic lexicography. There is much of a family likeness among them all. The important consideration, therefore, is not whether Catholic chemistry is more or less warranted than the other branches of study just enumerated, but whether this amazing innovation was called for by the interests of our holy religion, in which case reason is simply put out of court. Was it necessary and useful, yea or nay? Distrusting my own judgment in this important matter I bow to the decision of his Holiness, Pope Pius IX., and he answers the question in an emphatic negative. But the facts may be allowed to speak for themselves. If not precisely edifying, they are at least uncommonly interesting.

In the Middle Ages chemistry as a science did not exist, and it would be the height of unfairness to sneer at the schoolmen for not taking its future conclusions into account in their ontological systems. They knew nothing of the distinctions laid down by modern chemistry between elementary or ultimate substances, such as oxygen, carbon, gold, iron, sulphur, &c., which cannot be decomposed, and compound substances which may be resolved into simpler constituents. All bodies, according to them, consisted of exactly two elements: one ("first matter"), which cannot exist by itself and is identical in them all, and the other ("substantial form"), which differentiates each specific substance from every other. Thus, water is first matter into

* In an article it is, of course, out of the question to do more than give one or two examples. Should it prove needful I am prepared to come forward with a whole series of them.

† It still receives both epithets from contending parties among our clergy and laity.

which the form of "waterhood" (*aqueitas*) has been infused; man consists of first matter, and the substantial form or soul which is at once vegetative, animal, and rational.

These antiquated notions died hard. But they did finally die, owing mainly to the efforts of Father Secchi and the Jesuits, who, as a teaching body, take the lead among all the religious orders of our Church. During the pontificate of Pius IX., therefore, Catholic young men were taught that water consists of hydrogen and oxygen in the proportion of two volumes of the former to one of the latter, or, as chemists express it, H_2O , so that every smallest particle (molecule) of water consists of two atoms of hydrogen chemically linked to one atom of oxygen. So thorough was the conversion of our teaching clergy to these doctrines that a distinguished member of the Jesuit order in England—Rev. Father Botalla—wrote somewhat vigorously against the old scholastic view, which he considered an unsafe basis for certain Catholic dogmas. The few champions of Scholastic Philosophy who survived retorted that if chemistry threatened danger to any of the doctrines of our Church, it was in the atomic theory that it lurked, and that the orthodoxy of the partisans of this theory was therefore shaky. Here Pope Pius IX. intervened, energetically supporting Father Botalla, and one of the last acts of that saintly Pontiff was to write to his Nuntius in Paris, Mgr. Czacky,* instructing him to forbid adherents of the mediæval school to question the orthodoxy of their opponents. The former consoled themselves, as the latter do now, with the openly expressed hope that one Pope might undo what another had done. And their expectations were literally fulfilled.

Leo XIII., who, in spite of his elegant ode on the telegraph, is a thorough Scholastic of the mediæval type, exerted himself from the very first to banish the atomic theory from Catholic schools, and to reintroduce the system of Thomas Aquinas, whose ignorance, though perfectly excusable, is hardly a solid basis for a system of chemistry. Having issued his Encyclical on Scholastic Philosophy, he sent for the General of the Jesuits, Father Beckx, and expressed his dissatisfaction that the atomic theory should be taught by such tried champions of Catholicism, and in such a stronghold of orthodoxy as the Roman College. A hint from the Pope is as good as a command, and the obedience of the General was prompt to a degree. Father Palmieri, then Professor of Philosophy at the establishment in question, was immediately transferred to Holland to lecture on—the New Testament; and in all the schools and colleges taught by Jesuits and orthodox priests throughout the world new professors were appointed who set about teaching the Scholastic view which is now predominant everywhere.

* Pronounce as if written Tshatskee.

At Catholic schools and colleges, therefore, our youth pick up some quaint and curious fragments of forgotten lore during the chemistry lectures. They are taught, for instance, that when hydrogen and oxygen unite in the proportion of two volumes of the former to one of the latter, the immediate result is not water. What happens is that they cease to be what they were, and lose their "oxygenity" and "hydrogenity." If nothing else occurred, the "first matter" would be alone, and as "first matter" is not only invisible, but cannot even exist by itself, the water and its elements would vanish to the shadowy region

"Where entity and quiddity,
The ghosts of defunct bodies fly."

Something else does, however, fortunately for us all, take place—viz., "waterhood" (!) is infused into "first matter;" for water consists, not of oxygen and hydrogen, which, as we saw, forsook first matter the moment they met, but of this latter, and of the form of "waterhood." The application of this official theory to man is still more instructive, and to the younger generation which accepts Scholastic Philosophy as gospel truth, must come with the charm of a fairy-tale. In truth, the wildest story in the "Arabian Nights" is a joke to it. Man consists of "first matter" and a soul. As soon as death solves their union, the soulless body, which is identical with "first matter," and therefore incapable of existing by itself, would be naturally and necessarily non-existent. To prevent it from thus vanishing into nothingness and depriving the undertaker of his fee, a new substantial form is duly infused into it without delay. A new soul? No, not precisely a soul, only a "corpsy or cadaveric form"—*forma cadaverica*—which imparts to "first matter" its "corpsiness." To the very natural question which forces itself upon the bewildered student, Whence comes this gruesome form which appears unexpectedly, like a bolt from the blue? official philosophy, which, like Astolpho's magic book, tells you everything you wish to know, replies glibly enough: "It is evolved out of its own—nothingness." * As the corpse, however, is in a state of change, and inasmuch as it is the form only which imparts being, † a new "corpsy" or "cadaveric" form is being continuously evolved from its own nothingness and injected into the invisible first matter; and so the wheel keeps merrily whirling.

Such is a sample of Catholic chemistry, which, thanks to the personal intervention of his Holiness Pope Leo XIII., is now become the official and obligatory teaching in all free Catholic schools, colleges, seminaries, and universities. ‡ Its forcible introduction was not,

* Educitur ex nihilo sui.

† "Forma dat esse rei."

‡ The Catholics of Tübingen, who stand upon a higher intellectual level than those of any other part of Europe, constitute an honourable exception. They claimed their right to hold their own views on this subject, and, owing to various considerations into which it is needless here to enter, had their claims allowed.

according to Pope Pius IX., postulated by religious interests; indeed, religion, if we may trust Father Botalla, stood to lose by the change. And yet it has been imposed upon us in the name and with the authority of Christ's Vicar; and to combat it in our schools and seminaries would be to render one's life a hell upon earth, to say nothing of the material sacrifices which it would entail upon the clerical professor. It was not called for by considerations of a scientific nature, no science having as yet discovered "waterhood" or "corpsy forms," although they ought in reason to be frequently met with in the ups and downs of life. Like the philosopher's stone, they would seem to belong to the category of things which are "*gesucht, geahnt und nie gekannt*." *

Now, to our thinking, and to the minds even of many of our opponents, this was emphatically one of those subjects which might appropriately have been left to take care of itself. It was clearly a case for the application of the principle laid down by St. Augustine, for whom our Holy Father cherishes a peculiar affection—in *dubiis libertas*. Why should healthy, active Catholics have the mouldy, corpsy forms of Scholastic Philosophy strapped on to their robust bodies by a spiritual Mezentius dealing with affectionate children, not with criminals? Because, forsooth, Rome has spoken: *Roma locuta est, causa finita est*, and Rome must have the right to be heard upon all subjects, human and divine. Then, in heaven's name, let us hear no more bunkum about boundless liberty, glorious birthrights, &c. &c., and let us shed no more salt tears over our benighted heretical brethren who are "languishing" in intellectual thralldom, waiting for us to strike off their fetters. We cannot both eat our cake and have it, however highly we may be privileged. Speaking for myself and my friends, I sincerely deplore this dangerous tendency to shackle and fetter our every faculty, intellectual and moral, and to realise the unholy dream that would turn the Papacy into a sword, the hilt of which would be in the Vatican and the blade all over the earth. I frankly confess that my own sinful sympathies go out to that much-abused Pontiff Honorius I., who honestly strove to lessen the number of bones of contention among his quarrelsome spiritual children, and thereby brought down upon his cadaveric form the scorching anathemas of the sixth Ecumenical Council which solemnly condemned him, Pope though he had been, as the chosen instrument of the devil in the work of sowing broadcast the tares of heresy in the cornfield of the Lord.†

* "Sought for, divined, and never known."

† Pope Honorius I. (625-638), utterly disgusted with the un-Christian wrangling and jangling of the theologians of his day, was desirous of withdrawing the pabulum afforded to their squabbles by the question of the "energies" in Christ; and for peace sake declared that both natures worked in one will—viz., the will of the Logos. The dead certainty that he was wrong, and the exact knowledge of the truth about this momentous question does not seem to have had a strongly marked reformatory effect upon modern theologians, nor indeed upon Catholics generally.

At present we have monk quarrelling with monk and priests clashing with friars, all of them squabbling over the cadaveric forms of Scholasticism, like the good and evil spirits over the unburied body of Moses.

This condition of things needs neither note nor comment; it tells its own sad tale with harrowing plainness. But its effects are alarmingly wide-reaching and of a nature to fill the souls of loyal Catholics with anguish and such apprehension for the future that it requires all our Abdiel-faith in the Church to enable us to look forward to sunshine through the gathering clouds.

Foremost among these mischievous effects is the letting loose of that hell-born spirit of denunciation which paralyses the most genial intellects, foils the noblest endeavours, and would brand Christ Himself as a heretic were He to appear among us once more in the flesh. Every puny, pitiful cleric who has just received the tonsure on his head and a breviary into his hands, and whose only merit in life consists in his professing firm belief in dogmas, past, present, and to come, which he is incapable even of stating in words, is fired by the desire of acquiring in the sphere of grace the distinction denied him by his stepmother Nature, and to this end accuses his betters of heresy or what is scarcely less dangerous—disrespect to his Holiness the Pope. And the imputation, however completely refuted, always leaves a stain and sometimes makes a victim. It is thus that the coolest-headed professors in our seminaries and colleges dare not provoke the professional informer by raising their voices against the scandalous doctrine of the impeccability of the Pope which bids fair to become one of the staple dogmas of the teaching Church, obligatory on the "crowd of the faithful"; it was thus that the efforts of eminent Catholic scholars like Mgr. de Harlez, Lenormant and others to start a truly scientific movement among their co-religionists formed the subject of countless accusations formulated against them in Rome; it was thus that when Professor Pohle, of the Catholic University of America,* published a perfectly harmless work to show that other planets besides ours may be inhabited,† a zealous ecclesiastic, Canon Zorn of Braunsberg, at once denounced the notion, in a Catholic periodical,‡ as contrary to revealed dogmas and heretical. But the most striking and characteristic instance of all is afforded by the tragic case of Abbé Loisy, the sole Catholic Bible-scholar in France and one of the very few whom our Church possesses in the world. This illustrious *savant* who but a year ago was the pride of the French Church, was lately deprived first of one Chair at the Catholic University, then of another, and finally expelled from

* He has now been called to a Chair at the Academy of Münster in Westphalia.

† It was published by the Catholic Görres Society.

‡ *Der Münzner Katholik*.

that institution, compelled to cease the publication of his *Biblical Review* * and reduced to absolute silence and total inaction, the victim of denunciation. His sole crime was—and this is the most significant part of the story—that he carried out by anticipation the instructions *publicly* given by the Pope in his Encyclical, studied the Bible for the express purpose of refuting as far as possible the Critical School, and successfully exhorted young Catholics to do likewise. The programme of Bible studies as laid down by his Holiness is unscientific in theory and untenable in practice. Yet narrow as are the limits within which the Prisoner of the Vatican would willingly coop up Catholic students and scholars, they are far too broad for the orthodoxy of his advisers; and *it is believed by many that professors of Holy Scripture are often chosen not in spite, but in consequence of their notorious incompetency.*† I sincerely hope that this notion is erroneous, and I deeply regret that neither the head and front of Abbé Loisy's offending, the treatment meted out to him by his superiors, nor the selection of his successor at the "Free University" is of a nature to disprove or weaken it. And on the other hand, it is impossible to deny that certain professors of Scripture in our highest institutions richly deserve epithets which charity forbids me to employ.

Now in order to gauge aright the significance of Abbé Loisy's fate, which throws a flood of garish light upon the real effect of his Holiness's much lauded exhortation to Bible study, it is needful to bear in mind the peculiar circumstances attending it. In France, of all European countries, Biblical studies are at a most shockingly low ebb among Catholics, to most of whom the very names of the Prophets have a strange and unfamiliar sound. If the book of Baruch were to be republished separately to-morrow, many of the educated members of the upper classes would, like the good Lafontaine, discern the talent of the rising young author, and outwardly rejoice to see it arrayed on the side of the ethical revival preached by Jules Simon and M. Brunetière. All sorts and conditions of men fight shy of the Bible there. The pious laity manifest a positive repugnance to the inspired books, which, in their minds, are associated with Germany and England, Protestants, Puritans and atheists; the clergy are so hopelessly at sea in everything relating to Scripture history that a Sunday-school street-Arab in England could readily put them to the blush, while the Bishops, whom an enlightened Republican Government never dreams of selecting for their learning, differ from the lower clergy only in rank. Even Cardinal-Archbishop Meignan, who is an honourable exception

* *L'Enseignement Biblique.*

† I shall have something more to say on this subject in a future article, when I reply to Father Clarke and the Italian Jesuits of the *Civiltà Cattolica.*

among his co-religionists, would seem to have imitated the cow that first gave the milk and then put her foot in it. In his well-intentioned writings on the Holy Scriptures he advances statements and takes theories for granted which in the books of an educated layman would be censured as bitter and uncalled-for irony. Thus he characterises the ups-and-downs of Jonah's prophetic activity in the belly of a whale as—severely historical; * shrewdly surmises that the *relations which that ill-starred prophet cultivated with the Court of Assyria*, rendered him suspect in the eyes of the king and his suite;† and blithely undertakes to describe to witty Frenchmen the vicissitudes of the *Semites of Assur who inhabited Babylon and Upper Mesopotamia in the exciting times when Nimrod the hunter was king!*‡ And Cardinal Meignan, it should be born in mind, is the card and calendar of French Biblical erudition. But what can be reasonably expected of a country which serves as the fitting geographical frame for the following characteristic story? A parish priest whose scriptural lore was considerably above the average was required by the local authorities to have the street before his church paved, and to see that in future that portion of the pavement was kept in proper repair. He refused. The municipal authorities insisted and pointed to the example of other house proprietors; but the reverend gentleman indignantly answered that it was against his conscience to do as they had done because prohibited by the Bible, and in proof of this amazing assertion, he triumphantly quoted the text of Scripture: *Paveant illi, ego non pavebo*, whereupon the city fathers slunk to their homes sorrowful but convinced.

It is truly an invidious task to have to play the part of candid friend to the champions of our Church and its Venerable Head; but in critical moments many an act commends itself as a benefit and imposes itself as an obligation which in humdrum times would be aptly characterised as untoward and mischievous. Lest however my reverend Italian antagonists should tax me with heightening the colours of this sensational picture, I may be allowed to shift part of the responsibility for its production to the broad shoulders of one of the most orthodox and self-sacrificing Catholics in France, the Very Rev. Mgr. d'Hulst, who occupies the commanding position of Rector of the Catholic University of Paris. His moderate and measured language will convey to English Catholics a clearer idea of the

* "Les Prophètes d'Israël," 1892, p. 370.

† *Ibidem*.

‡ *Op. cit.* p. 381. The manner in which the right rev. prelate defends the authenticity of the Pentateuch (p. 159, &c.) is of a piece with the rest of his arguments and calculated to inflict irreparable damage upon the cause he advocates in the eyes of all reasonable and intelligent men. One sample must suffice. The Pentateuch, according to Cardinal Meignan, was a "document perpetually present to Israel . . . always consulted and resembling, by its notoriety and its preservation, the Magna Charta of England. Documents of this kind are not lost—nor invented." *Op. cit.* p. 507.

blank in the minds of their French co-religionists on the subject of the Bible and its history, than the most impassioned rhetoric. Speaking of the conflicting theories of Critics and Traditionalists, the pious prelate says :

“ Between the Christian thesis which maintains the doctrine of inspiration, and declares that God is the Author of the Holy Scriptures, and the contention of naturalistic criticism which refuses to see aught therein save a human production interesting on the same grounds as that of Zoroaster, Confucius, or Buddha, *every thinking man is obliged to take his stand.* And it must be confessed that on our side people are badly enough prepared to discharge the duty of choosing which thus imposes itself. In matters of Bible criticism, *they are ignorant alike of the meaning of the terms, of the state of the questions and of the bearing of the controversies.* Some fight shy of discussion, and seem to fear lest our beliefs should prove incapable of supporting the light of day ; and yet, minded to hang on to them for the sake of the moral guarantees they afford, they would fain keep them in the shade, and withdraw them from the control of science.” *

Again :

“ The faithful were surprised to see outsiders study so carefully those ancient texts which they themselves had almost ceased to read, and which they venerated from afar without knowing.” †

Such—very euphemistically stated—is the mental condition of Catholics, entirely approved by the “whips” of the “teaching Church,” in a country where a thorough knowledge of the Bible would seem to be of the highest importance, where a Renan lived and worked, where the army of sceptics is being yearly reinforced by new and ardent recruits, and where irreligion is often contemporaneous with the full enjoyment of normal mental faculties, and the season of faith and devotion coincides with the period of intellectual and physical decay. Yet there are not four bishops or five priests in the length and breadth of the land whose acquirements in the sphere of Scriptural knowledge suffice to enable them to answer the objections or quiet the doubts of a man of ordinary reading and average intelligence.

And this is the country which produced, some ten years ago, that rarest of rare phenomena—a priest who is at once a fair-minded yet erudite theologian, a well informed Orientalist, a writer of considerable literary merits, and a sincere worshipper of truth. How his knowledge was acquired and his character moulded under the circumstances sketched above is a mystery. Like Melchisedec of old, he is without intellectual parentage or descent, alone, unique. Scandalised as much by the supine indifference towards the Scriptures ostentatiously exhibited by the Catholic clergy as by the sweeping negations of

* Cf. “La Question Biblique,” p. 202, *Le Correspondant*, Janvier 25, 1893.

† *Op. cit.* p. 201.

brilliant men of letters like Renan, he set himself to study the Bible at first hand, for the express purpose of vindicating its authority from attacks based upon the researches of the critics.* In 1882 Abbé Loisy was called to the chair of Hebrew at the "free" Catholic University of Paris; in 1887 he was appointed to the fellowship of Assyriology, and two years later he was chosen to be professor of Holy Scripture at the same "free" institution. The learned works which he published during that period of his activity more than justified the confidence placed in him by the bishops, whose applause made up in intensity for what it may have lacked in discrimination. I advise—nay entreat—every honest Catholic who holds that truth and religion are not mutually hostile to read and re-read the writings of Abbé Loisy,† more especially his "Biblical Review,"‡ his "Essay on Inspiration," and his "History of the Canon of the Old and New Testament." French Catholics lavished upon them the treatment which they usually reserve for the divine Scriptures themselves—viz., they venerated the cobweb-covered volumes "from afar and without concerning themselves about their contents."

It is not from a stranger§ and an adversary like myself that a panegyric of Abbé Loisy can be reasonably expected. While respecting his motives, admiring his zeal, and recognising his desire to be impartial, I cannot blink the facts that his books are but first steps in the right direction, that he is never so critical or scientific as to

* I cannot refrain from remarking how unfair it is to speak of the critics as "attacking" the Bible, as the "sworn enemies of the Holy Scriptures," &c., as do most of our Catholic apologists. The notion that men like Graf, Vatke, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Reuss were animated by hatred of the Bible is as preposterous as to affirm that the philologist Wolf owed a grudge to Homer, or that Niebuhr had taken a special aversion to the early Roman kings because of the trouble he had had in studying their "history" when a boy. I regret to say that the Encyclical to which his Holiness appended his illustrious name is not free from the same misleading assumption. For my own part, I should feel contempt for Wellhausen's character if I believed him capable of suppressing a single argument in favour of the traditional view, and should think very lightly of his literary powers if I supposed him unable to state them more forcibly than our best apologists. We owe a debt of gratitude to the critics which it is ungraciously not to acknowledge. Mgr. d'Hulst frankly admits, when speaking of the few Catholics who are beginning to feel an interest in Scriptural matters, that "it was in answer to the call of the indifferent, and under the guidance of the impious that they set themselves anew to peruse the Bible." *Ibidem*.

† "Histoire du Canon de l'Ancien Testament." "Histoire du Canon du Nouveau Testament." "Histoire Critique du Texte et des Versions de la Bible." "Les Évangiles Synoptiques," a very remarkable work, of which only the first part has appeared. "Le Livre de Job."

‡ "L'Enseignement Biblique," publication semi-mensuelle. This critical review was begun in 1892, and suppressed or discontinued (there is only a distinction without a difference) in January this year.

§ In my article on the Pope and the Bible (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, April 1893, p. 471) I alluded to the Abbé Loisy of Paris in the following words: "It would be unfair not to mention the Abbé Loisy of Paris as one who, without ceasing to be a zealous Catholic and a pious priest, is likewise a genuine scholar." I have since had reason to regret—for the Professor's sake—that I struck out the following sentence which originally formed portion of that passage: "It is only right to add that I am totally unacquainted with Abbé Loisy, having never spoken to him, never seen him, and never held any communication with him direct or indirect."

forget that he is a theologian with a brief to consult and a client to defend, and that he seems incapable of balancing two conflicting opinions without throwing in a makeweight on the side of the traditionalist theory. He is, in a word, the Catholic critic of Bible criticism; he tests every argument by the severest standards, sifts facts from surmises and probabilities, rejects everything which he is not forced to accept, and is then at the greatest pains to devise the mildest and most euphemistic forms in which to embody the conclusions that remain when this winnowing process is over. And the feats of skill which he has accomplished in this direction are simply astounding. Thus in all these thousands of pages he has never yet declared in so many words that there are errors in the Bible; he has never called in question or restricted the inspiration of the sacred books; he refuses to endorse the theory that some of the writings were inspired while others were the handiwork of well-meaning men; and he has handled the thorny questions of the age of the Mosaic Law and the sources of the Hexateuch with the painfully delicate care of a peasant lifting up a new-laid egg. Nay, he has gone much further still; he has actually accepted those propositions of the Encyclical which filled others with dismay—an act of submission which, coming from a scholar, is to me a psychological mystery. Nor was his acquiescence in words only: he has sacrificed his Review in order to demonstrate its sincerity, thus meekly allowing himself to be scorched by the fire which was incapable of warming him.

And now this champion of theology, the papacy and Catholicism, has been degraded, expelled from the "free" University, and gagged by his own allies—the partisans of the Pope, who have lost their own advocate in their indecent haste to sweep away the last vestige of intellectual liberty. This incredible piece of folly is the just measure of the determination of the "teaching Church" to add to the keys given to St. Peter such bolts and bars as even the Spanish Inquisition refrained from using. The catastrophe happened in this way:

One day last year the very reverend Rector of the "Free" Catholic University of Paris, overwhelmed with shame for the crass religious ignorance of his co-religionists, felt impelled to draw public attention to the evil, in an article which he published in a French Review.* He there roundly asserts, among other things, that if some Catholics have begun to glance at the Bible, the credit of this change for the better is entirely due to critics who are either wholly indifferent in matters of religion or are simply atheists, and, "as a natural consequence, their acquaintance with the Scriptures became for many of them an occasion of perturbation and embarrassment, whereby some succumbed

* *Le Correspondant*, Janvier 25, 1893. "La Question Biblique," par Mgr. d'Hulst, pp. 201-251.

to the ordeal, others escaped only by closing the half-opened volume, and by forcing themselves to think no more on the subject." *

Mgr. d'Hulst then set about quieting their misgivings and allaying their fears by expounding the various theories on the Bible question accepted by Catholics of one or other of the various schools. In this brilliantly written account he dwelt at unusual length upon the teachings of "the broad school," on the ground that little was known about it in France. In truth, so little was known about it there or anywhere else, that down to the present moment no man has ever heard the name of its founder or of any of his disciples.† According to this mysterious Catholic school, Mgr. d'Hulst says, "Error excludes inspiration in so far as it would be attributable to God the inspirer, but not inasmuch as it is the work of the inspired author." This formula and the conclusions drawn from it by the learned Rector raised a howl of indignation among the dogma-wrights of the "teaching Church," whose spokesman, the Jesuit Father Brücker, attacked Mgr. d'Hulst, in language as irreconcilable with Christian charity as with literary comity. The Rector, frightened by the spirits he had unwittingly raised, did what was possible to lay them. He protested that he had never endorsed these, nor indeed any views whatever on the subject, and that the broad shoulders of the "broad school" should alone be made to bear the responsibility for them. As the "school" in question was devoid of a local habitation and a name, and as an example must be made and a victim duly sacrificed, the "broad school" was forthwith identified with Abbé Loisy and his disciples.‡ No one took the trouble to test the correctness of the assumption; no one even suggested that the accused should be heard in his defence. The Pope, acting upon Cardinal Mazella's advice, fulminated his Encyclical in order to annihilate the "broad school," and the French episcopate, alarmed at the condemnation, was frightened into punishing M. Loisy, who was denounced as a sort of heresiarch.

The bishops held a hurried consultation and deprived the Professor of his chair of Bible History, leaving him free to lecture on Semitic languages. But even this unmerited punishment failed to satisfy the zeal of the preachers of papolatry and blind obedience, who felt, and rightly felt, that M. Loisy, by creating a taste among Catholics for Bible studies, was the most dangerous enemy they had ever had to contend with. They therefore insisted on his expulsion from the "free" university. The bishops again hurriedly deliberated and unhesitatingly pronounced the wished-for decree, the real bearing of which, it

* *Le Correspondant*, Janvier 1893, pp. 201-202.

† The reverend gentleman quotes Lenormant, Didiot, and Newman; but, with the exception of the first-named, these writers have no voice in questions of Bible criticism.

‡ The point of the story is that M. Loisy's name is never once mentioned nor his works alluded to in the article.

is sincerely to be hoped, they as little understood as did the synod of mediæval bishops who, when condemning certain theses of Abelard's, after a somewhat copious meal, were physically unable to get their tongues around the word *damnamus*,* instead of which they mumbled *namus*;† whereupon Abelard exclaimed, *Imo, natis in mari ignorantia*.‡

It is thus that the one man in France, probably in the world, who could—if indeed any human being can—construct the golden bridge needed to allow the Church to pass over the abyss separating science from religion has been brushed aside and trampled under foot by his allies. “He came unto his own, and his own received him not.” His fate would leave us indifferent, if we could hope that Christ's promise to His Church will be fulfilled by an evident miracle, without the intervention of second causes. But experience forbids us to cherish such a hope. It is interesting to read in the light of these facts the following *profession de foi* published by Abbé Loisy two years ago :

“People hold that a theologian cannot possibly be a historian in the true sense of the word, when he has to deal with questions of Bible history. It is incumbent upon us theologians to prove the contrary by facts, by showing that we are as capable as others of applying the critical method—sincere criticism—and even in a very true sense, free criticism, because in the sphere of Bible history as in every other branch of study, faith guides, without thwarting, the researches of science, and because the certain conclusions of criticism cannot clash with the certain data of faith.”§

And this is the man who has been sacrificed as too radical a Bible critic!

Such are some of the earliest fruits of the new papolatrous and dogmatic movement, which—I say it with sorrow and hesitation—bears the same relation to pure Christianity that the coarse mechanical Lamaism of Mongolia and Thibet bears to the simple and elevating teachings of Buddha. Left to develop on these lines, our Church must inevitably degenerate into a vast asylum for the mentally blind, and Catholicism, like nationality, would become a mere accident of birth. For what man of normal faculties and average education could possibly acquiesce in the preposterous claims which are now being put forward all over the Catholic Continent? Can we believe that on the one hand the Bible is calculated to lead outsiders into the Church, and on the other that its meaning cannot be grasped—even in little things—until authoritatively interpreted by that very Church? Can we be reasonably asked to regard it as a divine work, written by God, absolutely free from all admixture of error—a *unicum*

* We condemn.

† We are swimming.

‡ In truth you are swimming—in a sea of ignorance.

§ “L'Enseignement Biblique,” Avant-propos XV.

in the literature of the world—and requested to lie until we are black in the face, in order to make it appear that what we are wont to call gross errors in a human work are attractive little truths * in the Bible? Are we to be compelled, in the name of the God of Truth and as the condition of eternal salvation, to believe firmly and unhesitatingly in the guesses of a few one-sided theologians about matters of the very rudiments of which they are often utterly ignorant, to accept them as “dogmas for the crowd of the faithful,” which, their authors admit, may turn out false and misleading? Are we to be obliged to endorse the views of the Pope on all-important questions in which his Holiness possesses but one advantage over his advisers; viz., that although, like them, he may have everything yet to learn, he has at least nothing to unlearn on the subject? Can we conscientiously remain silent while countless Catholics are being forced to believe that the occupant of a throne stained by some of the foulest crimes recorded by history, must in virtue of his office be not merely occasionally infallible, but at all times impeccable, utterly incapable of committing sin?

Are English-speaking Catholics prepared to answer these questions in the affirmative? If not, then surely it is high time for them to unite with us and to raise their voices in respectful protest, appealing from Leo XIII. to our Holy Father the Pope, in the name and in the interests of the Papacy, of the Church, and of true religion.

THE AUTHOR OF THE “POLICY OF THE POPE.”

* Abbé Loisy prettily terms them “*vérités d'harmonie, vérités de proportion.*”

THE QUESTION OF KOREA.

I VENTURE to think, for reasons which will be found below, and at greater length in my forthcoming book on the Far East, that British opinion is being led on the wrong tack with regard to the question of Korea. And, moreover, that the Government, by taking no step to stem this ill-directed current, is preparing an unpleasant and wholly unnecessary situation for itself in the immediate future. Its silence was happily broken a few days ago by Sir Edward Grey's answer to Sir Thomas Sutherland, and as I am writing thirty miles from a railway, in the remote north of Scotland, it may well be that further steps of which I am ignorant have already been taken in the same direction. There are, however, many considerations and facts which should be present in the minds of British readers, in view of the possible wide extension of the existing imbroglio, and these I shall attempt to state, only justifying my position by the remark that for more than three years I studied the Far Eastern problem in all the countries concerned, that I have visited all the treaty ports in Korea, ridden across the peninsula, and spent some time in Seoul.

I.

Korea seems a very poor place to fight for. Its people are plunged in the most miserable poverty of any in the poverty-stricken East. Even the Siamese peasant, the most elaborately taxed person in creation, is rich in comparison with his Korean brother. The latter dare not save a single cash to be invested in any visible form, for the omnipresent *nyang-pan*, under which name every official is ranked, would pounce upon it under some excuse or other. A five-pound note would have amply sufficed to buy everything I saw, with

the possible exception of an animal or two, in a week's journey in the interior. From the King down to the lowest hanger-on of the palace, the sole interest in life of the whole *nyang-pan* tribe is to take from the hewers of wood and drawers of water everything except what is absolutely necessary to the preservation of life. Hence the total stagnation of commerce among the natives. There is no city in the Far East except Seoul where the traveller cannot find some object of art or manufacture to bring home as a specimen of native work. There I went into the street of the cabinet-makers for this purpose, but the most costly cabinet I could find was offered for two dollars, and it was not worth bringing away. Again, Korean money is marvellous among the currencies of the world for its worthlessness. Three thousand *sapuk*, or cash, go to the debased Mexican dollar. They are made, so far as I could find out, of an alloy of zinc and dirt, and you can snap them between finger and thumb like a biscuit. Needless to add, they bear a grandiloquent inscription, declaring them to be the treasure of the world, and commanding that no one debase them. He would be an ingenious person who should attempt it. Again, in Korea the women are the beasts of burden—shocking in appearance beyond description. Its king is the worst type of ruler to be found in the whole East, and an interview with him and his son is a suggestion of the society of Gomorrah. The country has been believed by every traveller to possess considerable natural resources, but every attempt to develop these has come to utter failure. Mint, post-office, match factory, sericulture, mining—all of these have been introduced with a flourish of trumpets, to collapse miserably within a short time. If it had not been for the Japanese, Korea would still be the Hermit Kingdom, without a trace of trade, or the possibility of improvement. One thing only has saved it from being annexed by anybody who chose—the fact that it stands at the focus of the geography of the Far Eastern question, too important to Great Britain, Russia, Japan, and China for one of these to encroach upon it without arousing the instant opposition of the other three. The Korean navy consists of half a dozen “admirals,” who know no more about a ship than a Hindu knows about skates—indeed, how should they, since there is no Korean ship for them to know? And the Korean army is almost equally non-existent. There are a thousand soldiers or so, but no account need be taken of them. Two regiments of them were drilled for my inspection, and a very amusing sight it was—a sort of cross between Swedish gymnastics and the soldiers of Drury Lane pantomime. An eye-witness has just written in the *Times* that a number of newly-raised “naval soldiers” were armed with muskets without locks! So much for Korea itself. It is little, but it is all.

II.

Five years ago the Englishman who knows more of that inscrutable entity, the Chinese mind, than any man living, told me that of all her "vassals," there were only two for which China would fight—Thibet and Korea. Personally, I do not believe that anything which could happen, short of an advance upon Peking itself, which would cause China to declare war against any European power. The rôle of sleeping leviathan suits her perfectly, but she well knows that the first step she might take would destroy the illusion upon which her security is based. What she likes is to remain perfectly quiescent, while the world trembles to think what she might do if aroused—to lie still in her Confucian savagery, while such utterances as that mass of rubbish called "China: the Sleep and the Awakening," which the Marquis Tsêng signed in the *Asiatic Quarterly* a few years ago, and represent her as advancing with a cautious but irresistible march. The strangest thing is that the civilised world has been deceived by these tactics, and even such keen analysts of national characteristics as the late Mr. Charles Pearson have painted a future in which China, having prepared herself by long training, should put forth her gigantic strength and overrun the world. This ethnical fable of "Jack and the Beanstalk" is amusing enough to anybody who really knows the first truths about China, but it is safe to conjecture that nobody has been moved by it to such hearty laughter as the great Viceroy of Pechili himself. China has long been destined to be the prey of the first armed comer. Fortunately for herself, but unfortunately for the interests of other countries, this has been Japan. She has no illusions about China, and she is engaged in pricking the bubble. But the Beanstalk is hard to cut down. A news agency solemnly announces that each province of China has been called upon to furnish 20,000 men; nineteen multiplied by 20,000 is 380,000, and the astounded reader is invited to believe that this enormous force is gathering and marching to Peking like Lars Porsena's men to Rome. The newspaper reader may perhaps not be expected to know that the Emperor of China could as easily raise 20,000 men in Mars as in some of his provinces; that it would not be difficult to enlist a considerable force in one part of China to attack another part; that absolutely no organisation exists in China for the handling of such masses; that the men would find themselves without uniforms, without arms, without food, without the most rudimentary knowledge of war, without leaders of any description whatever; or that a huge army of the kind in the neighbourhood of the capital would be almost certain to seize the opportunity to upset the present alien Government. But it is hardly making too high a demand upon any reader that he should

glance at the map of China, make a rough multiplication of the degrees of longitude he sees before him, and ask himself how 20,000 men are to march a thousand miles through a country which is always on the verge of famine. However, when one of our leading statesmen is of opinion that China must inevitably win in the end, "because of her enormous armed strength," other people may be excused for going astray. One expression of opinion has puzzled me extremely. Captain Lang, R.N., to whose great administrative skill and absolute devotion to her interests China owes most of whatever naval strength she may possess to-day—and whom, it may be added, she characteristically rewarded by dismissing him by intrigue and with insult—has recently been reported as saying to an interviewer, among many other rather startling tributes to Chinese naval prowess, that "with an officer like Admiral Ting, whom I would not hesitate to follow anywhere, the Chinese navy would prove a splendid force." Unless my memory is very much at fault, this worthy "Admiral" has had no education whatever as a seaman, owing his appointment to the ordinary routine of competitive examination in the Chinese classics, and being merely the nominal superior of Admiral—as he then was—Lang, to "save the face" of the Chinese. In fact, I believe he was previously a cavalry General, a branch of the service in which he would be equally unprejudiced by any information. Until I read this interview, moreover, I was under the impression that Admiral Ting Ju-ch'ang was the hero of the story of the Chinese Admiral whom Captain Lang found one day playing pitch and toss, or what corresponds to it in China, with the sentry at his door, both of them seated on the floor of the Admiral's cabin.

The news at the present moment is that the Chinese fleet has disappeared, and that the Japanese ships are anxiously looking for it, while Li Hung Chang has explained that he knows very well where it is, but that for reasons of policy its whereabouts must be kept secret. The truth is, that if the Japanese do not sweep the Chinese from the sea, then study, skill, devotion, and experience go for nothing, and there is no need for us to train our naval officers at all. One thing only could save the Chinese on the sea—the enlistment by large promises of money of European naval officers, in whose hands complete and unfettered control should be placed. The Chinese seamen are not wanting in courage, but naturally enough they have no confidence whatever in their leaders, and they would probably fight well enough to give their undoubtedly fine ships a chance if they were well commanded. Even in this case, however, the fear would be that the ships have been allowed to deteriorate to such an extent that nothing like their best could be got out of them. I remember once being shown by a Chinese naval officer over one of their biggest ironclads, which was on a cruise at the time, and

therefore presumably in first-rate condition. I noticed a gun carefully protected in a canvas cover. As we passed it, I asked casually what it was. The officer explained with pride that it was a new quick-firing gun, and called a quartermaster to remove the covering. The order was obeyed with evident reluctance, and when the gun was at length exposed it proved to be used by one of the watches as a receptacle for their "chow," and was filled with chop-sticks and littered with rice and pickles. Of course I promptly looked the other way, but it required no knowledge of Chinese to interpret the remarks of the officer to the quartermaster. No doubt the whole watch went through the process of "eating bamboo" the moment I was off the ship; but the Chinese are incorrigible. It would be discouraging to a European engineer who should be appointed to a Chinese ship to find that if there were any subordinate boiler small enough for the purpose, it had probably been used for stewing dog.

Another example of Chinese administration which came to my knowledge may be interesting at this moment. Some years ago the Chinese Government ordered a magnificent set of Hotchkiss cartridge-making machinery. In due time this arrived, but two mandarins claimed it for their respective districts, and, failing to agree, each seized such portions of the machinery as he could secure and carried them off to his own place. When I was there, half the machine was in one arsenal and half in another several hundred miles away. Unfortunately, Europeans are not always above taking advantage of Chinese supineness. A cargo of cocoa powder was ordered from well-known manufacturers and landed at Port Arthur for use in the big guns there. By-and-by it was tried and found not to ignite, and finally the whole of it was thrown into the sea. But both Europeans and Chinese had pocketed a good "squeeze" out of the transaction. Stories of this kind could be told by the hundred. Two items of news which have recently been telegraphed may be recalled in this connection. The first is that on the march from Pechili to the Yalu River a large number of deserters fell out on the first day. They were probably wretched coolies fainting for want of food, but they were promptly beheaded. The second is that the Governor of Formosa has offered rewards for the heads of Japanese officers and men. When his coast is blockaded, as it may soon be, to stop the supply of coal, his "braves" will have their chance. The Franco-Chinese war was marked by horrible atrocities, first on the Chinese side, and later, by a natural process of retaliation, on the French also. I have stood on the spot where a Frenchman was skinned alive by Chinese, and when Frenchmen had witnessed the unspeakable mutilations and tortures to which their captured comrades were subjected, it was not surprising that any Chinaman who fell into

their hands received a very short shrift indeed. "*Fusillez-le moi !*" was a familiar order in those days. It may be well to remember by-and-by in defence of the Japanese that they are civilised troops fighting an enemy as cruel and unscrupulous as an Apache Indian. "When under arms," said Captain Lang in the interview I have quoted, "one-half of the Chinese army is made up of savages." I would suggest to any war correspondents who may be about to leave for the front that they will do well to attach themselves to the Chinese forces. If they then fall into the hands of the Japanese they will be treated with decency, whereas if they accompanied the Japanese they would be wise to adopt the method of men who fight the American Indians, and keep one cartridge to blow out their brains when capture became certain. At the risk of giving offence, I will express one more opinion—that any white man who allows himself to be bribed into fighting on the Chinese side should henceforward be treated as a pariah by his fellows. Some of the reasons for this view will be found below.

III.

In spite of all that has been written about Japan, and of the thousands of people who have visited the country, Europe has not yet learned to take her seriously. The war with China and the treaty with England will at last force foreigners to see Japan as she is. The Japanese are a martial and a proud race, with marvellous intelligence, and untiring energy and enthusiasm. When Western civilisation was thrust upon them at the cannon's mouth they were quick to perceive the material and intellectual superiorities of their unwelcome visitors, and they set themselves to adopt these as rapidly as possible. They have been laughed at for sending a Commission to Europe to decide upon the best religion, but this was really on a par with the multitude of investigations they have set on foot in other directions. They did not find the religion, but they found an army and a navy, equal, so far as they go, to those of any of the great Powers; in scientific studies, in medicine, in photography, in many kinds of manufactures, they are astonishing the few observers who watch them, and the world will soon be equally astonished at this new competitor for markets. As soon as Japanese statesmen realised what was meant by the comity of nations they desired to enter it, and their political ideal was at once placed in view. It is both a simple and a natural one—to hold the balance of power in the Far East. What England was supposed to be in Europe for a long period, that Japan determined to be in her own part of Asia. To this end she has followed twin paths. On the one hand she has sought to advance herself in social organisation, in

learning, in law, in political institutions. On the other hand, she has built up an armed strength with which to protect these things, and compel other nations, when the time came, to recognise them. It is no exaggeration at all to say that in the future, when distinguishing between the nations of Europe and those of Asia, Japan must be classed for all practical purposes with the former. As will be seen in a few months, Great Britain has taken the lead—and none too soon—in admitting this. It follows from the above that as China is the enemy, at all times and under all circumstances, of civilisation and of Europe, so she is the enemy of Japan. The Japanese regard the Chinese with equal hatred and contempt. To the Chinese the Japanese are traitors to Asia. Japan has long held toward Chinese immigrants the attitude which Australia and the United States have at length adopted. Outside the Treaty Ports there is not a Chinaman in Japan. And they would not be in the Treaty Ports if Japan were not prevented by the treaties which Western nations have forced upon her from keeping them out. She believes that there is nothing whatever either to be hoped or feared from China, a belief which we, too, shall probably share some day. Her first collision with China came in 1874, when China abandoned the Loo-choo Islands to her. Then came the several collisions in Korea, in all of which Japan came off successful in the end. She will never give way to China at any point. Her view of China as a power is fairly expressed by a humorous article which appeared the other day in one of the Tokyo papers. There are two things, said the writer, which are indispensable to every Chinese soldier in the field—an umbrella to keep the sun and rain from him by day, and a lantern to enable him to find his way at night. What an opportunity, therefore, for Japanese merchants! Let them instantly send large cargoes of umbrellas and lanterns to Korea, and they will be sure of immense sales and profits.

Unless a great change has recently come over the diplomacy of Japan, it is Russia that she fears. The status of all the other European Powers in the Far East is fixed. Spain and Portugal count for nothing. Japan could wipe out either of them. France has no temptation to extend north and east of Tongking. Germany is making great progress with her trade, but she has no territorial advantages to seek. Great Britain has reached her limit, with the exception of the Malay Peninsula, which will certainly be hers sooner or later, and of Siam, in which developments are possible; and Japan is not interested in either of these directions. But for Russia the Far East lies in the direct line of immediate expansion. The Tsar, as all European diplomatists are thankful to know, is at the present moment a great power for peace. In all relations, with this country at any rate, he has maintained an attitude which

has made the path of international politics an easy and a pleasant one to tread. He has been firm but friendly, reasonable beyond the wont of monarchs, a devoted and straightforward ally to all preservers of peace, a terror to all who were tempted to imperil it. But Japan has learned that nations have to reckon with the inevitable *Drang* of other nations, and that they cannot count for security upon the desires of any individual. Japan has suffered once in a little transaction with Russia, when she exchanged Saghalin for the Kurile Islands. She has seen illegitimate European-directed sealing expeditions which sailed secretly from her shores, fired upon murderously by armed parties in Russian waters, and no redress or even information has been obtainable. She has watched the Russian fleet come for its manœuvres year after year to the Korean bay in which lies Port Lazareff: only the other day a Russian cruiser, the *Viliu*, was lost there. She knows that the Russian Minister at Seoul has tried—as one of his own colleagues expressed it to me—to *jouer un grand rôle dans un petit trou*. She has applied to the Russian Minister and the Chinese Resident there the proverb that “two foxes cannot live in the same sack.” She remembers when a Russian man-of-war—I think it was the *Vladimir Monomakh*—beat to quarters in Yokohama harbour and trained her guns upon an approaching British ship, and when she telegraphed down the coast for a little gunboat of her own which carried a 35-ton gun, and anchored it alongside the Russian before sending on board to exact an apology for so gross a breach of neutrality. The time for Russian action in the Far East may not be ripe yet, for it will be long before the trans-Siberian railway will be of any service. But sooner or later Russia will desire a winter harbour in those waters, and that harbour would be a serious matter for Japan if it were secured in Korea. China, it is true, has received from Russia, and passed on to England, an assurance that Russia will not impair the integrity of Korea; but Japan believes, whatever England may think, that this is not worth the paper on which it is written, more than any other engagements to which China is a party. Thus this question of Korea stands in the direct line of Japanese political interests.

According to modern views, however, Japanese commercial interests still seem to present a more cogent argument than her political ones. These must, therefore, be briefly summarised at this point. Virtually the greater part of Korea's modern trade has been created by Japan, and is in the hands of her merchants. Except with China and Japan, Korea has little trade worth mentioning, and the interest of the latter is exactly twice that of the former. The net value of Korean direct foreign trade for 1892 and 1893 together was \$4,240,498 with China, and \$8,306,571 with Japan. In tonnage of shipping the proportion is vastly greater in favour of Japan. Her tonnage in 1893 was over

twenty times that of China, and the number of vessels entered and cleared was over twenty-five times. The exact figures are: tonnage—China, 14,376; Japan, 304,224: number of vessels—China, 37; Japan, 956. In fact, the tonnage of Japan's shipping trade with Korea last year was more than seven times that of all other nations put together, including China! There is, therefore, abundant ground for Japan to be keenly concerned with what goes on in Korea. Many a Western war has been fought to preserve a smaller actual and prospective commercial preponderance.

IV.

The present war is the last link in a perfectly straight chain of circumstances. Korea remained sealed against foreigners of all nations until 1876. In 1866 an American trading schooner called the *General Sherman* had been destroyed by the Koreans, and her crew and passengers murdered. A man-of-war, the *Wachusett*, was sent to obtain satisfaction, but failed to do so. In 1870 a small American expedition again appeared, and while negotiations were in progress the Koreans fired upon a surveying party. Thereupon the American commander landed his troops upon the island of Kiang Hwa, destroyed five Korean forts, routed the army, killing three hundred men, and then retired, with the result that Korea was more firmly closed against foreigners than ever. The young King came of age in 1873, and succeeded his cruel and conservative father. In 1875 some sailors from a Japanese man-of-war were fired upon while drawing water at Kiang Hwa. The Japanese captain also destroyed a fort and killed a number of Koreans, but his Government followed up the incident by sending a fleet under General Kuroda to demand satisfaction, and offer the Koreans the alternative of a treaty of commerce or a war. The former was chosen, China, on being appealed to by the Koreans, refusing—as she has done on several similar occasions—to have anything to do with the action of her nominal vassal. A treaty was therefore signed on February 26, 1876, between Korea and Japan, and from this moment dates the opening of Korea to foreign intercourse. On this occasion, too, the suzerainty of China was formally set aside, without any protests on her part—indeed, with her express recognition, since she refused to interfere. Article I. of this treaty reads as follows: "Chosen being an independent State enjoys the same Sovereign rights as Japan." Chemulpo, Fusan, and Wönsan were opened by this treaty to Japanese trade.

The King himself was in favour of extending the same privileges to other nations at their request, but the conservative party prevented him. In 1882 fresh overtures were made by foreign nations, and the reactionaries took alarm. Led by a "scholar" named Pe Lo-kuan,

an insurrection broke out in Seoul, directed chiefly against the Japanese, as the promoters of foreign intercourse. Several members of the Japanese legation were murdered in the streets, the legation itself was attacked, and Consul Hanabusa and his staff were at last compelled to cut their way through the mob and make for the palace, where they hoped to find refuge. Here, however, the gates were shut against them, so they fought their way out of the city with the greatest pluck, and walked all night to Chemulpo, where, to escape violence, they put to sea in a native boat. Fortunately the British surveying vessel, the *Flying Fish*, saw them, and conveyed them to Nagasaki. This happened in July, 1882. Of course the Japanese Government took instant action, but with great moderation began by merely sending Mr. Hanabusa back to Seoul with a strong escort, to demand reparation. This was abjectly offered, and a Chinese force which arrived with marvellous promptitude suppressed the rebellion, executed a number of the leaders, and caused their mangled bodies to be publicly exposed. A sum of \$500,000 was accepted by the Japanese as indemnity, but was subsequently forgiven to Korea in consequence of her inability to pay it. Next year, other nations once more following in the steps of Japan, treaties with Korea were concluded by the United States, France, England, and Germany.

In 1885 the whole incident was repeated, with this difference, that the instigators of the outbreak were a few students who had imbibed progressive notions in Japan, and who imagined that if they began by assassination foreign nations would support them. During a dinner-party to celebrate the opening of the new post-office, an attempt was made to murder Ming Yong-ik, an influential nobleman, who, though he had visited the United States, was most bitterly opposed to the party of progress, and was known to have expostulated with the King for having conferred office on the students who had been educated in Japan. The revolutionary leaders proceeded to the palace, secured the person and to some extent the sympathy of the King, and in his name, and no doubt with his assent, despatched messengers, and finally an autograph letter from himself, to Mr. Takezoye, the Japanese Minister, begging him to come instantly and safeguard the royal person. Mr. Takezoye, accompanied by the legation guard of 130 Japanese soldiers, complied, and guarded the palace for two days. In the meantime, the revolutionists executed five of the conservative Ministers. By this time the Chinese troops in Seoul had decided to assert themselves: two thousand proceeded to the palace, and without allowing any opportunity for negotiation or explanation, fired upon the Japanese guard. Although outnumbered by almost ten to one, the latter had no difficulty in holding their own, but at length the King decided, to prevent further bloodshed, to place himself in the hands of the Chinese, and therefore he pro-

ceeded alone, with the consent of Mr. Takezoye, to the Chinese commander. Having no further reason for remaining, the Japanese left the palace, fought their way to the legation, but finding it surrounded by an armed mob of Chinese and Koreans, and without any provisions for a siege, they quitted it again, and it was immediately burned behind them. Then for the second time the Japanese representative and a small band of his countrymen fought their way through the streets of Seoul, and walked twenty-six miles to Chemulpo, where they chartered a steamer and returned to Japan. Again the Japanese Government demanded satisfaction, but this time from China, on account of the action of the Chinese soldiers. The negotiations between Count Ito and Li Hung-chang, at Tientsin, in 1885, followed, and after long delays, and finally a distinct hint from the former that if a result satisfactory to Japan was not arrived at, war would be declared, the Convention of Tientsin was concluded. China agreed to withdraw her troops from Korea, to punish her officers who had commanded the troops in Seoul on the occasion of the attack on the Japanese there on December 6th of the preceding year, and to investigate the outrages committed by her troops on the following day. The clauses of the Convention, which has unfortunately never been published officially, were two. The first declared that the King of Korea should be invited to form a force sufficient to preserve order in future, to be trained by officers of some nation other than China or Japan, and that certain internal reforms should be instituted by him; and the second, that either China or Japan should have the right to dispatch troops to Korea, if necessary to preserve order and protect their nationals, on giving notice each to the other, and that when order was restored both forces should be withdrawn simultaneously. Thus China at last formally recognised the equality of Japan with herself so far as Korea was concerned. This Convention shows one other important thing—that Japan put forward only the most moderate claims, that she sought no advantages for herself in Korea, but accepted in full satisfaction of her demands conditions which merely guaranteed the future peace and prosperity of Korea. These facts should be borne in mind when charges of intemperance are made against Japan at the present moment.

For the third time history has sought to repeat itself. Another rebellion broke out, which the King of Korea was wholly unable to suppress. This time Japan did not wait for the burning of her legation and the expulsion of her representative by the forces of Korean reaction. But let it be remembered that while landing troops in perfect accordance with her treaty rights, she again contented herself with proposing to China the joint occupation of the country until reforms should have been definitely carried out to render future dis-

turbances impossible. Not one sign has she ever given, but quite the reverse, of the slightest intention to secure territorial advantages for herself in Korea. Upon China must rest the responsibility of refusing these terms. So far as my knowledge of the situation goes, I am unable to see how Japan could have acted up to this point with greater moderation, or could have been satisfied to propose any other conditions.

Whether Japan was well advised to plunge into war without making more prolonged attempts to gain her ends by peaceful means is another question. I am well aware that European diplomatists are generally of opinion that she was not well advised to do so. It must be remembered, however, that Japan knows China far better than we do ; and that she may have had information which is not in the hands of spectators of her action, such, for example, as that China was preparing to place herself in a position of military supremacy in Korea before demanding her own terms for the future. At any rate, Japan has given abundant evidence, as Great Britain will be found to have recognised as soon as the new treaty is published, of her right to take her fate in her own hands, and so long as the interests of other nations are not threatened it is difficult to understand by what right they would interfere. So far, let me once more repeat, Japan has demanded nothing but an assurance of the integrity of Korea and the reform of her abominable institutions. If European nations step in on the mere plea of preventing the horrors of war, one does not need to be much of a cynic to suggest that they would do well to begin nearer home. Japan, in the opinion of those who know her best, may be trusted to conduct her hostilities in what is called a civilised manner. With regard to the affair of the *Kow Shing*, it would be presumptuous in any one not an expert to express an opinion, even if the facts were not in process of sifting at this moment. But it should not be forgotten that two eminent professors of international law have written to the *Times* asserting that Japan was well within her rights in the action she took.

V.

I come finally to the question of British public opinion and the British Government. For some inscrutable reason British opinion has from the beginning of the dispute been strongly anti-Japanese. The *Times* has within the last few days thrown the great weight of its authority a little more in the direction of sympathy with the Japanese, but otherwise, with the exception of the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, every London paper, as far as I have seen, has pinned its faith to the justice of the Chinese side, and declared its belief in ultimate Chinese victory. And the Government, with the single exception of Sir Edward Grey's answer to Sir Thomas Sutherland, has

spoken no word to enlighten the community. Yet it has concluded a treaty, in the negotiation of which both Liberal and Conservative Administrations have taken part, recognising Japan as on an equal footing with every civilised Power, and conferring upon Japan the right of civil and criminal judicial control over British subjects. At last Japan will also be able to make her own Customs regulations, and will escape from the lordship of States of the overwhelming importance of Hawaii, Spain, Belgium, and Peru. The result of this silence, it is to be feared, will be that the Government will produce its treaty at the very moment when public opinion in Great Britain has committed itself beyond recall to the opposite side. The situation will be an unpleasant one, and might conceivably have far-reaching consequences.

To the conscience of England the matter should take a slightly different form. Japan, in spite of all her mistakes, stands for light and civilisation; her institutions are enlightened; her laws, drawn up by European jurists, are equal to the best we know, and they are justly administered; her punishments are humane; her scientific and sociological ideals are our own. China stands for darkness and savagery. Her science is ludicrous superstition, her law is barbarous, her punishments are awful, her politics are corruption, her ideals are isolation and stagnation. In thousands of Yamens throughout China men are tortured every day, hung up by the thumbs, forced to kneel upon chains, beaten with heavy bamboos, their ankles cracked, their limbs broken. Every week men are publicly crucified and hacked to death by the "thousand cuts." How is anybody to desire the extension of the sway of the latter rather than that of the former, without avowing himself a partisan of savagery?

HENRY NORMAN.

Ullapool, Ross-shire, *August 18.*

BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

COST OF LIVING COMPARED.

IF asked upon what subject the general opinion of Britons was farthest astray regarding the United States, one would not be far wrong in answering, As to the comparative cost of living in the old land and in the new.

It will probably prove a work of time and of some difficulty to remove an impression so generally entertained as that which finds expression in the words recently spoken by a high English authority—viz., that “the United States would be a perfect El Dorado for the working-man, if it were not for the high cost of living.”

It is easy to show how this impression has arisen. The Briton arrives in New York and hires a carriage, which has been waiting for the steamer several hours; he is charged an exorbitant price; he orders a bottle of imported wine, and finds it much dearer than at home; he learns that the cost of clothing made to order from imported material is also much dearer: and these things strike him deeply, because they are the first impressions received. When asked upon his return upon what data he has reached the conclusion that the cost of living is dearer in the United States than at home, he invariably gives these three items, and stops there. But these do not constitute the chief sources of expenditure even to travellers, much less to residents. Asked how he found the cost of living at hotels, he remembers that it costs less in the Republic, where the charge in the best hotels is from fourteen to eighteen shillings per day, the latter being the extreme rate in New York. For this he has a comfortable room and all meals—breakfast, luncheon, dinner, and supper. He also remembers that he could scarcely have such a dinner at the Metropole in London for the entire eighteen shillings, which pay for all meals and a room at the Windsor Hotel, New York. Asked how

he found the cost of travelling, he figures a little, and finds that it is just a little more than one-half, first class, even including sleeping cars. The cheaper cost of railway travel per mile, and of hotels, is not nearly offset by the extra cost of cabs and foreign wines. The visitor buys no clothing, and if wise will follow the American example and use the hotel omnibuses or electric cars, and rarely, if ever, use cabs, which are not an American institution. If the visitor wishes, however, to hire a carriage and pair by the day, week, or month, or for theatre or reception, he is provided in New York at prices not beyond those charged in London—forty to fifty pounds per month, according to circumstances, and twelve shillings per night for a brougham; for an afternoon in the park the charge for a carriage and pair is even less in New York. It is undoubtedly a fact that the cost of travel, including all necessary expenditures per day, over equal distances, is much dearer in Britain than in America. But this fact affects only the few travellers, usually persons of means, and is of little moment. The great point is, as to the comparative cost of living to the mass of people, the wage-earning class of the two countries.

Let us calmly consider this. The income of the mass of working-men, skilled and unskilled, is from £60 to £120 sterling per year. Now we must first learn the percentage of these earnings spent for each of the principal necessities of life. According to the Bureau of Labour statistics of Massachusetts, the highest authority, these in England and America are as follows:

Income, \$300 (£80) to \$450 (£90) per year.			Income, \$450 (£90) to \$600 (£120) per year.		
Items.	American.	English.	Items.	American.	English.
Subsistence . . .	64	81	Subsistence . . .	63	78·75
Clothing	7	7	Clothing	10·50	10·50
Rent	20	13	Rent	15·50	10·37
Fuel	6	6	Fuel	6	6
Sundries	3	3	Sundries	5	5
Total	100	110	Total	100·00	110·62

This shows the increased cost of articles in Britain to be $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But prices in the United States have fallen since this table was made, much more than in Britain. In Charles Booth's valuable work, "Labour and Life of the People" (British), he gives the amount spent for food alone as from 60 to 50 per cent., according to the family revenues. In the broader term "subsistence," not only food, but all that enters the mouth is embraced. Thus "subsistence" is the chief item of cost for the working-man's family. It ranges from 64 per cent. in America to 81 in England. The reason for this difference is obvious. Of course, all food is cheaper in the United

States than in Britain. The former exports it to the latter. Tobacco is very much cheaper. America grows tobacco, and only taxes it 3*d.* per pound, as against a 3*s.* 6*d.* tax in the Monarchy—fourteen times as great. Of course, what he drinks is cheaper. The duty on whisky is 20*d.* per gallon, as against 11*s.*—six times greater—in Britain, and it is made more cheaply in Kentucky than in Ireland or Scotland. Upon beer the taxation is 4*s.* and 7*s.* respectively per barrel. Tea and coffee are free of duty to the American; they are taxed to the Briton. Sugar (raw) is free in both lands, but in the Republic there is a slight tax upon foreign refined. When the masses in Britain realise how heavily they are taxed compared with the workers of the United States, there will probably be a prompt demand for reductions upon articles embraced in the term “Subsistence,” and especially for a free breakfast-table.

The low cost of what goes into the mouths of the people throughout the United States would surprise any British investigator who made it a study, but the cost of living in the forty-four States, occupying a continent, is to be determined not only in New York City, and in the cities and towns upon the Atlantic sea-coast, to which products of the great West have to be transported, but also by taking into account cost at the centre of population, which is now near Indianapolis, Indiana, midway between Chicago and St. Louis, eight hundred miles inland from New York.

Having dealt with, say, three-fourths of the total expenditure of the working-man’s family—namely, that for “subsistence”—and found that it cannot be otherwise than that the articles consumed must be cheaper in Indianapolis than in Manchester, by at least the cost of rail and ocean transport and merchant’s profits, we come to the second item, which is “rent,” consuming 20 per cent. of the earnings of the family in America and 13 in England. The British workman lives in a smaller house. The better class of American, as rule, has three or four rooms: the Briton two. Rent is undoubtedly much higher in the newer land.

The next item in importance is “clothing,” which represents 7 per cent. of the expenditure in the United States, and exactly the same percentage in Britain. This will, no doubt, surprise most readers until the reason is given, which is, that while clothing made from the finest imported cloth is very much dearer in America than in Britain where the cloth is produced, clothing made from the American cloth is very cheap indeed, and serviceable. It is, however, coarse and harsh, and not so agreeable to wear—harsher even than the Scotch cheviot. But the mass of the people wear it as they wear woollen underclothing of the same kind. Hence the masses are not affected by the duties placed upon the fine woollens, which are imported only

for the rich few. I have before me advertisements in the American papers of complete suits of ready-made clothing ranging from two to three pounds—just the cost in Britain.

Here is a true story bearing upon this subject. A well-known member of Parliament, addressing his constituents in the Midlands some time ago, told them that living for the working-man was much higher in America than in Britain, and said that the cost of clothing was three times as great. A copy of this speech was sent to his friend, one of the best-known men in the United States, whom the speaker was in the habit of visiting. A short time after, he visited his friend in the Republic, accompanied by his wife. One morning the host appeared at breakfast in a new suit which elicited general admiration, the English lady stating that it was "much smarter than the suit worn by her husband." The host then asked his visitor what he supposed the suit cost him; to which the unwary Briton replied, "Well, the suit I am now wearing cost me £7, and I suppose yours, in this terribly protected country, must have cost £12." This was his opinion after having examined the suit. "Well," said his host, "I paid just \$4½ (18s.) for this suit, and I wish you to take it back to England and show it to your constituents and tell them this." Amidst much laughter, this was declined. His host had seen in the village a travelling van from Boston, from which ready-made clothing was being sold, and asked the vendor if he had a suit to fit him; to which he replied, 'Yes, and if you take a suit you can have it at wholesale price. Retail price is \$6 (24s.).' "Very good; send it to the house." It was promptly sent, with the result stated. Of course it was American material, not as smooth or as fine as the cloth worn by the honourable member; nevertheless, a good, smart suit. The price, however, was so very low that it is fair to record that I should hesitate to say that it was likely to prove serviceable. For £3, however, serviceable suits are easily obtained.

When we look at the amount of the extra fine woollen goods imported by the United States, we see how trifling it is compared with the total consumption of wool. In 1890 the value of home woollen manufactures was \$338,000,000—say sixty-eight millions sterling. The import of the high-priced fine foreign woollens was only \$35,500,000—seven and a tenth millions sterling. It is safe to say that the value per yard of the foreign was double that of the domestic; hence the number of yards of foreign woollens used was not much beyond 5 per cent. of the amount consumed, and all by the few wealthy people who alone use the high-priced foreign articles.

We have the same result with cotton manufactures, the value of the home American product being \$268,000,000—fifty-four millions

sterling; the amount imported being \$28,000,000, not six millions sterling, which represents not quite 5 per cent. of the total consumption, assuming double value per yard for the foreign. The amount of cotton goods used by a working-man's family is considerable.

In regard to silks we have the following figures for the year 1890: product of American mills, \$69,000,000—thirteen millions eight hundred thousand sterling; the imported manufactured silk, \$31,000,000—six millions two hundred thousand sterling. It may safely be assumed that the value of silks imported, per yard, was double that of the domestic, so that more than four yards of American silk were consumed to one of foreign.

While upon the subject of clothing I may note two facts within my own experience. An American family, having numerous servants, resides part of each year in Britain. The servants pass to and fro, and thus have opportunities to purchase their clothing, boots and shoes, &c., either in the one land or in the other. The men-servants continue to purchase clothing in the old land. The women-servants find they can purchase to better advantage in New York. Boots and shoes are purchased by all in New York.

The second instance: A Scotch-American family with five children spend part of almost every year in Scotland. The able, thrifty mother formerly took the opportunity to supply her own and the children's clothing, &c., in Glasgow. Upon recent visits she has purchased nothing upon this side, and I heard her give as a reason, that she found that clothing for herself, and especially for her children, could now be purchased better and cheaper in New York than in Glasgow.

The well-known Free-Trade or tariff-reform writer, Mr. Schoenhof, was deputed by the State Department to report upon cost in the United States and Britain, and reported as follows some years ago:—

"So far as clothing and dry goods in general are concerned, I find that cotton goods are fully as cheap in the United States as here. Shirts and sheetings, if anything, are superior in quality for the same money with us, so far as I can judge from the articles exposed for sale in the retail stores. Articles for underwear for women, made of muslin, are far superior in workmanship and finish, and cheaper in price, in the United States. Nor can I find that men's shirts, when chiefly of cotton, are any cheaper here. Of boots and shoes, if factory made, the same may be said. In workmanship and finish I find corresponding articles of the wholesale process of manufacture superior in the United States. This is true of clothing as well as of cuffs, collars, and like articles."

Prices of articles other than agricultural have fallen in the United States much more than in Britain since Mr. Schoenhof reported. This fall has been so great as to put the price of Bessemer, pig-iron,

and steel billets at Pittsburgh lower than at Middlesborough; to enable American carpets to be sold in Britain; to tempt the leading American shipbuilders to ask permission to tender for some of the new British war-ships; the Clyde Trustees to purchase their new and powerful dredgers in New York. It has also enabled the American manufacturer of agricultural implements to reach the British market, and the quarrymen to send granite from Maine to Aberdeen.

The next item which figures in the expenses of the working-man's family is "fuel." Speaking generally, this is much cheaper in the United States than in Britain. If we compare New York and London, New York receives anthracite coal as cheaply as London receives bituminous coal. The former will, at least, give double service, and it is said to yield three times as much.* In the centre of population in the United States the cost of coal does not exceed 8s. per ton. In the great western Pennsylvania and Ohio districts it is not more than 6s. The American has to use more coal in winter owing to the severer cold, and has more fires going in his larger house. Experts have found that the percentage of their earnings spent by the American and Briton on fuel is equal—viz., 6 per cent.

It has been common in Britain to attribute the supposed higher cost of living in the United States to the effect of the tariff. Now a little consideration will show that this impression is not well founded. The principal highly-taxed articles under the McKinley Bill are five: First, the extra fine silks of France; second, the fine woollens and linens of Britain; third, the extra fine linens of Germany and France; fourth, the high-priced wines of France; and fifth, Havana tobacco and cigars. The duties on all these are very high. Woollens 60 per cent. of their value, silks even higher, champagnes 32s. per dozen, &c. &c. This is our "Democratic" Budget. There is not a working-man in America who uses any of these articles. It is considered good policy thus to tax heavily the luxuries of the rich, and admit free the tea and coffee and raw sugar used by the masses. It is not probable that this policy will be reversed, or even greatly modified, however much talk there may be of tariff reform. Indeed, the wholesome tendency now seen in Britain to lay the burden of taxation upon the wealthy few who can best afford to bear it is not less strongly marked in the Republic. The necessities of life used by the workers will probably remain duty free in the Republic and soon become free in the Monarchy, and the luxuries of the rich will continue to be taxed more and more in both lands.

The additional duty placed upon tinplate did affect the mass of the people slightly, but this was admittedly in the nature of an experiment; it ends after six years, three of which have already passed. The

difference of duty amounted to a halfpenny upon five ordinary-sized tin cans, so that if a working-man's family uses five cases of canned fruit per week the tax cost him one cent.

The position of the supposed unfortunate farmer of the United States used to be cited, and the point made, that owing to the tax upon machinery he had to pay more for his agricultural implements than was otherwise necessary, but as the American has now the command of the world for agricultural machinery, and exports it, the farmer is no longer interested in the tax upon foreign machinery.

The appearance of the United States as an exporting country of manufactured articles, owing to reduced costs, is one of the notable events of recent years. Here are a few items: In the year 1893 agricultural implements were exported to many parts of the world to the extent of nearly £1,000,000; manufactures of copper to the extent of £900,000; cotton manufactures, £2,400,000; iron and steel, and manufactures of these, £6,000,000; carriages, cars, &c., more than £500,000; wood, and manufactures of wood, over £5,000,000 sterling, American furniture being now largely exported.

In the year 1892 the Republic exported as much iron and steel, and manufactures thereof, as she imported—viz., \$28,000,000 worth in both cases—five and three-quarter millions sterling.

It is notable that musical instruments, valued at £360,000, were exported; glass and glass ware to the extent of £1,600,000; leather and manufactures of leather, over £2,000,000; paper and manufactures of paper, to the extent of over £300,000 (some English journals are now printed upon American paper); instruments for scientific purposes, £260,000; clocks and watches, over £200,000.

The export of manufactured articles rapidly increases year after year, but, unlike that of Britain, must ever remain totally insignificant as compared with the value of the total home production of manufactures, which was no less in 1890 than £1,750,000,000. The value of British manufactures in 1888 was not quite half as great, being £820,000,000.

The prosperity of a new continent like the United States is not to be gauged by its foreign but by its home commerce. As the new land more and more supplies its own wants, her foreign commerce must relatively decline; more of the cotton grown, for instance, being manufactured at home, and less going abroad, and so with all the natural products, as also with many articles now imported, which will be made at home.

In view of the facts here noted, and also the obvious fact, that subsistence must be cheaper in one country than in the other, and that this embraces three-fourths of the total cost of the necessities of life for a working-man's family, how are we to account for the general

impression still lingering in Britain, that the cost of living is higher in the United States? Simply for this reason: that while it is true that a pound sterling in the United States to-day will purchase more of the necessaries of life for the mass of the people than it will in Britain, and while the American workman has great advantages over his fellow British workman in consequence, still it does not follow by any means that the American workman lives as cheaply as the Briton—far from it. He has much higher wages. The report of the Senate Committee recently made shows that the average percentage of American wages obtained by the British workman is only 56½ per cent.—not much more than one-half—the principal handicrafts being made the basis of comparison.* Having higher revenues, the American is not content to live without what would be considered luxuries in any of the old countries of Europe. He earns more and he spends more. Therefore, in one sense it is true that the cost of living as the American workman lives is greater than that of the Briton as he lives. But it is none the less true that this arises from the fact that he lives in a different manner. For those similar things which are absolutely necessary the cost is much less in the newer land.

The American workman and his family can live very cheaply indeed if so inclined, or they can spend inordinately just as easily as in any other country. We find this proven by the expenditures of foreign workmen, especially Hungarians and Italians, who have in recent years emigrated to the United States in great numbers. The usual price paid by these foreigners to the keeper of the boarding-house is ten cents. (5*d.*) per day for food. They usually sleep in wooden huts erected for them by their employers. In times of unexampled industrial depression, like the present, the ability of the masses of the people of the United States to live cheaply and yet comfortably is of the greatest moment, for it has shielded them from much acute suffering which would otherwise have resulted from the lack of work—an experience new to this generation of Americans, and likely soon to pass away, unless the faith of capital in the maintenance of the gold standard be again shaken. An equivocal note upon this subject, struck by the Secretary of the Treasury in May last year, paralysed the business of the country for the time, and recovery has been retarded by impending new legislation affecting duties upon imports.

Whether America be the El Dorado of the working-man or not,

* But it is to be noted that since this report was made, three years ago, wages have fallen in the United States, probably as much as 10 per cent., as compared with wages in Britain. This fall, however, is likely to prove temporary, as until the panic of July last year the tendency was to even higher wages than existed at the date of the report.

depends upon the workman himself. He and his family can now live for less than a family in Britain, if they will live as frugally. They are in the position of the old Scotchwoman I knew, who, being asked if she could live upon a certain sum as an annuity, replied, "Ou ay, I could live on half o't, but I could spend dooble." That is to say, a pound sterling in the new land, judiciously spent for the necessities of life by the working-man and his family, will to-day purchase more of these in the new than in the old home of our race—a fact probably fraught with far-reaching consequences upon both sides of the Atlantic in the not distant future.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

THE NEW DRIFT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

IT is a common belief in this country that the peace of Europe rests upon the firm rock of a certain Alliance. For years past we have been taught nothing else by political authorities whose business it is to instruct those beneath them in such matters. Instruction, however, is hardly what we mean; for of that there has been extremely little. What suggested the word was never more than persistence in the cultivation of an idea to this effect: that nothing less than an imperative concatenation of circumstances established the Triple Alliance; that the forces, unconquerable as the laws of gravitation, which had bound together the three members of the confederacy, would of course keep them together; and that their assured union, supported as it was by the smiles of Great Britain, left little to wish for in the way of security for our own peace and comfort. For the Alliance had been formed for the very purpose of keeping in check our only rivals and disturbers, Russia and France.

Since this one idea of the state of things Continental took possession of the public mind in England, there have been times when it seemed to some eyes over-confident. And we all know that a few months ago an Administration by no means Jingo, and by no means flush of cash, was so unconvinced of England's security that it hastened to make great additions to her naval strength. That, however, was done upon the discovery that the French sea-armaments were becoming much too formidable as compared with our own; and not at all (or so it was given out) because of any troublesome change in the relations of the Continental Powers with each other or with themselves. True, the animosity of the French (no mere gust, and far more popular than official) had been deepening at a rapid rate for two or three years, but there was no alarming novelty in that. We

quite understand, as Englishmen, how dangerous national hatred may be when it breaks out between one Continental country and another; but, as Englishmen, we do not understand that the hatred of any foreign people for ourselves can be of the slightest consequence. The really alarming thing would have been the appearance of some substantial reason for believing that the stability of the Triple Alliance was imperilled; and nothing of that sort did appear, neither could the likelihood of instability be hinted at with the slightest chance of credit. Yet at this moment my own advice to the few Englishmen who still comprehend that we cannot vote ourselves out of the European system would be this: Question your belief in the existence of the Triple Alliance. Doubt whether, substantially, it has not ceased to exist. Quite true that there has been no rupture of that partnership. Quite true that it stands in all its forms. But nearly everything that gave life to it has disappeared through certain processes of change.

If we look along the history of the last half-dozen years we shall find little difficulty in seeing what those processes are. Like the "Three Emperors" agreement which preceded it, the Triple Alliance has been called "the League of Peace." How peace was understood by the coalition to which the Czar was a party, what infractions of peace it was specially meant to guard against, is not so well known, perhaps, as the intention of the Alliance in which Italy made a third. The great point in the former understanding probably was, that France was neither to be interfered with nor allowed to enter upon wars of revenge. What we call the Triple Alliance has always been understood as a peace league against any Russian attack on the German frontier, as well as against the French war of revenge—a war which was never likely to be undertaken without the Czar's help. Of all certain things in the political outlook, the most certain appeared to be that a German quarrel with either Russia or France would be a quarrel with both; and, mighty as the German Empire had become, a foursome war, in which it would have the aid of Austria alone, was thought dangerous. The German Powers believed themselves in absolute need of an ally if peace was to be secured; and, that being their doubtful case, Italy was persuaded to come in and form a Triple Alliance.

The Triple Alliance must be called Prince Bismarck's work, but it would not have been concluded, and it could not continue, without the help and maintenance of the British Government. How much the Alliance depended on that support was unknown for some time, and even now seems to be imperfectly understood by our indifferent British public. And where the facts were known there were some, including Mr. Gladstone, who thought the Alliance a grievous mistake for Italy, and that the English Government was gravely at fault in helping Italian statesmanship into the error. But both Lord

Salisbury and Signor Crispi had their reasons; and since these reasons retain much of the vitality which the compact itself has lost, it is needful to bear them in mind.

At that time, be it remembered, the war preparations of Russia had a very doubtful look, as viewed from Berlin; and while French animosity was still turned mainly in that direction, the hatred of the Russian people for all Germans was in full ferment. Standing alone before these portents, the German Powers could not feel secure. In other words, peace was not secure. Now peace, as the late Lord Derby said, is "the greatest of British interests"; and the war that loomed in sight was so far from being a little one that it seemed likely to involve the whole of Europe, first or last. Therefore, to prevent it, if that could be done by tolerable means, became a British responsibility. But what were the means at command? Now by persuasion, now by menace, now by underground endeavours to embroil us with the French, Prince Bismarck had tried his utmost to bring England into open alliance with the German Powers; for England in a "league of peace" would have made all snug. But do we not know that it is "impossible"—(that is the word, and it will probably stand till it takes a meaning totally different from that which we now intend by it)—don't we know that it is impossible for any British Government to form such an alliance? If, in the judgment of the wisest and most knowing Minister conceivable, war could only be averted next year by entering into formal fighting alliances this year, it would still be "impossible." To ask why is bootless; it is a fatality. However, there was another way out of an ugly danger. Italy might join the German Powers, on such guarantees as the word of an English Minister might offer that in certain contingencies the Italian coast-line would be protected from attack. And it appears that, on no better security than this, Italy did consent to implicate herself in an alliance which, if the contemplated war happened to break out, would expose her long seaboard to all the ravage which the French navy could inflict.

The personal assurances of a Minister like Lord Salisbury in a matter of this kind have a more lasting weight than they seem at first sight to carry. Nevertheless, we may be quite sure of this: they would not have satisfied the Italian Government but for certain calculations based on the most imperative necessities of English policy. It seemed all but impossible that British statesmanship should permit the destruction of that third Power in the Mediterranean of which France is so bitterly jealous—that third Power whose friendship, now that the French fleets have become so strong and French animosities so eager, might make all the difference in the world to England's existence in that sea. And if this was Signor Crispi's calculation in accepting Lord Salisbury's informal promise, we may beieve the promise given on precisely the same ground. Inasmuch

as the English Minister persuaded Italy to join the German alliance, it was probably done for three different reasons, and all good: first, to put off the prospect of a monstrous war; second (and perhaps equally), lest the German Government, alarmed at its outlook, or angrily disgusted at England's determination to make no responsible engagements, should contrive other understandings by which England would suffer; and last, because the continued existence of Italy as a strong Mediterranean Power, and the friendship of that strong Mediterranean Power with ourselves, have become cardinal points of policy for England. The arguments that prevailed upon Italy were equally clear: (1) the same staving off of a war which was so likely to drag the Italian kingdom into it; (2) the jealousy of France and the enormous preponderance of her navy; (3) the advantage, therefore, of agreement with a still greater naval Power, and the trustworthiness of agreements which rest upon clear mutual advantage.

These are the arguments which brought Italy into the Triple Alliance, and these the considerations which explain the part of our own Government in that business. Why we recall them and the later course of affairs in Europe will presently appear.

We have seen that the Triple Alliance was established at a time when the Germans were gravely apprehensive that race-hatred and ambition in Russia, race-hatred and revenge in France, would combine to strike at the new great empire before it was fairly consolidated. Yet there seemed little likelihood of war as long as the old Emperor lived, for two reasons. Anxious above all things that there should be no more fighting for Germany in his day, he would listen to no one who counselled the striking of an anticipatory blow; while as for the Czar, the belief was that personal affection would restrain him from hostilities in the old man's lifetime, even though his preparations were complete and his purpose settled. But as the aged Emperor's hour drew nigh, the French and Russian armaments still going on meanwhile with a rapidity almost ostentatious, the German fears increased. The Emperor died, and with him died the securities for peace which we have named. His successor reigned for a few months amidst a welter of intrigue, accusation, recrimination, absolutely odious; and then the present Emperor came to the throne.

It will be remembered that for some months before that event all Germany was in a furious rage against England and everything English. In a great measure, it was an inspired fury—fury inspired from the highest circles. The circumstances of the Emperor Frederick's accession had to do with it; his supposed subjection to English influences had to do with it; but what moved the Bismarckian circles to wrath was that though the German prospect had darkened so much with the old Emperor's death, England still refused to join the league of peace, and so put the anxieties of Germany to rest. The

young man who became the Emperor Frederick's successor had his full share of the general irritation—even more; and it is no secret that he came to power with a predetermined policy founded on that sentiment and all that provoked it. He had made up his mind that alliance with England was not only hopeless but worthless; that her fighting days were over; and that these obvious facts should determine the right course for Germany. He had his own plans for securing and glorifying the future of his empire; and it is certain that we should find in those plans no scheme of consolation for England should she discover the grand mistake of her policy; namely, that henceforth the peace of the world (her own included) is to be guarded without any risks for herself.

The new Emperor had not been many weeks on the throne when he hurried to Russia with these ideas and these plans; upon which, with the Czar's co-operation, an entire re-ordering of European affairs was to be founded. The Emperor's own account of his errand was that he went to "seek an understanding"; and though he afterwards went to Vienna and Rome (where there was no need to seek what he had already got), the main purpose of the tour was exhausted with his visit to the Czar. That visit was an error and a failure. To use the language of common life, the Czar would have nothing to do with him; an unfortunate manner did him much harm both in Austria and Italy; so that the outcome of the tour was simply this: the estrangement of Russia had been confirmed, his own allies had been alarmed, and England's selfish isolation remained undisturbed. To understand the full effect of this failure on the Emperor's mind, one surprising little episode of subsequent occurrence should be recalled to memory: the Empress Frederick's visit to Paris, at her son's instance. It is hardly doubted that the desperate intention of that visit was to see if a way of reconciliation with France herself might not be opened. The significance of that attempt survives. It is not at all to be forgotten.

With these events a new chapter in European history began, a chapter in which two things stand out in special prominence. One of them, the gradual weakening of the Triple Alliance: partly by the foibles of the German Emperor, but most by the unendurable financial strain upon Italy and by failing confidence in the wisdom of Signor Crispi's undertakings and the substantial value of British support. The other thing is the absolute preponderance of Russia in continental Europe, as a consequence of the Czar's resolve to hold off from his German cousin, meanwhile continuing to arm, watch, and wait. There has been arming on all sides, and watching and waiting too; but not in the same ease of mind or the same sense of mastery. It is hardly too much to say that the re-armament of France has been perfected under Russian protection; and not at all too much to say that when, a few months ago, the Czar no longer hesitated to declare

a Russian *entente*, his ascendancy was acknowledged as well as asserted. That event closed the chapter which was begun by the German Emperor's visit to Russia, and from the date of its accomplishment the Triple Alliance sank visibly into a state of superannuation.

Though no one would acknowledge its decline, the Alliance had been falling into that condition for some time; its decadence being plain enough from a variety of signs. The Alliance was never popular in Italy, where the ballot-box governs. However much the Alliance might be justified by good sense, it had very little support from popular sentiment; and that, perhaps, is why rebellion against its all but unendurable burdens, military and financial, has steadily increased. But for a certain thoughtfulness (especially in Downing Street) in providing or securing for Italy a series of advantages in Africa—advantages which could always be pointed to as substantial fruits of the Alliance—the discontent would have been far greater. But it became strong enough some time ago to compel a reduction of armaments—no small thing for the third member of a fighting coalition; and for at least as long a period the growing party in Italy has been that which never thought the Alliance wise. Now if Italy had been in a quadruple or quintuple alliance, all this might not have mattered much. But it was a triple alliance. The stool was a three-legged stool; and with any one of its legs weakening at this rate, who could think it as safe to repose on as ever?

For another sign of change we had only to look to Austria, a timid Government, with no "traditional alliance of England" to rest upon any longer. It has been clear at any time these three years that the sullen persistence of Russia in an anti-German policy, the vast and ever increasing armaments of that Power, its wearing "waiting game," and a somewhat untoward look of things in the German Empire generally, were not without effect at Vienna. Lastly, what of Germany itself? Enough to repeat what I have said more than once since 1888: that the estrangement between Russia and Prussia is mainly personal; that the present Emperor is largely responsible for it; that he is held responsible for it by most Germans, who have always seen in the estrangement a great blunder and a grave misfortune; and that the German Emperor himself is so much of a mind with them on the latter point that he was ready years ago to jump at any tolerable means of reconciliation with the Czar. It was the estrangement that kept up the popularity of Prince Bismarck, whose every word in deprecation of it echoed in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. About the time when the Russo-French *entente* was coming out, the Emperor descended from his lofty place to shake hands with the Prince in public—and that was a sign. Before then, however, it had become plain that Italy, Austria, Germany were in a fighting alliance for

which one of them was losing both strength and stomach, which had diminishing attractions for another, and which every one of them wished could be transformed into something different. But if not that impossible thing, a quadruple alliance with Great Britain as fourth partner, what else? A serious question for all three.

All this while, however, we of this country, which is anchored on the Triple Alliance, held fast to a conviction which would be very comfortable still if it had not proved fallacious. More or less, the allies seem to have sheltered their apprehensions under the same belief; which was that the French hope of a declared alliance with the Czar was the merest illusion. Rather would the Autocrat of All the Russias perish than be seen arm in arm with the President of the French Republic. Is it necessary to say what happened to that well-reasoned but erroneous belief? When the French illusion had been sufficiently laughed at in Germany, Italy, England, the Czar took the most public and ostentatious means at his command to show that it was no illusion. Possibly the spectacle then provided at Toulon and elsewhere did not greatly surprise the allied Governments; perhaps it was mainly intended for the people under those Governments—the German people, the Italian people. However that may be, from this time forth the Triple Alliance fell into visible decline. That its forms remain, that its embodiments are untouched by change, is true; but that is neither here nor there. The same thing can be said of many such compacts from which the life departed years ago. And that there is *no* life in the Triple Alliance is more than I assert. It is still coherent; as a coherent entity it still breathes; but its animating spirit is in course of dispersal. Every member of the Alliance is aware that every other member of it is on the look out (I do not mean in any treacherous or selfish mood) for easier and more friendly means of dealing with the Powers in the opposite camp. The Italian difficulties and anxieties we know, and also that they could not have been lessened when Russia openly fraternised with France. Austria has never been at ease in the Alliance since the death of the Emperor's grandfather, and has additional reasons for wishing it transformed; while as for Germany, whosoever looks closely there may see a distinct revival of the spirit in which the present Emperor went to Russia, and which suggested the visit of the Empress Frederick to Paris.

In brief, there is at the least a hope of preparing some "new understanding," such as the German Emperor sought in 1888; an understanding which, if the Czar is a party to it in *any* measure, must be the Triple Alliance with very considerable differences. Not that it is at all necessary that the new understanding should be formal or definite in any particular. It is doubtful whether the Russo-French Alliance has ever taken formal shape to this day; yet it has never

been less effective at any time than the Triple Alliance at any time.

Accident may modify this state of things, and a resolute determination at St. Petersburg to treat the allies as enemies of course would. But that is very improbable. The greater likelihood is that they (or the chief of them) will be treated by the Czar as probationary suitors. We should look to see the predominant partner in the Triple Alliance admitted to terms of civility and service by Russia, while at the same time it is allowed to give similar evidence, without rebuff, of a desire to live amicably with France. If, for example, this account of the new drift of foreign affairs is correct, we shall find that whatever course the Czar chooses to take as the Korean difficulty goes on, or that the French may pursue in Siam, will be smiled upon from Berlin; no matter how unpromising the action of either may be for England's safety in the East. The fact that she is herself so much a supporter of the Triple Alliance that Italy could not face the risk of participation in it were certain British guarantees withdrawn may be supposed to insure German friendship for us in a quarrel. How far we have been able to count upon such friendship hitherto I do not know; but whether it has been little or much, we shall find, I think, that the time is past for it. Besides, the members of the Triple Alliance, such as it is, can be under no fear that the British engagements to Italy *will* be withdrawn. The Minister who for any reason took that step would formally declare his country isolated, leave the Mediterranean open to other arrangements, and in breaking up the very forms of one alliance precipitate the risk of new and dangerous coalitions. *That* would be no remedy for the unpleasant position in which we are not unlikely to be placed by the new drift in foreign affairs.

That there is any such drift, however, will be doubted by many readers of this article till the evidence of it stares upon them in the shape of some decisive public event. So far, probably, the only change that strikes on their attention is the weakening of the third party to the Alliance we repose upon, and the supersession (it almost comes to that) of the anti-German hatred in France by as deep a rancour against England. These, however, are no trifles. That we do rest upon the Triple Alliance, of which everybody knows enough to know that it weakens, has been a political commonplace for years; and it ought to be as well understood that no alliance will be open to us when that one is transmuted. The transmutation will be exclusive, will be intended to exclude us and must exclude. For us a sound and lasting understanding with either Russia or France is forbidden by the nature of things. It cannot be till we are beaten on certain vital points and in certain places, or else surrender them; and *then* we should have no peace. So much for the weakening of

the Triple Alliance, to speak of it only as enfeebled. As for the animosity of the French against us, that it has grown and grown till it exceeds the anti-German feeling both in volume and bitterness would be matter for thought even if there were nothing else in the aspect of foreign affairs to think about. But there is the other fact, that we are nearly as much hated in Germany as in France; and what is yet more to the point, the hatred has a similar origin, and its provocations are kept up in much the same way. Though these great nations stand before each other with drawn swords, one of the two has the strongest reasons for avoiding war—stronger now than ever they were; and while they do stand in this hostile attitude, they agree in a feeling of greater dislike for England than either is conscious of for the other; as matters stand now at all events. And though this dislike reaches their hearts by different roads, the provocation is the same at bottom, and may be expressed in the same terms.

It is to bring out that fact, while calling attention to a new turn in foreign affairs, that I recall a series of circumstances which seem to be regarded as "ancient history," though in truth they are as much alive as the winds that move the waters to-day. The endeavour of the Germans to bring England into close alliance is not ancient history; nor (just or unjust) their anger at a refusal which condemned them to extraordinary sacrifices—sacrifices to maintain peace against nations which were England's enemies and rivals also, though she would spend nothing and would risk nothing to help to keep them in order. The longing of the German people for a good understanding with Russia, the strong desire of the German Emperor to bring about such an understanding, are now what they were six years ago, or would be if the proclamation of the Russo-French *entente* had not enhanced the longing by emphasising the need. And the need? The need springs directly from the determination of England to risk nothing in alliances, but rather to hazard everything by keeping out of them.

To be sure, there is the contingent and unavowed support of the Italian Government as Germany's ally. But when that third leg of the stool begins to fail we hear of no new engagements to sustain it, vastly important as the stability and the friendship of that Mediterranean Power is to England; and therefore what is held to be the selfishness and cowardice of England comes up again before German eyes with such reflections as are natural to Germans. At the same time these dealings of ours with Italy—as they relate to the Triple Alliance, of course, but not less as they bear on the command of the Mediterranean—are the real source of the anti-English rancour in France. The cry is "Egypt," and no doubt Egypt supplies a grievance. But the wound that rankles most is one which it would be less wise to complain about—this secret understanding with Italy:

an understanding which is not effective enough to sustain the Triple Alliance against the other compact (with that enormous advantage, its command of the "waiting game"), and yet provocative enough to put French fury in agreement with German bitterness.

The object of this paper is merely to suggest a certain line of reflection upon changes which seem to be too carelessly observed from our shores ; and for that purpose enough has been said. That there are any such changes in the current of foreign affairs may be denied ; but if so it will only be to keep up appearances, just as the possibility of a Russo-French alliance was ridiculed even while the accomplished fact was being publicly celebrated. And of course there will be no rupture of the Triple Alliance. It does not break. There is no probability of explosion with a loud report. We are to expect no more noise than when one view succeeds another on the magic-lantern sheet. Neither need we fear that the next scene will be very alarming, since it is unlikely to be war. It will probably show nothing more than a resolute squeezing of England by Russia and France in regions a long way off from Charing Cross, with the complacent acquiescence of the German Powers ; and, for that matter, with no disturbance (as yet) to the calmer and more up-to-date statesmanship of Great Britain.

FREDERICK GREENWOOD.

LOTUS EATING AND OPIUM EATING.

WHETHER Sir Lepel Griffin means the title of his article, "The Lotus Eaters,"* to refer to the Opium Commissioners, or to the people amongst whom "their pleasant cold weather picnic" was spent, is a matter which he has left in uncertainty. The idea of the Commission's tour as a pleasure trip certainly ought to be dropped by this time. The Anglo-Indian press prophesied that it would be such, but it did not venture to claim that these prophecies had been fulfilled: that was left to the insouciance of a distant critic. One of the most respected organs of Anglo-Indian opinion, the *Bombay Gazette*, acknowledged that they had been falsified, and that probably no Royal Commission has ever before taken so much testimony in so short a time. Having accompanied the Commission throughout its tour, I can corroborate this statement. The long railway journey from Calcutta to Bombay, stopping to take evidence at Patna, Benares, Lucknow, Umballa, Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Jeypore, Ajmere, and Indore (one portion of the Commission substituting Ahmedabad for Indore), was performed entirely by night, except in two or three cases where the travelling took up the greater part of the day as well. Not all the comforts of a special train could make this an easy matter for a party mostly consisting of elderly English gentlemen. The wonderful thing is, not that two members of the Commission, as well as its secretary, suffered from fever, but that the rest of the party escaped any serious breakdown of health.

Sir Lepel Griffin, serenely unconscious as he generally shows himself of his own vulnerability, recognises that an article commenting on the proceedings of the Commission might seem inappropriate

* *Nineteenth Century*, March 1894, p. 513. The writer of the present reply regrets its tardy appearance, due to the fact that the magazine reached him whilst still in the East.

before its members had returned to England and presented their report. He defends himself on the ground that "The Anti-Opium Society will certainly not circulate" the evidence for the information of their followers. Alas for the infallibility of uninspired prophets! The Society was, at the time when he wrote, issuing in convenient daily parts, much more likely to be read than a ponderous Blue Book, full reports of the evidence. So little is Sir Lepel Griffin able to understand or appreciate the motives or the conduct of men who have no big revenue to defend, many of whom have made considerable pecuniary sacrifices in obeying their convictions as to the unlawfulness of the traffic which the Indian Government carries on in their name, and none of whom have any possible interest in disguising or exaggerating the facts.

A few instances will suffice to show that the anti-opium party has no need to fear the publication in full of the evidence given against its views. Surgeon-Major-General Rice, M.D., at the head of the Indian Medical Department, a man of thirty-seven years' experience in India, was the first medical witness put forward by the Indian Government. The witness attributed the habit of opium-eating amongst the people of the Central Provinces to the need felt by them for some means of relief from the muscular and other pains connected with the malarial conditions in which they live. Sir William Roberts, M.D., the medical member of the Commission, suggested to him that opium might be resorted to merely as a "dietetic stimulant," in the same way as tobacco and alcohol, not for any disease. But this distinguished witness would not hear of such a reason, even in the case of tobacco. A man could not, in his opinion, take a cheroot after breakfast, unless he had "dyspeptic feelings." "If he is a perfectly healthy man," argued this medical Solomon, "he has as much well-being as is good for him." It will doubtless be news to many English smokers that their indulgence in a pipe or cigarette is clear proof that they are more or less invalids.

Another of the medical witnesses, Surgeon-Colonel Robert Harvey, M.D., of Calcutta, in his printed abstract of evidence, stated that opium "sharpen the mental faculties, brightens the wits, and improves the logical powers," and he supported this position by the following narrative of personal experience :

"My first experience of its use was during a professional examination when suffering from a severe influenza cold. Thirty drops of laudanum taken to procure sleep had the exact contrary effect, but removed the stupidity due to the cold, and enabled me to go lucidly over the subject of the next day's examination. I seemed to have the books all before me; everything came clear to me."

The following examination of this leading Government witness by Mr. Wilson, which did not appear in the *Times* abstract of the

evidence, will assist the public at home in judging of the value of his evidence :

"Q. You say that opium 'sharpens the mental faculties, brightens the wits, and improves the logical powers' ?—A. I think so.

Q. May I ask why you do not take it regularly; do you not want to have sharp faculties and bright wits?—A. I hope they are sharp enough. Seriously speaking, I think it does sharpen the mental faculties under circumstances of exertion. It was under these circumstances that I have taken it in the past, and that I would always take it again in the future, if it were necessary.

Q. That is the point I am going to ask you about—whether you regard its value mainly as a special agent under peculiar circumstances of stress, or whether you mean that it has that habitual tendency throughout life?—A. I do not think I am in a position to answer that question. I said that when I was taking it it left my head clear. It has done that for me several times. It made me, as I said, when I was stupid and thought that I must fail in my examination, go right over the whole subject. It cleared my brain in the most wonderful way. You cannot speak of the intellectual faculties of other people, because you would not know what the ordinary effects of it upon them are, or what their original condition was.

Q. As a matter of fact, you do not recommend it as practice to persons who wish to have sharp faculties and bright wits?—A. I would not go as far as that.

Q. Have you ever recommended anybody to take it regularly?—A. Yes, I have.

Q. To take it regularly?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you recommended it to many persons?—A. Not to very many; but I have recommended it to many diabetic patients.

Q. I am not thinking about disease at all. I mean for these valuable results?—A. No, I have certainly not for that purpose."

It will be seen that Dr. Harvey, in his eagerness to defend the opium revenue, confused two different things in his printed statement, and repeated the performance in attempting to escape from the dilemma in which he was placed by Mr. Wilson's cross-examination. In the first case, he sought to defend the daily eating of opium as practised by natives of India, on the ground that he himself, when a medical student, had on a special occasion resorted to its use, and found it to possess those stimulating qualities which have lured not a few young medical men of promise into some form of the opium habit, and led to their ultimate ruin. Such cases are, happily, very rare amongst the lay public in England, because a wise law, for which we are indebted to the medical profession, keeps the sale of the drug in the hands of a responsible and cautious class of men, our licensed pharmaceutical chemists. Next, whether he intended it or not, his answer to Mr. Wilson distinctly conveyed the idea that he had recommended the daily use of opium for "sharpening the mental faculties" of the patients, when the truth was that he had only advised them to take it for diabetes.

One more sample of the medical evidence presented to the Com-

mission on the part of the Indian Government. Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel Russell, M.D., was a witness who had spent seven years in Assam, which, notwithstanding some considerable improvement since the Indian Government stopped the free growth of the poppy some twenty-five years ago, still shows the largest opium consumption per head of any province of India. In 1880 Dr. Russell published a book on malarial diseases, based largely on his experience in the malarial tracts of Assam, a work which obtained a considerable reputation. This book contained the following statements :

"The opium-eater enjoys considerable immunity from malarial affections in the early stage, the first few years of indulgence in the habit, before organic visceral changes are set up, and the general shattering of constitution results which prematurely break down the consumer of opium, and render him an easy prey to diseases of any kind. . . . The prevalence of this habit is the curse of our cool populations in Lower Assam. No work can be got out of the long-confirmed opium-eater. . . . The observations of several surgeons, of extensive experience in opium-eating regions, confirm the popular belief that the opium-eater, in the early stages of the habit, while as yet not constitutionally broken by its long continuance, does, as a matter of fact, enjoy considerable immunity from malarial affections."

Dr. Russell gave very different evidence as to the effects of opium before the Commission. He there said: "I think that in the malaria-stricken regions, especially among a population insufficiently and unsuitably clothed and indifferently fed, its effects are decidedly beneficial, leading to a happy life and longevity." When called upon to state how he reconciled these with his published opinions, he gave two inconsistent explanations. At first he said that he had modified his views to some extent: he had had thirteen years' more experience. But when these extracts were read to him, he said that "the passages quoted applied only to the opium sot, the drunkard, the excessive habitual user," and that the term "long continuance" in the last of them meant "excessive and long-continued use." Both explanations are hard to accept. Dr. Russell's experience in Assam, where the habit so extensively prevails, and where there are also malarial conditions, was mainly, if not wholly, before the book was written, since which time he has been in districts of Lower Bengal, where the percentage of opium-eaters is comparatively very small. It is difficult to understand how he could there have unlearned the lessons impressed on his mind during his earlier experience, as to the ultimately injurious effect of the habit. It is equally hard to believe that a man of scientific habit, writing a technical treatise for the guidance of his professional brethren, used the term "long continuance" as covering "excessive use." But most of all is it difficult to ordinary persons, not being members of that body of experts, the medical officers of her Majesty's Indian Army, to understand how a

statement which, according to its author, was quite correct if rightly understood, nevertheless needed modification in the light of his subsequent experience.

The more such evidence is put before the British public just as it was given, and not in the condensed abstracts of costly telegrams from India to England—creditable as these are to the enterprise of the conductors of the *Times*—the more will unprejudiced and intelligent readers appreciate its real value. Anti-opiumists are the last persons to wish the concealment of the medley of contradictions, superficialities, and extravagances which made up the great bulk of the pro-opium medical evidence. Two facts are sufficient to dispose of the whole of it. I believe none of the medical men who so warmly commended the habit of opium-eating had ever recommended a patient of their own so to take it, either as a safeguard against malarial fever, or for any other purpose than the alleviation of some definite chronic malady, such as diabetes. And no writer of a medical text-book, Indian or European, has ever yet recommended the habit of opium-eating as an anti-malarial prophylactic, or as being, in Sir William Roberts's favourite phrase, a "dietetic stimulant," specially useful in unhealthy conditions and in a tropical climate, whether to Englishmen or to natives of India.

I pass to another class of evidence, of which Sir Lepel Griffin has himself given some remarkable specimens. He quotes the statement of the Hon. T. D. Mackenzie, Commissioner of Customs, that the suppression of the opium trade "would culminate in a rising, as compared with which the Mutiny of 1857 would be mere child's-play." Sir Denis Fitzpatrick is also quoted as having expressed similar apprehensions, though in much less extravagant language. Several other officials spoke to the same effect. Such language only serves to show how devoid of practical wisdom some of the Anglo-Indian rulers of India are, and how completely they are out of touch with the people whom they govern. Sir James Lyall made several attempts to get native witnesses to make statements that would give colour to this extraordinary superstition entertained by himself and by others who hold or have held high positions in India. His efforts to elicit such evidence on the point sometimes ended disastrously for this pet theory, and were never, so far as I heard, at all successful. Indian witnesses, evidently carefully prepared with evidence to support the Indian Government's case and defend the opium revenue, could not be got to understand that it would be extremely acceptable to the representatives of that Government if they were to threaten to rebel against it if it deprived them of their opium. A Sikh landholder examined at Lahore was asked what effect it would have upon the people if Government were to prohibit the use of opium. He replied: "The people cannot object to anything; but they would

not be pleased at heart;" and when further pressed, he added: "People cannot object if the Government deprive them of their land and their property." Obviously this witness, one of those chosen by the local officials as good types of the very race quoted as certain to rise against the British power if the promiscuous sale of opium were stopped, had no idea of rebellion as a remedy for toothache. At Ahmedabad* Sir James Lyall asked a witness from one of the native States how the suppression of the opium trade would be regarded if Government were to decide on such a step, and was told that from a pecuniary point of view it would be a great loss to the State. "And from any other point of view?" "From the point of view of the people's welfare, no doubt it would be a very good thing," was the unexpected reply. Sir James proceeded to ask what would be the effect from a political point of view; but on second thoughts he withdrew this question, which will, therefore, not appear in the official report of the Commission—it clearly showed, however, that he had been hoping for an answer to the effect that serious discontent would be caused in his State in case of such an interference.

I may be thought presumptuous, after a few months spent in India, in thus confidently stating an opinion adverse to that expressed by men who have passed the best part of their life in that country. But the opinion is not my own, it is that of classes whose opinions appear to me to be far more weighty than those of English officials. These latter belong to clubs from which the natives of India are rigorously excluded, and have generally no social intercourse with them, except at formal receptions and other similar functions. Their exalted position, and still more the fact that they belong to an alien race, differing widely in customs and modes of thought from the people whom they rule, place them at an immense disadvantage in ascertaining the real opinions of a timid, conquered people, who are, in general, only too ready to say whatever they think may be expected from them by those from whose favour or disapproval, as the case may be, they have much to expect or to fear. That this is the case—that Anglo-Indians have the greatest possible difficulty in knowing what Indians really think—is constantly admitted in conversation and in published statements by the former.

It was my privilege to be in close and familiar contact throughout my four and a half months in India, and to form close friendships that will, I trust, last as long as life itself, amongst two classes, differing greatly from each other, but both possessing far better means than the officials of knowing the true sentiment of the Indian people—the missionaries on the one hand, and on the other, the educated, English-speaking native gentlemen, very few of whom were

* The Ahmedabad incident is given from memory, as the official reports of this portion of the evidence have not yet reached me.

Christians. Some English missionaries in India live almost wholly apart from the home life of the people, especially those who are engaged almost exclusively in educational work, and reside in the large towns, and these often know quite as little, sometimes even less, of the feelings of the townspeople than the officials themselves. But the great mass of the missionaries, those who spend much of their time camping out amongst the villages, living in close daily contact with the people, have far better opportunities than most officials of knowing what their sentiments really are. Some of the missionaries whom I met were not particularly friendly to the political aspirations of the educated Indians, fearing that the protection now impartially afforded to Christian missionaries and converts might be impaired if zealous Brahmins and devout Moslems were placed in positions of greater responsibility. Most of the native gentlemen, on the other hand, though by no means all whom I met, were ardent Congress men. These were often not very enthusiastic supporters of the suppression of the retail sale of opium for other than medical use. Whilst too honest to join the chorus of opium panegyrist, they were generally more impressed with the need of drastic measures to prevent their country from becoming a victim to the alcohol habit, which the example of their Anglo-Indian rulers has rendered fashionable, than with the danger from opium-eating, an old Indian custom which is even now, in many parts of India, tending to disappear under the influence of education. Opium-smoking, however, they unanimously condemned. But whatever their differences on other points, missionaries and educated Indians alike dismissed with contempt the idea that measures taken by the Government of India to assimilate the law of India and that of England as regards the retail sale of opium, would produce any dissatisfaction of at all a serious character. This view was not confined to the anti-opium witnesses. I have already quoted some answers of native witnesses. One of the pro-opium missionaries quoted by Sir Lepel Griffin, working in the province which he is pleased to call "the P'unjaub, the most important part of India," the Rev. Dr. M'Kee, gave the following answers to Lord Brassey's questions on this point:

"Q. Supposing the use of opium to be prohibited, as it has been proposed, for other than medical purposes, how do you think the people would view such a restrictive measure?—A. I think in that district (Sialkote) the disposition of the people in regard to the use of opium for non-medicinal purposes might be described as passive. I think there are very few who wish for prohibition, and I think there are very few who would give trouble if it was prohibited. They seem to think very little about it, so far as I know from talking to the people.

Q. In the present state of the movement they seem to be passive?—A. Yes.

Q. Supposing prohibition to be actually enforced, what do you think their attitude would probably be then?—A. If it was actually enforced, I think those who use it now would try to get it in some other way. It would

very likely be smuggled in. I think they would try to get it, but I do not think it would raise any political disturbance, so far as my knowledge and experience of the people is concerned. With regard to the other section, who do not use opium, I do not believe any section of the people feel strongly enough on the subject to be willing to bear any part of the cost of prohibitive measures. They do not feel strongly enough in the matter.

Q. If taxation were associated with prohibition, you think it would be unfavourably received?—*A.* It would."

Very similar evidence was given by several other Government witnesses, amongst whom I select Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Col. Cameron, Civil Surgeon of Benares, who had served twenty-five years in the N.W. Provinces and Oudh. In reply to questions by Lord Brassey he gave the following answers.

Q. Your life here, I presume, has brought you a good deal in contact with the people?—*A.* Yes. With all classes of the people.

Q. Supposing the use of opium were prohibited except for medical purposes, how do you think that such a restriction would be regarded by the great mass of the people?—*A.* I think the people generally are indifferent on the subject altogether. Only those who take the drug itself would object to its being stopped: the rest of the people would not care at all.

Q. You think that a few educated people would object to it?—*A.* A few educated people would like it stopped. What they fear is that even if a man takes it moderately, he will by-and-by go on to take it excessively.

Q. There would be a more active sentiment if the cessation of the opium revenue involved additional taxation?—*A.* There is no doubt about it.

Q. That would create an active feeling?—*A.* Undoubtedly that would create an active feeling."

There is another, and perhaps a yet stronger reason for disbelieving the prognostications of the prophets of evil—that based on the experience of the past. This was very effectively put before the Commission by the Rev. Dr. Colin S. Valentine, now of Agra, a distinguished medical missionary of thirty-two years' standing, who was for fourteen years private physician to the late enlightened Maharaja of Jeypore, and his adviser in many of the magnificent works of philanthropy and public utility which contribute so largely to make Jeypore one of the most interesting cities of India. In reply to Mr. Wilson's question, whether public opinion in India would favour the prohibition of opium except for medical purposes, Dr. Valentine gave the following answer:

"Yes. I believe there would be a great deal of grumbling if it were prohibited; there would be grumbling from those who take it, and of course from those who grumble at everything Government does—good, bad, and indifferent. But I do not think it would be anything more than grumbling. My reason for that is twofold: In the history of India a great many things have been prohibited, attacking the very foundation of religious systems, and entering very minutely into their manners and customs; and at the time the prohibition was proposed great statesmen, soldiers, and literary men predicted an immense amount of bad things, which history has thoroughly falsified, and the prohibition has been accepted. But my prin-

cial reason is this. We have heard from the newspapers that, as a body, the people of India take no interest in your Commission. Now to me that silence, or want of interest, is very decidedly significant. If the people had considered it an immense grievance, they would have been up in arms against it, and there would be public meetings such as we had two years ago in regard to the Age of Consent Bill. There was then an enormous amount of excitement. People went to the temples and prayed against it; there were public processions and placards and public meetings, and the papers were up in arms. Now I am willing to take the statements of the English newspapers that practically the people of England are not taking the slightest interest in your Commission, and from that I come to the conclusion that they would accept it, except that there would be that sort of grumbling that would be sure to take place on the introduction of any possible law."

Dr. Valentine handed in to the Commission a list, taken from Dr. George Smith's "Life of Dr. John Wilson," of reforms introduced by the Indian Government during the long residence in India of that eminent missionary and educationist, in the suppression of such practices as suttee, hook-swinging, female infanticide, domestic slavery, and immolations under the car of Juggernaut. Most of these reforms were introduced in spite of the prophecies by high Anglo-Indian authorities that they would inevitably lead to revolt. Yet no such consequence has ever in fact arisen from enforcing upon India measures which English public opinion denounced as inhuman, though many of these practices were sanctioned, or believed to be sanctioned, by the religion of the people; whilst the habit of taking opium is, in the opinion of many devout Hindus and Mohammedans, inconsistent with the precepts of both these religions, though not so explicitly forbidden as the use of alcoholic stimulants.

No part of the Government case in support of the utility of opium more conspicuously broke down than that relating to its use by the Sikh soldiers of the British army. When the actual statistics of opium consumption in various regiments were placed before the Commission it was found that only very small percentages—one, two, or four per cent.—are in the regular habit of taking opium all the year round. A good many more use it during the winter to ward off cold, or on long marches to sustain them in case of exceptional fatigue—quasi-medical uses of the drug which would, of course, under any suppressive measures that might be adopted, be left to the responsibility of the medical officers of their regiments to deal with as circumstances might require. But it was made clear that those officers who spoke in vague terms of large percentages or "nearly all" their men as being habitual opium-consumers were speaking without any precise knowledge, and that a very exaggerated impression on the subject was prevalent. The Sikh witnesses, too, for the most part restricted the idea of "moderation" in the use of opium to exceedingly small doses, much smaller than are heard of at all in other

opium-eating districts. Nor was any one able to give Mr. Pease a clear answer to the question which he put to several officers of Sikh regiments, whether it must not be a serious disadvantage from a military point of view to have amongst one's soldiers a number of men absolutely dependent for their efficiency on a regular supply of opium, differing essentially as it does from any particular kind of food, the want of which can always be more or less made up for by food of some other kind.

It will be observed that Dr. Newton and Dr. Cameron stated that if extra taxation were imposed in consequence of the prohibition of opium the measure would be decidedly unpopular. No one would for a moment deny this. Additional taxation is most unpopular all the world over; and the House of Commons, perhaps, never adopted a more absurd motion than that part of the Commission's instructions which gave it the duty of inquiring as to the willingness of the Indian people to make up the loss of revenue to be occasioned by the stoppage of the opium traffic. No additional taxation would be needed to make up for the comparatively small loss to the Indian revenue that must be caused by the limitation of the sale of opium in India to medical use, a measure which would necessarily include provisions, such as are contained in the prohibitory regulations recently adopted in Burma, for the continuance of a supply to those who have already become too much the slaves of the opium habit to be able to give it up in safety. The question of substituted taxation only arises in connection with the export of opium to China and other countries. As regards this trade, the only people who propose its stoppage—namely, the anti-opium party—insist, as a condition of the reform for which they ask, that it shall not be permitted to cause extra taxation to India, and that, until it can be made up by much-needed economies and reforms in Indian expenditure, the British people must come forward to help India. This essential portion of the Anti-Opium Society's demand was put before Parliamentary candidates all over the United Kingdom, in the form of a question, at the last General Election, and was embodied in the resolution proposed by Mr. Webb to the House of Commons last session.

Sir Lepel Griffin quotes the evidence of the few missionary witnesses who came forward to defend the Indian Government's present arrangements for the retail sale of opium in India as being, in their opinion, already restrictive. None of these joined in the extravagant praises of opium indulged in by so many of the official and other lay medical witnesses. Dr. Martyn Clark, the well-known Afghan convert and medical missionary, drew a wide distinction between India and China, between eating and smoking opium. He regarded the China opium trade as immoral, and it is the omission of the word "China" that has led to the apparent inconsistency of his evidence, as given

in the *Times* abstract. The Rev. K. S. Macdonald was not a witness who could claim to speak with any real knowledge of the people, as he had to admit that, after thirty-two years spent in the country, he was unable to preach in any one of the vernacular languages. There were other points on which he was cross-examined by Mr. Wilson which it is not necessary here to refer to, but which were sufficient to deprive his evidence of all weight.

Mr. James Monro, C.B., is eulogised by Sir Lepel Griffin on the ground that he "has proved his independence and honesty by giving up the lucrative appointment of Commissioner of Police in London to devote himself to mission work." I believe it is the fact that Mr. Monro made a considerable pecuniary sacrifice, though I think not exactly as here stated, that he might be free for the work to which he is now consecrating his energies as an unpaid worker, thus nobly backing his eloquent and earnest pleadings on its behalf by a splendid example. Mr. Monro is one of those opponents whom one regards with so much respect and admiration that one feels real pain in having to oppose him and to expose the insufficiency of his arguments. But Sir Lepel Griffin has surely forgotten that not long ago he took a very different view of Mr. Monro's conduct. At a debate on hemp drugs (ganja, bhang, &c.) at the East India Association last year, Mr. Martin Wood quoted some remarks on that question made by Mr. Monro in an article in the *Indian Evangelical Review*. The article was a defence of the opium trade, as regards Lower Bengal, and the writer commented strongly on the injury done in that province by the use of hemp drugs, reproving the anti-opium party for not agitating against what he characterised as a much more real and serious evil. Sir Lepel Griffin, commenting on the quotation, said that the opinion of a man who had been so foolish as to give up a good post in England in order to go and convert the Bengalis to Christianity was utterly worthless, and needed not to be answered. How it can be valuable as regards opium and valueless as regards ganja, and that on the very same grounds, is even more puzzling than the contradictions of Dr. Russell.

Indian missionaries are, as a body, naturally reluctant to take up an attitude of opposition to the Government, to which they are greatly indebted for its protection of themselves and their work, and from which they receive valuable pecuniary assistance for their educational institutions. Notwithstanding this strong and reasonable bias in favour of the Indian Administration, to which the greater number of them are further attached by the tie of common British nationality, the general sentiment of the missionary community as regards the opium traffic is shown by the fact that 1112 Indian Protestant missionaries, the great majority of the whole number, have recently signed the following declaration: "We are unalterably opposed to

the participation by the Government in the demoralising traffic in opium, and we record our conviction that it is a sin against God, and a wrong to humanity." As for the Bishop of Calcutta, it is to be remembered that he and the other chaplains who joined in his declaration are not missionaries, and have no special opportunities of knowing anything about the effect of opium on the natives of India, towards whom they have no official duties. Doubtless they are, as Sir Lepel Griffin says, free from the restraint of public opinion at home. The only public opinion which they are likely to care for is that of the Anglo-Indian civilian and mercantile classes of Calcutta, who are almost to a man supporters of the opium trade, a large proportion of them being directly or indirectly interested in its continuance.

Probably before this article, written in China, can be published in England, the public will have had the whole facts regarding the Bombay medical petition before it, and I will therefore say but little with regard to the matter. It is strange that Sir Lepel Griffin did not perceive that the statements which he quotes from a telegram in the *Daily News* are of such a mutually contradictory character that they refute each other. Is it conceivable that persons who would forge half-a-dozen signatures would take the trouble to procure another half-dozen by false representations, or that a messenger who brought back as many refusals as signatures would take the trouble or incur the risk of either committing forgery or making false representations? As a matter of fact, the person employed in the collection of signatures could neither read nor write English. The Commission has formally exonerated the two gentlemen who employed him, Messrs. Horne and Ranina, and it is perhaps needless to say more on the subject. Many will, however, be interested to know that the latter, who is a young doctor, of a good Parsee family and unstained reputation, acted with the sanction and advice of his father, who has long been known as a social reformer in Bombay, having been a close friend and fellow-worker of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, now M.P. for Finsbury. Never did any case more completely break down under investigation than the absurd charge brought by the *Times of India* against the anti-opium party in Bombay, of having foisted upon the public a "bogus petition." The whole incident has thrown a lurid light on the influence of officialism in India, seeing that a call from Rustomji Pestomji, the well-known opium inspector, proved sufficient to induce thirty-six native physicians of Bombay, including some of the acknowledged leaders of the profession, to disavow their own signatures—six of them actually stooping to accuse themselves of signing an important declaration without reading it.

I will not stop to comment on the unedifying spectacle of Sir Lepel Griffin undertaking to teach Sir Joseph Pease the elements of

morality. It is, however, impossible to close without an indignant protest against the statement that "the people of India are on a far higher level of morality than Englishmen; that they are industrious, sober, chaste, and religious; that a drunken man is rare, unless he be an Englishman; and that a drunken woman is unknown." As applied to the masses of the English people, whether our artisan and labouring classes, or that great middle class, for the "dulness" of whose life the writer affects so contemptuous a compassion, such language implies a gross libel. To the cities, towns, and villages of England as a whole, even to the suburban districts where the real population of London resides, the language of the article is happily altogether inapplicable. But it is in the European quarter of Calcutta that sights of immorality can be seen at their worst. At a magnificent mass meeting held whilst I was in the city, in which Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsees, Roman Catholics, and Protestants were all represented by some of their leading men, the citizens united in indignant protest at a state of things under which their boys cannot go to and return from the public schools without witnessing sights calculated prematurely to familiarise them with vice. It is a common belief, in some parts, at least, of India, that "to keep a woman and to get drunk" are the two distinguishing marks of the Christian religion; and this is due to the notorious vices, not of the British people as they are at home, but of a sadly too large proportion of them in India. One of the most vital present-day problems is that of securing that only moral men shall be placed in the position of ruling the millions whom Providence has placed under British rule in India. Lord Macaulay, in his memorable minute laying down the principles on which the system of competitive examinations for the Indian Civil Service is based, justified the exclusion of religious tests on the ground that a man who passes a severe examination is not likely to be the one who is most deficient in morality. That he was right in discarding tests based on professions of religious opinion is now universally admitted. It does not follow, however, that, so long as we continue to send out young men from our universities at home to learn the art of ruling by practising on our Indian fellow-subjects, there should not be some machinery for ensuring that those who are thus sent out are men of decent lives before they go. Still more is it desirable that only those who continue to lead such lives should be permitted to remain in the service, and to attain positions of great responsibility. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Chief Commissioner of Burma, some two years ago, issued an admirable minute, intimating to his subordinates that he had obtained the sanction of the Government of India for measures, including an increase of allowances in some cases, specially designed to promote the marriage of young civilians, and to facilitate the establishment of Christian

ménages, in place of the scandalous native harems too often set up. The principle needs to be more widely applied, and followed up by a stern refusal on the part of the Government of India to promote officers of irregular life. By such means one of the greatest reproaches on Indian official life might be removed, and it may be hoped that the commercial classes of Anglo-Indians would be influenced by the salutary example.

Abstinence from alcoholic beverages is also extremely desirable amongst Anglo-Indian officials, both for their own health's sake and for the sake of example to the masses of India. An able article on "Life Assurance" appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, whilst the Commission was in that city, in which it was observed that the longevity of Europeans in India is greatly diminished by the alcohol habit, just as that of the natives of India is diminished by opium-eating—a somewhat remarkable declaration in a journal strongly opposed to the suppression of the opium-traffic. The evidence given all over India as to the injury caused to the natives in India by the growing indulgence in alcoholic liquors, in the highest and the lowest ranks alike, ought surely to suggest to those Anglo-Indians who are really anxious for the welfare of the people whom they rule—and I am sure there are very many such—the desirability of ceasing to set an example so fatal to the youth of India.

Let Anglo-Indians cleanse their own lives, and set the example of self-control; let them at the same time show that they care more for the good of the people than for revenue, by adopting strict repressive measures as regards the sale of opium, alcohol, and hemp drugs; and by these means they will earn the affection and respect of the people of India, and establish British rule on a firmer basis than if it were supported by armies equal to those of all Europe combined.

JOSEPH G. ALEXANDER.

THEOLOGICAL BOOK-KEEPING BY DOUBLE ENTRY.

"Vor dem Gewitter erhebt sich zum
letzten Male der Staub, der nun bald
für lange getilgt sein soll."—GOETHE.

THERE is a well-known daily paper still published on the Continent in French which at one time had a large circulation in the Russian Empire. People used to wonder at this, because the journal in question was always particularly well informed about Nihilist plots, military conspiracies, political assassinations, and disturbances at the Universities, and was wont to serve up whole columns of sensational intelligence upon these delicate topics which are utterly tabooed in the Empire of the Tsar. The mystery was at length satisfactorily cleared up, and it became known that the editor, wise in his generation, had made it a practice, on the days on which he was supplied with telegrams or articles of this compromising character, to print a special expurgated edition qualified to circulate in the salons of his Russian readers.

I grieve to say that similar tactics are being adopted by the wire-pullers of the Catholic Church, which, built upon an impregnable rock, can hardly be supposed to stand in need of such sorry subterfuges. These pious diplomatists let not their left hand on the Continent know what their right hand in England doeth. Thus in Catholic countries their methods of controversy, their inspirations, practices and doctrines, differ far more widely than is commonly suspected from those of their English-speaking brethren here and in the United States. There they are aggressive, insulting, offensive; here they are meek, charitable, and conciliating; there they strike with the iron hand, here they stroke with the velvet glove. The Continental controversialist suffers qualms of conscience unless he performs a wild war dance round his adversary before besmearing him with pitch and burning him in the fire of calumny. He defends the cause of the God of holiness in the foulest of the dialects of Billings-

gate, and borrows his methods of dealing with his opponents from Reineke Fuchs and the cuttle-fish. After having waded through a hundred pages of such choice theological vituperation, it is refreshing to turn to the relatively mild recriminations of the coarse characters in Ben Jonson's "Alchemist."

In England, fortunately, they cannot carry things with so high a hand yet, though they hope "there's a guid time coming" when they may. They still defend their principles with moderation, and treat their adversaries with common courtesy; but what many of them would do if they could, and will when they can, is painfully manifest to all those who have read the pages of disgusting abuse with which the Rev. Father Brandi, of the Company of Jesus, endeavoured to besmirch, in the hope of intimidating, the author of these articles. And even now the conventional courtesy and praiseworthy absence of personality which characterise the replies of the Jesuit Fathers Clarke* and Lucas† are rendered less efficacious than they would be if, at the very same moment, the Jesuits of the *Civiltà Cattolica*‡ had not fallen back upon their favourite methods and distorted my arguments, discredited my intentions, and denounced me as a forger, a blasphemer, and a pretender, who has no right to call himself a Catholic.

It is in virtue of this curious method of book-keeping by double entry that our English co-religionists are encouraged, when comparing notes with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, to treat the Holy Inquisition as the dry bones of an extinct institution into which no pontifical Ezechiel would ever dream of breathing new life; while our best accredited theologians of the Continent are frankly teaching that this beneficent agency is not dead, but sleepeth, and that he who holds that the burning of heretics is displeasing to the Holy Spirit is himself a heretic, and richly deserves to be burned at the stake in this world previous to being consumed in hell-fire in the next. In like manner in this country the temporal power of the Pope is regarded merely as a *pium desiderium*; whereas on the Continent belief in its necessity is held to be binding upon every true son of the Church. In these isles a Catholic like Professor Mivart is patiently borne with when he proclaims that there is some kind of happiness even in hell, and the very worst that befalls him is that he is gently chidden, and his articles placed on the Index, while he is allowed to solace himself even for this light punishment by publicly expressing a doubt whether it was inflicted because the doctrine is heretical, or merely by reason of the unseasonable time chosen to promulgate it. On the Continent no such compromise with the Prince of Darkness would be tolerated for

* Cf. CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, July, 1894.

† The Month, June and July, 1894.

‡ La Civiltà Cattolica, serie xv., vol. x., quaderno, 1054 and 1055, May 7 and May 21, 1894.

a moment. A couple of years ago a humane gentleman in Northern Italy, not daring to dream of anything approaching to happiness in the dreary abode of the damned, merely declared his disbelief in the material fire of hell. But punishment followed the sin with lightning-like rapidity. He was denied absolution and communion by the priest, and had he died in that state must have had his doubts removed by the most terrible personal experience. A clergyman might, of course, be mistaken. But the matter was referred to the highest ecclesiastical court, and the Holy Inquisition, presided over by Pope Leo XIII., issued a decree confirming the priest's decision, and punishing disbelief in the *material fire* of hell by deprivation of the Sacraments.* Was anything said or hinted, during the late controversy on happiness in hell, of a nature to lead English Catholics to infer the existence of any such absolute decree?

Now, the employment of these double weights and measures fill us, who have so often seen them used, with doubt, hesitation, and pain, and render us distrustful of the theology, diluted with humanity and common sense, which is specially prepared for and set before the Catholics of England. Father Clarke, for instance, in his article in the July number of this REVIEW, and Father Lucas in the pages of the *Month*, have given utterance to much that would afford us comfort for the present and inspire us with hope for the future, if we could only regard these apologists as the spokesmen of our Holy Father. Thus, the former, pointing out the concessions to criticism which he would have us believe Leo XIII. made in his Encyclical, writes: "Other Popes may go farther." In another place he soothes us by the reminder that, "if there be doubt or perplexity whether a false or ambiguous decision has been formulated, . . . the Holy See does not die. It can always explain itself."† He furthermore frankly confesses that "the case of Galileo may serve as a reminder that to fight may involve the risk of being beaten; but no campaign was ever won on the system of military tactics which consists in deserting every post from which the enemy is visible."‡ But he reaches and passes the Pillars of Hercules when he characterises the Pope's attitude in the Encyclical, at the very moment that his Italian brethren were extravagantly enlogising *quello stupendo documento*,§ as "chilling and repellent."

These are well weighed words of wisdom, which we should hail as auspicious harbingers of better times, if we possessed any grounds for supposing them to be indicative of the opinions of our Holy Father or

* According to an excellent authority on these matters, the late Rev. Father Schrader, of the Company of Jesus, this and all similar decrees are infallible.

† Father Schrader, S.J., teaches that no such doubt could or should be entertained.

‡ This is a curious principle to be laid down by a theologian, whose care should be for truth rather than for tactics. "Are you guilty or not guilty?" asked the Clerk of the Arraignment of the prisoner. "Can't answer that question yet; I must first hear the evidence."

§ *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 7, p. 419.

his advisers. But we have none. Nay, we entertain not the shadow of a doubt that the official organ of the Company of Jesus—the *Ciriltà Cattolica*—would much rather be suppressed than compelled to insert and endorse those “semi-rationalistic” notions which it exists to combat. It is a case of *Fistula dulces canit, volucrum dum decipit auceps*. That members of the bodyguard of the Pope should be thus permitted to make such large concessions to truth is highly complimentary to the intelligence and independence of the English race; that Continental Catholics, who act on the belief that these concessions are sincere, should be trampled upon with the hobnailed boots of the same bodyguard is calculated to start a train of thought somewhat less conducive to edification. An individual conviction, having served its turn, may be rudely brushed aside by the “teaching Church,” which seldom stands upon ceremony; and that the admissions made by the English Jesuits are no more than individual convictions, is a fact emphasised even by the writers themselves.* Indeed, at this very moment, their brethren in Italy, France, and Austria have taken up a position diametrically opposed to them, and are carrying on a bitter paper war with the Rev. Dr. Scholz, a priest and professor of the University of Würzburg, scoffingly refusing to yield up one stone of the fortresses the keys of which they have handed over to us with such fascinating grace. Professor Scholz tells these zealous apologists what they might have long since learned from their enlightened English brethren: “There must be no delusion. We must either take up positively scientific Bible study, or else morally perish in presence of the scientifically educated world. . . . It is not much of a feat to convince Catholic theologians. Converts are very easy to convert; they manage to content themselves at a pinch with unsatisfactory proofs.”†

It is evident, then, that Englishmen are endowed with very special privileges, which will presumably last until such time as his Eminence, Cardinal Vaughan, has accomplished his task of converting thirty millions of their heretical brethren to the true faith, when they will be fed no longer with the milk of infants, but with the solid meat upon which Continental Catholics live and thrive. But if our Church, as it exists in other countries, where it is too frequently allied with crass ignorance, disgusting superstition, brutal intolerance, Pharisaic hypocrisy,‡ and rank immorality, is the embodiment of the teaching and example of Jesus, why modify its principles and practices for

* “I have no claim to express any one’s opinion but my own. I have no man’s proxy”—*The Month*, July 1894, p. 336.

† Cf. *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*, heft iv., 1894, p. 430.

‡ Several of the most uncompromising adversaries of the Civil Marriage Bill in Hungary are men who themselves abandoned the Catholic Church, and embraced Protestantism or Calvinism in order to obtain a divorce from their lawful and faithful wives, after which they came back to the true fold, and waxed indignant at the immoral and impious law drawn up by M. Szilagyí.

exportation to Great Britain and the United States? And if the true religion is to be found only among English-speaking peoples, why not first reform Continental Catholicism and set our house in order before inviting any more guests to enter in? The bitter truth is that Catholicism in certain foreign countries, not forty hours distant from Charing Cross, is, from a moral point of view, in a far more pitiable condition than that which produced the Reformation three hundred years ago, and that English Catholicism, in certain of its intellectual aspects, bears the same relation to our religion on the mainland that the decoy-duck bears to the unlucky bird whose flesh is being prepared for the banquet by the *chef de cuisine*.

The dozen or more published replies provoked by my article on the Papal Encyclical offer some very curious illustrations of this difference between the defensive tactics now resorted to in England and those in vogue on the Continent. Thus, while Fathers Clarke and Lucas seriously endeavour to disprove my statements, or weaken the force of my conclusions, Father Nisius, S.J., in Austria, very pertinently replies that my anonymity is semi-transparent,* and assures his Continental readers that I have been absolutely and thoroughly refuted by Father Lucas, &c.† The Italian Companions of Jesus, on the other hand, fall back upon their heavy artillery of American jokes, and wind up by denouncing me as a blasphemer.‡ If, indeed, I be a blasphemer, the logical consequence should be fearlessly drawn from this fact, and the condition of our Church declared critical and deplorable. For I am the spokesman of a considerable and ever-increasing number of intelligent laymen, learned professors, conscientious priests, and enlightened prelates, *who have approved and endorsed* the theses I put forward in my articles. And yet all these blasphemers are not only in communion with the Church, but many of them daily administer the sacraments to the unsuspecting faithful!

The fact is that we have opened this discussion because we have the cause of true religion at heart, because we desire to be allowed to believe what we *know* and to say what we believe, and because we long to see new and life-giving sap infused into certain of the withered dogmas of the past. We earnestly beg for bread, and many of our trusted guides who aspire to be known as Companions of Jesus fling us a stone and, adding insult to injury, hold us up to public scorn. Without questioning the charity or even the good taste of these holy men, I cannot refrain from reminding them that to laugh at an argument is not equivalent to answering it, nay, *when the laughter is a*

* Cf. *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, iv. Quartalheft, 1894; "Die Encyclical Providentissimus Deus und die Inspiration," p. 686.

† "Die Niederlage desselben ist eine vollständige," *op. cit.* p. 686. This is how our foreign co-religionists are kept informed of the concessions made to Englishmen by our own apologists!

‡ *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 7 and 21, 1894.

member of a religious order, it is not even always a proof that he is of a different way of thinking from his adversary. Thus last year a widely respected aristocratic Jesuit of Germany, the Rev. Count Hoensbroech, published an attack upon Professor Harnack's views on the divinity of Christ. The article was much more vigorous than scientific, the author affecting to treat the arguments of the Berlin Professor with precisely such scorn as his Roman brethren now heap upon mine, and he concluded by calling upon the German Emperor to enforce Scriptural texts with secular authority and to silence the blasphemer for ever. And yet while German Catholics were perusing that edifying diatribe with admiration, Harnack's arguments were silently and rapidly sowing the seeds of disbelief in the soul of the scoffing Jesuit, which, in a few months' time, brought forth abundant and bitter fruit; for the Rev. Father suddenly turned his back upon his Order and his Church and is now Harnack's fellow-contributor to a "blasphemous" Review,* on the pages of which he attacks his former brethren with the vehemence and acrimony which he once displayed against his present friends and allies.

Turning now to the gist of these replies, we are bewildered by the number and rashness of the speculations underlying them which, without solving the difficulties, do violence to our reason and jar upon our religious sense. The established facts of profane history, and the positive affirmations of Holy Writ, are alike thrown into the theological melting pot and recast anew, and when facts fail, the discreet silence of the Divine Author is boldly supplemented by the undisciplined imagination of His human advocate.† They conduct their case on the lines followed by the prisoner who, accused of having stolen his friend's valuable chronometer, replied that he had no friend in the town, that if he had, he never stole his watch but borrowed it, as is customary among friends, and that if the timepiece was not lent him it was because he found it on the road. The hypothesis which we are asked to accept as a possible solution of one difficulty is utterly irreconcilable with the supposition put forward as the answer to another, and we ultimately dismiss the whole series from our minds with the painful conviction that even the acrobatic feat of adjusting our intellect to them all would still leave things pretty much as we found them, besides involving a degree of disrespect to the Bible and to Him who inspired it which leaves the most "blasphemous" theories of Kuenen and Wellhausen in the shade.

And when these special pleaders content themselves with gratuitous

* *Preussische Jahrbücher*.

† The pages of Father Lucas's articles teem with hypotheses which we are asked to register as facts, and his principal explanations begin with the words "if," "what if?" "how if?" He admits that these assumptions would be arbitrary if we did not possess independent grounds for holding that there is no error in the Bible, these independent grounds consisting in the *ipse dixit* of the Pope.

assumptions which neither run counter to reason nor discredit religion, they annihilate each other with a thoroughness paralleled only by that of the Kilkeny cats, of whom, their battle over, nought remained but one sadly bruised tail. Thus, the English Jesuits unhesitatingly endorse certain views of mine which their Italian *confrères*—unaware of the line that would be followed in this country—not only contradict but ridicule. On the other hand, when the Italian members of the Pope's bodyguard solemnly warn all Catholics that certain of my statements "set truth at defiance and do violence to the sacred texts," their English brethren actually fall into the trap set for the "blasphemer" and proclaim my view to be correct. In a word, we are the spectators of a comedy of cross purposes which reminds us of the story of the well-meaning citizen who, hearing a noise one night in his neighbour's house, caused as he fancied by burglars, stole silently in and viciously struck the supposed intruder by whom he was pounded in turn, after which the battle raged on until both sank exhausted to the floor. Then only did they discover that they were neighbours and friends. The Jesuit Fathers would seem to have likewise found out their awkward mistake, for they have done what was still possible to remedy it by inducing their Italian *confrères* to hold their peace. In consequence of this the series of virulent articles* pompously announced in the *Civiltà Cattolica* has been suddenly brought to an ignominious end. The second of the series, which concludes with a promise of much more, "with God's help, in our next number," was likewise the last, whether from a lack of the much-needed divine assistance or for reasons of a more profane order it is not our province to inquire.

One or two illustrations of the strange things that happen when Greek thus meets Greek and takes him for a Trojan may amuse our fancy and enrich our experience, but will hardly conduce to increase our respect for the methods of Catholic apologists.

I asserted that, humanly speaking, Aaron could not well be buried in two places at the same time, as he must have been if there were no error in the Bible, seeing that one text interrs him at Hor and another entombs him at Mosera, which, it informs us, is seven stations distant. I thus identified Mosera with Moseroth, as the usage of the Hebrew language warrants me. The Jesuit Fathers of the *Civiltà*

* The Rev. Jesuit Fathers of Rome accuse me of "stupidly copying Voltaire's objections" and then palming them off on English readers as important discoveries of my own. They do an injustice to my readers and to myself. Englishmen know their Bible and Biblical literature too well to be thus imposed upon, and they also know how to deal with an unscrupulous trickster, be he priest or layman. As for me, I never took credit to myself for any discovery. I never even stated that I know Hebrew enough to read the Bible in the original: an anonymous writer can afford to be modest; modesty being a praiseworthy reluctance to offend one's neighbours by needlessly displaying qualities or acquirements of which they happen to be devoid.

Cattolica replied, denying my right to do this, on grounds which are certainly calculated to make a profound impression upon every Catholic and Christian. They pointed out, in the solemn words of Laborde, that "to associate these two names [Mosera and Moseroth] is to set truth at defiance, and to do violence to the sacred texts, for the purpose of getting entangled in a network of inextricable difficulties." Sobered by this serious warning, I turned to Father Clarke's article for further light and guidance, and found, *horribile dictu*, that he had gone and rashly "set truth at defiance and done violence to the sacred texts," merely in order to get entangled in a perfect network of difficulties; for he, too, affirms that there is no doubt that "Mosera is the same place or district as Moseroth." In this unceremonious manner does brother buffet brother, fancying he is belabouring a mere "blasphemer." If the Italian Jesuits, who wrote "with God's help," are to be believed, their English *confrère* has forfeited his claim to our respect and confidence, and if the English disciple of St. Ignatius is in the right, in what truthful words compatible with Christian charity can we characterise the ethics of his Italian colleagues? And what are non-Jesuits—mere unsophisticated laymen and priests—to think of the other solutions offered by the zealous Fathers? And with what condiment are they to digest such statements as cannot easily be verified? Are we justified, for instance, in bowing to Father Clarke's decision that "it is mere perversity to assert that Mosera . . . was not in the vicinity of Hor," when we reflect on the cautious statement of the official Jesuits in Rome, who do not venture to deny that Moseroth was really seven stations distant from Mosera, and consequently from Mount Hor? *

And while these reverend fathers thus flatly contradict each other in presence of the open-mouthed "crowd of the faithful," a third member of the order, Rev. Father Lucas, was penning these remarkable lines: "When an attack is made on the Holy See . . . it is obviously of importance that the defenders of the Holy Father should show, at least so far as principles are concerned, a united front."† Obviously. But simple-minded people are naturally prejudiced against the front of the man or men—especially if they are priests—who, in matters of this moment, are more eager to provide for the requirements of tactics than to consult the exigencies of truth, and are not—indeed cannot by their very position be—prepared boldly to face the truth and say, "Encyclical or no Encyclical, these things are facts."

Another deplorable instance of brother falling foul of brother in the dark is afforded by the desperate efforts of our apologists to deaden the blow struck at the papal theory by the conflicting statements of

* *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 7, 1894, p. 429.

† *The Month*, July 1894, p. 336.

the Scriptures about Saul and David. The Bible first tells us that Saul appointed David to the post of royal armour-bearer, and sent to Jesse, the father of the young shepherd, to request his permission that the latter should "stand before him."* It next gives us a graphic account of a long conversation which passed between the king and his dauntless young subject on the very morning of the duel with Goliath,† and it then astounds us by stating that when the momentous combat was over, and the giant's head was in David's hand, the king felt curious to know who that valiant young man was. He was evidently unacquainted with David. Inquiring of Abner, he elicited the reply that this brave general was equally in the dark on the subject, so that the king had to question the hero himself.‡ Now there can be no reasonable doubt that this narrative contradicts itself, and that if similarly conflicting statements occurred in the work of Rationalists and "blasphemers" like Kuenen and Wellhausen, the Italian Jesuits of the *Civiltà* would split their sides laughing. But as they are met with in the only book known to mankind which, having God for its author, is perfect, these ingenious apologists turn the laugh against me. "Why are Miller's hogs fat?" asks the philo-American Jesuit of Rome. "In America," he continues, gloating over his own humorous sally, "they reply by asking, 'Are they fat?'"§ He then goes on to assure us that the same kind of reply will effectually dispose of my absurd objection, because it is not a fact that Saul was ignorant who David was. What he wanted to know was what family he belonged to [although he was acquainted with Jesse, David's father], and he required this information in order to fulfil the usual formalities to be observed when exempting a subject from taxation! The notion is monstrous. Philistines and Hebrews stand facing each other on one of the most momentous days of their existence. Their fate trembles in the balance. The Jews, who a moment before were plunged in despair, are suddenly and unexpectedly delivered from their bitterest and most powerful enemy by the king's young armour-bearer and personal friend. The youth severs the head of the formidable giant,|| and raises it up so that it may be seen by both armies, who are wild with the excitement of irrepressible joy or rage. And at this solemn moment the king finds nothing better to do than to run about the field making inquiries about David's ancestors, with a view to free the youth from taxation! Don Quixote in his wildest freaks never cut a more ridiculous figure than the first

* 1 Sam. xvi. 21, 22.

† 1 Sam. xvii. 38.

‡ 1 Sam. xvii. 57, 58.

§ *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 21, 1894, p. 514.

|| According to 2 Sam. xxi. 19, Goliath was slain, not in any of the wars waged by Saul, but during the reign of his successor; and not by the shepherd boy David, but by a warrior, likewise from Bethlehem, named Elhanan. And according to 1 Sam. xvi. 16-23, David, when first presented to Saul, was not a shepherd's boy at all, but "a mighty valiant man and a man of war." The entire narrative is one tissue of glaring contradictions.

Anointed of the Lord. And in order to be able thus to caricature one of the most striking figures of the Old Testament, we are asked to believe that, with all this morbid predilection for bureaucratic formalism, he appointed a shepherd boy to be his armour-bearer and admitted him to his confidence without ever inquiring to what family he belonged. If we could conceive of a reader in a normal state of mind whose sense of humour was sufficiently defective to prevent him from gauging the dimensions of this wanton insult to the human understanding, we should ask him to remember that whatever information Saul really needed, he evidently received from David, whose answer completely satisfied his curiosity; and that this answer contained neither more nor less than what, according to the Italian Jesuit's admission, Saul already knew, and did not require to be told again—viz., David replied, "I am the son of thy servant, Jesse the Bethlehemite."*

But while the Italian disciple of St. Ignatius, who experiences such unholy delight in dwelling upon the fatness of Miller's hogs, finds the sacred text in perfect order, and my objection downright ludicrous, his cautious brethren, who have to deal with hard-headed and highly privileged Englishmen, take up a widely different position. They admit that we may be in presence of a *blunder*, neither more nor less. "One thing," says Father Lucas, "is clear—viz., either that the original text has suffered from transposition, or else (which seems to us more probable) that the compiler of 1 Samuel has faithfully set down what he found in his sources *without being solicitous to follow the chronological sequence of events*."† But the rev. apologist seems to forget that it was not the compiler's province to be solicitous or careless, seeing that God, and not he, is responsible for all errors and inaccuracies. Translated into the language of the Encyclical, the hypothesis preferred by Father Lucas, S.J., implies that the hopeless muddle made by the narrator of the story of Saul and David, and the contradictions that ensue, are the handiwork of the omnipotent and omniscient God of the universe, who is the sole author of the book in which they occur. Whether the pen that indited that grave admission is "blasphemous" or reverent may well be left to the decision of the pious Jesuits of Italy, but its scope and significance are all-sufficient to justify our regret that Miller's American hogs should have been prematurely let loose in the hope that they might be capable of contributing even indirectly to the solution of such intricate problems. And in any case, we cannot help exclaiming in the slightly altered words of Nello in George Eliot's "Romola": "With San Dominico roaring *è vero* in one ear, and San Francisco screaming *è falso* in the other, what is a poor layman to do—unless he were illuminated?" What, indeed?

* 1 Sam. xvii. 57, 58.

† The Month, July 1894, p. 341-342.

But among all the curious replies produced by the few instances of contradictions which I brought forward, probably the most amazing and, from a psychological point of view, the most interesting are those which attempt to explain away the ridiculous blunder made about the number of first-born males. The reader's careful attention to this little sum in arithmetic will be amply repaid by the results. I alleged that the statement of Numbers iii. 42, 43 is false, according to which there were only 22,273^{*} first-born males among the Israelites, whose army, reaching the respectable total of 603,550,^{*} warriors of twenty and upwards, implies a population of not less than two millions. The Italian Jesuit begins his reply with the very appropriate quotation "*Quos Jupiter vult perdere demeritat*," the truth of which he immediately sets himself to demonstrate. "Let us note," he piously exclaims, "how God in His providence, wishing to confound this detractor of His word, permitted him to fall into a shameful error in a most simple calculation, precisely when he is making merry over the inspired writer, and over God Himself."[†] Now, it is doubtful policy in a priest and a religious thus to drag in God at every hand's-turn into simple matters with which the exercise of a little mother-wit would enable him satisfactorily to grapple. For, should a mistake be made, he has not only his own blunder to excuse, but the divine interference to justify. It reminds me of a good-hearted old Catholic curate, who firmly believed that God was continually working miracles to enable him to help the needy, and who seldom had a coin in his pocket, though he was never devoid of the fire of charity in his heart. Accosted one day by a beggar woman, he pleaded utter lack of money, and sadly turned aside; but on the mendicant beseeching him to search his pockets, he hopelessly put his hand in one, and to his amazement and joy found a five-shilling piece there. "Another of God's miracles!" he exclaimed, and then addressing the woman: "This coin belongs to you of right. Take it, and go in peace." Having told the story a few hours later to his worldly minded parish priest, and suggested that they should both go down on their knees and render thanks to God, a strange unpleasant light suddenly broke on the mind of the shrewd pastor, who exclaimed in accents not suggestive of thanksgiving: "Good God! Are these my breeches that you've on you?"

A similar mishap has befallen the Italian Jesuit, who goes on to remark that "it is a question here of a most simple division, and a pupil of one of our elementary schools could teach the learned English hypercritic that 600,000 divided by 22,273 gives, not more than forty but a little less than twenty-seven (26·9).[‡] Unless the

^{*} Num. i. 46.

[†] *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 21, 1894, p. 556.

[‡] The English Jesuits also wonder how 600,000 divided by 22,723 can give a quotient of more than 26·9. But the Bible says that the first-born were to be numbered not among the 603,555 soldiers of the army, but among all the children of Israel, who

hypercriticism of our Anonymus, being superior to the Word of God, thinks itself likewise superior to the elementary rules of arithmetic."*

I must frankly confess that it does; and I undertake now to show that it is as much superior to the elementary rules of *Catholic* arithmetic as it is to those of the Catholic chemistry and comparative history, which likewise owe their existence to his Holiness the Pope. First of all, however, let us see how the English Jesuit, Father Clarke, disposes of the difficulty. This apologist takes a different line of argument, and sets himself to prove too much in order to be able to affirm that I prove nothing. He endeavours to show that if we interpret the text in the ordinary way, "the average Jewish father would be father of 120 children," and he then triumphantly exclaims: "*qui nimis probat nihil probat.*"† "If the writer of the Book of Numbers had meant such things, he could not be excused on the plea that, 'after all, perhaps he was not a family man.' It is impossible to believe in the existence of such a dolt as he would have been."‡ Was the inspired writer, then, a dolt who tells us that the days of Methuselah were 969 years? And yet the one is as credible, or as absurd, as the other. Was he, too, a dolt who informs us that Absalom rebelled against David for forty years? The reckless abuse of numbers in the one case would suffice to stigmatise the inspired writer as a dolt, according to Father Clarke, who feels that his Catholic readers will hesitate before calling an inspired writer by that name. But the moment the same apologist is convinced that even the least critical of his readers must admit that many of these writers let their imaginations run wild in the sphere of numbers, and vie with the ancient Hindoos in a way which brings an incredulous smile to the lips of a schoolboy, then, instead of the writer being a dolt, the reader is respectfully requested to assume that unenviable rôle, and the apologist entrenches himself behind a euphemism. "So, to take another class of facts," remarks Father Clarke, "*numbers must be expected to be used Orientally.*" Does this mean correctly, or incorrectly? we ask. Incorrectly, is the gist of the rev. gentleman's reply. "All those seventies and forties—for example, as where Absalom is said to have rebelled against David for forty years—*cannot possibly be meant numerically.*" Then they exactly correspond to what we are wont to term false and incorrect, and the Papal Encyclical is a calamitous mistake. Fancy the God of truth, omniscient and omnipotent, defending Himself against the accusation of spreading error and falsehood, and having no better answer to the terrible charge than that He *must be expected to use numbers Orientally!* The Creator

amounted to considerably over two millions. Can it be that the Jesuit Fathers were ignorant of this? And if they knew it . . .

* *Civiltà Cattolica*, May 21, 1894, p. 556.

† "He who proves too much proves nothing."

‡ CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, July 1894.

of the universe becomes the author of a book which is so perfect as to be absolutely free from error of every description, and yet His indulgent readers have to be requested not to pry too closely into His numbers! And the very backbone of the section of the Bible which we are engaged in examining—the Priests' Code—is made up mainly of numbers.

But the responsibility for these “blasphemous” imputations lies less with the advocate than with his brief. It is a difficult task for firemen to quench a conflagration if they are prohibited from approaching the spot where the fire broke out and where the inflammable material is heaped up in abundance. The truth is that the blunder in question, like hundreds of others which resemble it, is just such a one as a Jewish priest writing, as the author of Numbers iii. wrote, *after the Babylonian Captivity*,* was peculiarly liable to commit. The problem to be solved lies far deeper, therefore, than any of the difficulties of detail in which it abounds. The true solution is to be sought in the recognition of the fact that the Priests' Code could no more have been written in the days of Moses, of the Judges, or of the Kings, than the Statute of Winchester could have been enacted in the reign of King Æthelberht. And no honest man of normal mental capacity, who studies Wellhausen's proofs of this thesis, Bible in hand, will deny that the Priests' Code testifies to a degree of ignorance of Jewish history which can be matched only by the ignorance of Holy Scriptures manifested by Catholics of our own days.†

But let us now return to arithmetic, of which, as we have seen, there are three kinds: profane arithmetic for the ordinary run of mankind, Catholic arithmetic for our co-religionists, and Oriental arithmetic reserved for God alone, in His capacity of the sole Author of the Bible. The text under consideration runs thus (Numbers iii. 40):

“And the Lord said unto Moses, Number all the first-born of the males of the children of Israel from a month old and upward, and take the number of their names. (41) And Moses numbered, as the Lord commanded him, all the first-born among the children of Israel. (43) And all the first-born males by the number of names, from a month old and upward, of those that were numbered of them were twenty and two thousand two hundred and three score and thirteen.”

The words are exceptionally clear and precise. God does not say: Number all the first-born who came into the world during any particular period or since any memorable event, as Father Clarke

* B.C. 458, approximatively.

† The Rev. Father Lucas concludes his two articles in the *Month* with one of those side strokes (*Seitenhiebe*) which Father Nisius, S.J., alludes to with evident delight: “In conclusion, I would suggest that whereas a knowledge of Hebrew and a spirit of reverence are both necessary for the deeper study of the Bible, of the two, reverence is more indispensable than Hebrew” (*Month*, July 1894, p. 351). This is good news for Catholics, who deeply reverence the Bible, as Mgr. d'Hulst has told us, “from afar and without troubling themselves about its contents.”

inspires Him to say, but "*all the first-born of the male children of Israel from a month old and upward.*" And the result was found to be 22,273, exactly to the very units. This gives rather less than 50,000 first-born male and female; but to put the matter in the most favourable possible way for our adversaries, let us say 50,000 of both sexes. Now the army, composed of men of twenty years and upwards, is put down likewise in very precise numbers at 603,555.* But as the army did not exhaust the nation, we cannot perform that "most simple sum in division" until we have found out the number of people that did. It contained only men of twenty and upward. There were also men under twenty among the Hebrews, and their number may be estimated at 300,000 at the very least.† So that the entire population amounted at least to 2,000,000. And it is gravely affirmed by the inspired writer of Numbers iii. that among those 2,000,000 the first-born males were only 22,273 all told, and consequently the total of first-born males *and* females amounted to no more than 50,000 at the very most. Now is the time for that "most simple sum in division." Divide two millions by 50,000 and the quotient is forty. An average Hebrew mother then, in those good old times, was blessed with forty olive branches. Whether the writer who is responsible for this curious narrative was a dolt may be left to Father Clarke to determine, but assuredly he was not an Occidental arithmetician; and we cannot be justly accused of disrespect if we find him guilty of infringing upon the privilege to which he had no claim, of using numbers Orientaly.

The wives of that uxorious patriarch, Esau, are gallantly defended by the same apologist, who gives them credit for ideal qualities rarely found in the spouses of a polygamist. They *might*, he alleges, have had several names, and one might take the name of the other. As an absolute proposition, the plea may stand. The early kings of Rome *might* have reigned and ruled there, and we should possibly still believe that they did, had not Niebuhr written his book. Father Clarke then goes on to say that there was "nothing extraordinary in Mahalath taking on her marriage the name Basmath, if an earlier wife, perhaps dead by that time, had previously been called by it." But the misfortune is that the earlier wife did not die by that time. In those halcyon days wives had a habit of living for whole centuries at a stretch. Indeed the inspired writer himself is careful to remark: "Then went Esau unto Ishmael and *took unto the wives which he had* Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, Abraham's son."‡ It will not be gainsaid that there was a considerable dose of human nature in Hebrew women of patriarchal times, and their squabbles, wranglings, and petty jealousies, as recorded by Holy Writ, hardly

* Num. i. 46.

† It must have been considerably more, but I wish to state the case with all possible moderation.

‡ Gen. xxviii. 9.

warrant us in supposing that one wife would feel impelled to honour her rival by taking her name. She would possibly much sooner take her life, if she could do so with impunity; for, as Solomon assures us, who spoke with the knowledge of bitter experience: "Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave."

To another question of mine Father Clarke offers a reply which the easy-going reader will admit has a very reasonable ring about it. Having expressed our regret that theologians would not disprove, nor his Holiness expressly tolerate or condemn, the principal theses of Bible criticism, I wrote: "If our contention is false, let it be publicly refuted by arguments; if heretical, let it be solemnly condemned by an infallible decree. Out of the present difficulty there is no third issue." Father Clarke now replies thus: "These are words not of an essentially unreasonable, but (at the same time) of an impatient man; for, as a matter of fact, there is a third issue—the very old and familiar one, 'Let it be threshed out.'" This, in the mouth of a theologian, is a very rational suggestion, provided always that the theologian in question was unaware when he made it of the all-important fact, that Catholic scholars who presume to act upon it and thresh the question out are themselves threshed out with a thoroughness usually reserved for heresiarchs. And this is a fact of which it is difficult to be ignorant. Most educated Catholics know that when the Rev. Canon Salvatore di Bartolo began the threshing-out process his book * was put on the Index and sealed with seven seals to all good Catholics; that when Canon Berta† and Rev. Father Savi‡ tried their hands they were vigorously abused by Catholic critics, and effectively silenced by the papal Encyclical; that, when Monseigneur d'Hulst§ set himself to perform the work, in the softest of kid gloves, he was denounced by Rev. Father Brucker, S.J., and summoned to Rome, where he speedily lost his taste for essays on Bible Criticism; that the contribution to the question by the eminent pious Catholic scholar, Lenormant,|| was removed from Catholic eyes and placed upon the Index, and that Abbé Loisy, late Professor at the "free" Catholic University of Paris, was first deprived of his chairs and then ignominiously expelled from the University for a series of writings which were lauded by his superiors and have never even been prohibited.¶ And last and not least, my own humble efforts have drawn forth a torrent of invective from Father Clarke's brethren in Rome, the professional defenders of the Pope, which makes me quake at the

* "I Criteri Teologici."

† "Dei cinque libri Mosaici," Torino, 1892.

‡ *Science Catholique*, 1893, p. 296.

§ "La Question Biblique," cf. *Le Correspondant*, Janvier 25, 1893.

|| "Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible et les Traditions des peuples orientaux."

¶ His principal writings were enumerated and the story of his expulsion narrated by me in this *Review*, August, 1894, pp. 296-303.

blood-curdling thought that occasionally flits across my mind : What if God, when our souls appear before Him after death, should prove to be a Catholic theologian ?

The soothing consciousness of a generous and humane action must be purchasable at very easy rates indeed if it can be had by opening their cages to the birds whose wings we have carefully clipped. But in the case of the human sufferers it is hardly commendable to add to the pain of captivity the poignancy of calumny as Father Clarke, doubtless unwittingly, does. "The Abbé Loisy," he tells us, "appears to have carried the theory of partial inspiration to dangerous lengths." Surely not. But the reader had best be left to judge whether it was advisable to prefer a charge of this nature against a scholar who having been degraded and trodden under foot by the theologians whom he endeavoured to befriend, is now condemned to silence. In his *Essay on the Bible Question and the Inspiration of Scripture* he absolutely and utterly rejects the theory of partial inspiration, and adds : "Neither the Fathers of the Church nor the Doctors of the Middle Ages ever dreamt that there could be inspired and uninspired parts in the Bible, and no such distinction is authorised by the definitions either of the Council of Trent or of the Vatican. The Church has never conceived of the Bible as of a mosaic, in which fragments of human error are set side by side with fragments of divine truth."* If Father Clarke had read this essay he must evidently have interpreted it according to the principles of "hermeneutics" ; and if he had not, is not his accusation the action, not indeed of an essentially unreasonable, but (at the same time) of an impatient man who judges and condemns a colleague's published teachings without having read them ? But the inspired writers have quite as much to complain of in this respect as Abbé Loisy, and it would be presumptuous on the part of a mere French ecclesiastic to ask that his asseverations should be treated with greater consideration than the inspired Word of God. Thus Father Clarke deems it essential to the efficacy of one of his replies to my objections to state categorically that the Prophet Jeremiah "did not belong to the sacerdotal order." Accustomed from my youth to hold the contrary opinion on a question concerning which I was unaware that there could be any dispute, I turned to the evidence of Jeremiah himself, and found in the very first verse of the very first chapter of that prophet's writings the categorical statement that he did belong to the sacerdotal order. And it is hardly too much to affirm that Jeremiah must have known better even than Father Clarke.

But it is not priests and prophets only who have thus suffered in order that his Holiness the Pope should come forth unscathed from the severe and superfluous ordeal through which he is actually passing. The Divine Author of Holy Writ Himself is continually presented to

* "*La Question Biblique et l'Inspiration des Ecritures*," p. 4. Paris. 1893.

us in a light in which we should be loth to place our bitterest enemy. An example will illustrate my meaning. I wrote: "According to Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, Moses enacted numerous laws regulating burnt-offerings and sacrifices, which laws we must believe to have been inspired by God. And yet Jehovah Himself, speaking through His prophet Jeremiah, declares most emphatically that He never gave any directions whatever about burnt-offerings and sacrifices" (Jer. vii. 22).^{*} The Jesuits endeavour to explain away this contradiction by the help of two distinctions: firstly, what God meant is that He did not demand sacrifices *only*; and, secondly, that when He denies that He commanded them, He was careful to add, "in the day that I brought them out of Egypt." With regard to the first plea, I will only ask Father Clarke what he would think of the parish priest or bishop who should say to his flock: "It is not the will of God that you should hear mass, confess, and communicate; He wills that you should love your neighbour and avoid all manner of wickedness"? The second contention clashes with common sense no less than with the respect due, even from apologists, to Holy Writ. What Jehovah seeks to impress upon the minds of His people is that He wants not their sacrifices and burnt-offerings, but only justice, truth, and clean living; and to enforce this lesson He reminds them that in olden times—"in the day that I brought them out of Egypt"—He gave no directions about sacrifices and offerings. Now if this means that He did give such commands, only not in the day that He brought them out of Egypt, His argument is not worth a green fig. The literary man who would argue in this way would, to use Father Clarke's emphatic expression, be regarded as a dolt. And yet we are asked to say that God Himself reasoned thus, because otherwise the Pope's Encyclical must be held to have been a mistake. Much as we revere the Sovereign Pontiff we honour God still more and hearken to the dictates of our consciences, which forbid us to write of Him thus recklessly with "blasphemous pen."

¶ The Slough of Despond, the Serbonian Bog of arbitrary, absurd, and irreligious hypotheses, through which we are thus forced to wade, risking the salvation of our souls, in order to keep the Papal Encyclical afloat, may well cause the conscientious to murmur and the indifferent to hesitate, more especially if they bear in mind that when

^{*} It is impossible here to analyse every one of the solutions suggested by every one of the authors of the numerous replies to my paper, but I cannot refrain from alluding to the attempt made to smooth over the contradiction between Lev. xix. 5 and Lev. xxii. 29. There is no doubt that these texts may be harmonised according to Lev. vii. 15, 16; but neither is there any doubt that the word *shelem* in Lev. xix. 5, which forms part of the Laws of Holiness dating from the Babylonian Captivity is a general designation comprising *all* kinds of thank-offerings. There is absolutely no ground for the opinion of our apologists that in this place it signifies only a sacrifice offered for the purpose of obtaining a future grace. In Lev. xxii. 29 we have a later addition, intended to harmonise Lev. xix. 5 with Lev. vii., which belongs to the post-exilian Priests' Code. Readers who feel interested in the discussion will find all the needful information in Benzinger's "Hebräische Archäologie," page 446.

this ordeal is over their real troubles begin. For the thesis that there are errors in the Bible is no longer in need of proofs, is never, in fact, seriously discussed or alluded to by any genuine critic; he would as soon think of questioning the Semitic character of the Hebrew tongue. The facts are so plain and palpable that the denial of them by contemporary theologians amazes us infinitely more than their emphatic recognition will astonish our children. The real question at issue, which these secondary matters only serve to obscure, is not whether there are errors in the Bible, thousands of which could be strung together at a few hours' notice, but whether the entire "Mosaic" legislation of the Priests' Code had any existence in fact or in theory before the end of the Babylonian Captivity. And to this we answer, as our opponents or their successors will also one day answer, that it had not.

And yet for the sake of reconciling contradictions in mere details which leave the main issue unaffected, we are asked to re-write history, to reform arithmetic, to modify philology, and to turn chronology and geography into cabalistic exercises. Thus, Father Lucas, S.J.,* trusts we may acquiesce in the view that the name Sargon is philologically identical with Enemessar, into which it was gradually transformed, much as the French word *cheval* was derived, by the Gascon, from *ἔππος*, the first syllable, *ἔπ*, being changed into *che*, and *πος* into *val*. In order to make room between 2 Kings xviii. 9 and xviii. 13 for Sargon's reign of seventeen years, the same apologist asks us kindly to take it for granted that the number 14 in verse 13 is a blunder, or that the date in the first verse in Isaiah xxxvi. was transposed thither from Isaiah xxxviii. 1, in consequence of which, and in order to remove all traces of the misleading change, another transposition, still more misleading, had to be effected—viz., the fourteen years of Hezekiah were also transferred from 2 Kings xx. 1 to xviii. 13.†

Further, in order to uphold the historical authority of the Book of Judith, lately thrown overboard by the Rev. Professor Scholz, of Würzburg,‡ he requests us to accept the serviceable hypothesis of multiple names and corrupt texts, because "the Deutero-canonical books have been liable in a pre-eminent degree to textual corruption."§ We must also dutifully hold that Belshazzar, who was admittedly Nabonned's son, may "rightly be called" the son of Nabuchodonosor,

* The *Month*, July 1894, p. 343.

† *Op. cit.* pp. 345, 346.

‡ Professor Scholz is a zealous Catholic ecclesiastic, and a defender of the Papal Encyclical, but he professes a sentiment akin to hatred for the tactics of the apologists of the *Civiltà Cattolica*. In the current number of the *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* he writes: "In my reply to the (Jesuits' Review) *Stimmen*, I challenged them to verify the history of the Book of Judith, and to explain the book on the basis of history. Although the obscurity that formerly enveloped the period in question has been dispelled, and although the *Stimmen* dispose of the services of good Assyriologists, no reply has yet been vouchsafed, nor will any be given in the future" (p. 421).

§ The *Month*, July 1894, p. 349.

because, forsooth, Belshazzar's mother *may* have been Nabuchodonosor's daughter, if, indeed, this king ever had a daughter, in which case Belshazzar, being Nabuchodonosor's grandson, might "rightly" be termed his son. Then, in order to keep Baruch (i. 11) afloat on the treacherous waters of criticism, we are expected to hold that, besides that possible daughter, he further had a son unknown to history—the fruit of the affection of our theologians for his Holiness the Pope—and that the Belshazzar of Baruch was a very different man from the Belshazzar of Daniel.* And when we have recklessly mixed up old names and created new ones, and commanded dead kings and princes to increase and multiply and replenish the blank pages of unwritten history, and have successfully assimilated the wildly improbable hypotheses of our theologians, we arrive at a result which will surprise and shock our co-religionists in England and on the Continent—viz., the conviction that the unerring Bible contains passages of "unauthorised redaction," that many an important text was "extruded from its original place," and "a fresh introduction" written, in order to lead up to the altered statements and render the true indistinguishable from the false. And it is to score this sorry victory that our apologists contradict each other, "set truth at defiance, do violence to Holy Writ," and sail dangerously close to blasphemy.

Nor do the drawbacks of their system end here. Whatever concessions our theologians may deem advisable to make to physical science, they feel bound at all costs to uphold the infallibility of the Bible in every question related to history, divine and profane. History to them is the keystone in the arch of the scriptural edifice. Once shake men's confidence in the truth of the historical narrative, and you have completely undermined their trust in the authority of Holy Writ. Hence some of them, willing to sacrifice a part to save the whole, are ready to admit that Judith may be but a parable—possibly of the category which a schoolboy once defined as a heavenly story with no earthly meaning. It would be impossible in a REVIEW article to set forth the weighty, and to my mind conclusive, arguments which militate against the trustworthiness of most of the "historical" narratives of the Old Testament, and the whole of the story told by the Priests' Code. Fortunately, however, it is also needless, seeing that neither Wellhausen nor Kuenen has so seriously damaged the historical trustworthiness of the inspired writings as the theologians who now profess to uphold it.

* It will not be amiss to refer here to the Chaldean name of Daniel, Belteshazzar, said by the inspired author to contain the name of a god. Father Lucas says that Father Strassmaier thinks it contains the word *Belit*, which, being feminine, would be the name of a goddess; and that Father Strassmaier is a more eminent Assyriologist than I am. Undoubtedly he is; but that man must be a very poor Hebrew, or Aramaic, scholar who identifies the first two syllables in Belteshazzar with Belit, seeing that the dental consonant in the former word is *teth*, whereas in the latter it is *tau*, the termination of the feminine gender.

The two vital elements of history are chronology and the proper names of people and places, and a book which is untrustworthy in these can have no claim to be regarded as historical. And such a book is the Bible, on the showing of Catholic apologists themselves. They assure us that the scriptural names of places and persons are no guide to identity, because everybody and everything possessed a multiplicity of appellations; so that seemingly different places, even though seven stations distant from each other, are one and the same, while names which apparently denote the same district really belong to places *toto cælo* different. It is exactly the same with persons; every Hebrew man and woman possessed more names than a royal baby or a Spanish beggar, and yet somehow any number of people seem to have been known by one and the same cognomen. And as for chronology, it is a wild-goose chase to seek for it in the Bible, which takes greater credit to itself for precise data, including even odd units in a number of six figures, than the contemporary returns of the Census Commissioners. In the Book of Numbers, "a systematic alteration of a whole series of figures" is admitted by our English Catholic apologists as possible; * in Genesis considerable "blundering" in the method of computation is recognised as a fact, and "some one" is accused of having added or subtracted "100 to or from every one of a whole series of age computations,"† nay, "a systematic and repeated addition or subtraction of five has taken place in Numbers iv.;" and "the hypothesis of a systematic multiplication of items—say by 10 or 100"—should "also be admitted as within the bounds of possibility."‡ And this is the book, the historical narrative of which is systematically maintained *per fas et per nefas* at a cost to propriety, morality, and religion which would cause the average heathen to shudder.

Summing up the account of the matter given by our Italian and English apologists, we find that what it comes to in ultimate analysis is this. It pleased God to issue a message to mankind, "*Epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creaturam*," and to enshrine it in a book, the only book of which He is the author. His scribes being imperfect men, He wrought miracles upon miracles for the sole purpose of preserving the message pure and undefiled by the breath of error, as it passed through these human channels. So marvellous were these miracles, that when the Prophets gave expression to the current errors of their age, they were so completely in the power of divine grace that the terms they employed are even at the present day found to dovetail with the formulas of physical science.§

If we inquire why it was necessary that the Bible should be thus

* The Month, July 1894, p. 340.

† *Ibidem*.

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ Cf. Monseigneur d'Hulst, *Le Correspondant*, 25 Janvier, 1893.

exempt from all error, the answer is equally satisfactory: by reason of its origin and author; because God, whose Church is an assembly of sinners and saints, whose fields are divided between tares and wheat, whose sun shines upon the wicked and the upright, and whose world is a web of evil and of good, could not possibly be the author of a book disfigured by even one single error. Search creation high and low, everything we find bears traces of imperfection. The only absolutely faultless, truly perfect work known to man is the Bible. Therefore, and also because it was meet that His message to His creatures should bear His signature in its every page, visible to him who reads as he runs, did God resort to a series of extraordinary miracles, in order to hinder the ignorance or stupidity of His human instruments from thwarting the divine will.

And yet the work which He thus willed should be perfect has come to His creatures in a lamentable state of corruption. Texts have changed their places and now convey false notions of events to the guileless reader; "mistakes may have been made in the arrangement of MSS., a prophetic fragment by one author may have been tacked on without a separate heading to a prophecy by another,"* "fresh introductions have been written to weld these fragments together;" "systematic additions and subtractions" took place, and "pragmatical persons" "tampered with the text."† And this in spite of the numerous miracles wrought by God to preserve that text free from all admixture of error. The reason is because, as Father Lucas tells us, "some one has blundered very systematically."‡

We who so sadly needed an infallible divine message that numerous miracles were performed in order to secure it to us, find that we have to content ourselves in the end with a lamentably corrupt text and extravagant data which have to be multiplied or divided by a number or numbers still unknown.§ Now we could well afford to let the matter rest there and piously resign ourselves to the inevitable. But over and above all this we are asked to believe firmly and gratefully that we are actually in possession of the perfect book, the non-existence of which has been so satisfactorily explained. In other words, we are treated like the man who, having called for Swiss cheese with his bread and butter at the restaurant, received none but was charged for it in the bill, and on his demanding an explanation was told that the cheese was duly cut, but that the part that had fallen to his lot was one of the holes. If now, coming to the main

* Cf. Father Clarke's article, from which I am now quoting, in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, July 1894.

† The *Month*, July, 1894, p. 340.

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ If we do not know the right divisors or multipliers, it is not at all necessary that we should; for as Father Lucas teaches us: "The defenders of the Bible are not called upon—so far as the principles of logic are concerned—to establish this or that particular solution of the difficulty; it is sufficient to point out that there may be a way out of it."—The *Month*, June, 1894, p. 157.

issue, we interrogate our apologists as to the identity of the "some one who blundered," we are informed that in no case was it the Divine Author who vainly resorted to miracles in order to preserve His work from all admixture of human error. The text was tampered with by "pragmatical persons" only. True, He, too, speaks in the current phraseology of the day, *more humano*, to His creatures. Not that there was any intention to mislead. *Absit omen*. Besides we Catholics are absolutely guaranteed in that respect, seeing that we have an infallible Church to inform us where these *more humano* locutions come in. It is true that this Church unanimously and emphatically taught that when God spoke of the sun standing still upon Gibeon and the moon in the valley of Ajalon, He meant it literally and not *more humano*, and it is equally true that this unanimous and erroneous teaching misled mankind for centuries, endangered the life of Galileo, and was first corrected by the very men who are denounced as heretics or infidels. But that, too, can be satisfactorily explained to all who have time to listen and docility to believe.

But God Himself used numbers *Orientially*, says Father Clarke, and *must* indeed be expected to employ them thus. Doubtlessly Thomas Aquinas, had he been aware of the fact, would have shown that it could not be otherwise. And when He speaks of thousands and tens of thousands, we must listen with pious scepticism, wondering in respectful silence how many figures we must knock off. "All those seventies and forties cannot possibly be meant numerically." Then they are errors? No, not precisely errors, because not intended to mislead. That they did mislead mankind—the Church included—for thousands of years, and were first shown to be wrong by Rationalists, does not affect the question.

Now, in the language in which a spade is called a spade, statements which do not correspond with reality, which are calculated to mislead, and which have actually misled the world for hundreds of generations, are errors, pure and simple. If they are not called by this name in the works of our English apologists, it is because these theologians are debarred from speaking plainly by the Encyclical of the Pope. What I asserted, therefore, in my paper on that Encyclical is now admitted by all my English adversaries—viz., that what we invariably term errors, if found in a book written by a mortal, are truths when met with in the Word of God. But, lest I should be suspected of exaggerating, or of attempting to foist upon my opponents a conclusion which, though the logical outcome of their own principles, they perhaps hesitate to draw, I may say at once that the organ of Catholic orthodoxy in England, the *Tablet*, has crossed its t's, and formulated this proposition in language as lucid as the most formal lawyer could desire. God's message, says the reverend writer, was :

"*Epistola omnipotentis Dei ad creaturam*, and was to be interpreted by the context of the divine consciousness, and not by the context of the man's finite and (as it might happen when he was not a sacred writer and a divine instrument) erring consciousness. It is marvellous, therefore, to find a correspondent last week writing as if the declarations of the sacred writer could be interpreted by any one, as if they proceeded from their human consciousness—as if what would have involved error, if spoken from a merely human standpoint; would imply it when spoken out of the consciousness of God." *

Is it not a dreary and disheartening sight to behold, in the face of these admissions, our Pope and our apologists, our prophet and our guides, wasting their time and their energies churning curds in the hope that they may turn them to cream? Unless judicious concessions to truth are made while there is yet time, and made not by individuals who "have no man's proxy," but by the teaching Church and its visible Head, it is greatly to be feared that Catholicism, within which the tide of disintegration is already running high, will soon answer to the pessimistic description of humanity given by the Arabic poet:†

"Its types of men are two : gifted the one with faith,
But wholly lacking reason ;
In judgment rich the other, whose faith
Has vanished into air."

THE AUTHOR OF "THE POLICY OF THE POPE."

* The Tablet, May 12, 1894, p. 723.

† Abū-l'alā Ma'arri.

POSSIBLE DEVELOPMENTS IN NAVAL ARMAMENT.

THERE are few subjects more frequently thought and spoken of at the present day than our Navy, its duties, and its ability to discharge them. And yet there are few on which expert opinion has (until quite recently) been so much divided, or on which the ideas of the general public are still so confused and imperfect. That the ideas of those who do not make it a special study to follow the rapid development of an abstruse and technical subject should be confused and imperfect, is not surprising; that experts should have been divided in opinion is still less surprising, if we remember the magnitude and complexity of the questions requiring solution. It is after all not very long since the contest between gun and armour first began, and although its issue was never doubtful, still the result was long, and may yet be to some extent considered as indefinite; and it is only quite recently that any general consensus of opinion has been attained as to the relative values of the gun, the ram, and the torpedo. Of late years it has become tolerably clear—thanks in great measure to the manœuvres of our own and foreign navies, and in some degree also to deplorable accidents—that the ram exposes the assailant to great risk, though it is the most deadly of all weapons when successfully used; and that the torpedo is too short in its range, too difficult to aim from underwater tubes, and too dangerous to the users if used in battle above the water-line, to be more than a subsidiary weapon. However deadly the ram or torpedo may be against an enemy already crippled, however great the chances which may be offered to either weapon in a *mêlée*, it seems to be clear that for the general purposes of battle the gun is still the master weapon. Nor is this result greatly altered if we consider the three weapons as distributed each to its own special craft instead of being combined in one ship. The

"handy ram" recently advocated in the press might occasionally seize an opportunity in the chances of a general engagement, and might find her rôle in destroying disabled enemies; but for most purposes she would be so handicapped by her want of guns as to be rather a source of anxiety than an assistance to her own fleet. The torpedo craft, however formidable at night or in fog and in smooth water, is either at a disadvantage in a seaway, or must be made so big as to lose all the distinctive merits of her class. It must be added that, if the performances of the *Almirante Lynch* are to be taken as a criterion, the danger of torpedo attack to an alert and well-armed ship would appear to be somewhat over-estimated.

But as soon as it is decided that the gun is to be the main weapon, the problem before the naval architect and naval tactician is greatly simplified. The chief aim of both must be to secure a concentrated and sustained fire at effective ranges, and especially at close quarters; to this end all manœuvres must be directed, and for this purpose all battleships and cruisers must be primarily designed. In order to concentrate fire the guns, or as large a proportion of them as possible, must be capable of being trained upon a common mark; in order to sustain the fire the crews and necessary mechanism of the guns must be protected in some way, either by armour, by fire-power, or by a combination of both; and in order to take advantage of effective ranges, and still more to prevail at close quarters, the fire must be quick.

These principles were admirably realised in the great fleet recently built under the Naval Defence Act. Naturally the ships have found their severest critics in this country; but the value of the criticisms is shown by the fact that since they were designed every ship built either for Great Britain or for foreign Powers has more or less conformed to the same type; even the French designers have given up in their latest designs their former plan of gun stations, and have adopted one very slightly differing from that of the *Royal Sovereign*. In this type ample protection is furnished for the mechanism and crews of the "primary" armament of 13½" or 10" guns, while the requisite quickness and volume of fire is provided by a heavy "intermediate" or "secondary" armament of 6" or 4" quick-firing guns, the crews of which are protected partly by armour but mainly by the fire-power of their ship.

From this brief statement of the merits of the type, its defects are obvious at a glance. The primary armament is after all the main weapon of the ship, and its fire is still slow notwithstanding a notable improvement within the past two years. The secondary armament consequently assumes an undue importance, but the guns and their crews appear insufficiently protected for the serious work expected of them. Let us examine these two points with some care.

The rate of fire of the primary armament of the *Royal Sovereign* is said to be one shot per gun in every two minutes. Since she was built improvements have been introduced by the great Elswick firm which in newer ships will increase the rate to two shots per gun in every three minutes. Now, supposing the fleet-speed of a homogeneous fleet in battle to be fifteen knots and the effective range to be 2000 yards and under, it follows that when two opposing fleets meet each other, each moving at this speed in opposite directions, they will be within effective range for two minutes or so only; and consequently that at the critical moment of an action only one, or at the most two, shots per gun can be delivered. And yet it is by these shots alone that the telling blows which will effectually disable an armoured ship can be given; no amount of "peppering" with 4" or 6" guns can rival the decisive effect of a single shot in a vital spot from a 12" or 13" gun, however great the damage which it may do to upper works and unarmoured ends.

This difficulty has hitherto been met to a certain extent by the practice of mounting the primary armament in couples; a plan which obviously doubles the weight of the guns, to say nothing of the fittings and armour, and is one great reason why such huge dimensions are required in modern battleships. And the mere increase in the size of the ship is not the only inconvenience. It is clear that the greater the weight of guns and armour, the less the height above the water-line at which it can be carried without imperilling the stability of the ship; and yet the demand in the service is continually to increase the height at which the guns are mounted. And for this demand there are two very sufficient reasons: a ship with her guns high above the water can work them in a running sea which would render them useless if mounted lower; and a gun mounted at some height is needed even at close quarters in order to attack deck armour.

The crews working the heavy guns are at present well protected, but this is very far from being the case with the secondary armament. The crews of the 4" or 6" guns are protected at most by a steel casemate immediately surrounding the gun, but in the majority of instances merely by a small steel shield. For the men at work about the decks there is no protection whatever; the sole protection for them and the main protection for the crews of the guns is found in the fire-power of the ship. In fact, the principle adopted is that expressed in the pithy words attributed to Lord Charles Beresford: "We don't want to tell an enemy 'you can't hurt us'; we want to be able to tell him 'we can hurt you.'"

Now this principle is sound beyond all question, but, like all other sound principles, it may be pressed too far. It is when thus pressed exactly the principle of Grant's military arithmetic, which at Cold Harbour cost him the battle and a third of his army, and in any

other circumstances would have cost him the other two-thirds and the Union cause as well. And if a ship with her crowded decks as little protected as they are in our present style of building were pitted against an antagonist somewhat inferior in armament but better protected, it is suggested that the result would not be greatly different from that of hurling Grant's men against Lee's earthworks. Even if the two ships were fairly equal in protection, the first chance advantage would destroy the balance; and then it would be hopeless to expect a well-sustained and effective fire from crews working in the midst of a human shambles and choked with the fumes of bursting shells. Yet it is precisely upon this well-sustained and effective fire from the secondary armament that a great part of the fighting efficiency of the ship depends.

In order to meet this difficulty the armour protection for the secondary armament has been increased in the most recent designs, but it cannot be said that the result is very different: indeed, in the most recently published French designs the protection seems to be just enough, and not more than enough, to make even moderate-sized shells unfailingly burst inboard. And there can be little doubt that really efficient armour protection for the secondary armament would be so weighty as greatly to affect the qualities of the ship in other respects, and therefore that the true solution is not to be found in piling steel on the ship's sides.

In battles on land soldiers are exposed to heavy fire; they cannot have armour, and accordingly they seek other shelter either in the objects around them or in the rifle-pit or shelter-trench according to circumstances. It is difficult to see why like causes should not produce like effects at sea. Sailors exposed to far heavier fire and unable to deploy into extended order certainly need shelter just as much as soldiers; they cannot be sheltered behind earth, but they may be behind water. In other words, they may be withdrawn to the armour or platform deck, where they will be protected by the belt-armour and bunkers, just as the soldier is protected by his trench or breastwork.

The objection will at once be raised that this means teaching the men to skulk; but the objection seems not to bear examination. It is not commonly supposed that there was much skulking at St. Privat or at Plevna; and it is not easy to see why the withdrawal of the gunners of the secondary armament should teach the men generally to skulk, any more than enclosing the gunners of the primary armament in an iron box. It is not requisite that the ship's company should be wholly withdrawn from the upper works; all that is required is that the effective fire of the secondary armament shall be less liable than it now is to be crippled by the destruction of its crews.

But if the crews are withdrawn behind the belt armour, the guns

must remain where they are. No form of disappearing carriage has yet been invented that can give the requisite length of vertical travel; and if it had been, it would necessitate a considerable weight of armour to protect its long bearers while the gun was in the firing position. Besides the great length of modern guns—40 calibres and upwards—is an insuperable obstacle to the use of disappearing carriages at sea. Therefore if the crews are withdrawn, the guns must work without them; that is to say, they must be fitted with gear which shall be automatic, or at least self-regulating. They can then be laid from any convenient distance, and the work of the crews on the armour or platform deck will be confined to feeding the ammunition lift.

This is by no means so impossible as it appears at first sight. The recoil force of any gun is far more than sufficient to work the gun if properly employed; in all patterns of quick-firing guns it is stored by means of helical steel springs, and thus is utilised to return the gun instantly to the firing point; and it is also utilised by the Elswick firm to open and close the breech. So far automatic gear has already got beyond the experimental stage; what is now required is some simple and handy arrangement which shall instantly bring the charge to the loading position when required, and not before, and as quickly run it home, and yet shall permit the training and elevating to be absolutely continuous, so that the aim may be kept steadily on the mark without reference to the working of the gear. In this way any desirable rate and great precision of fire could be assured; the main difficulty would appear to be in making the gear simple, and not liable to get out of order, and in keeping it effectually sheltered behind shields no larger than those now in use. The problem is serious, but with the example of Maxim before them, engineers will hardly regard it as insoluble.

But this reasoning is not confined to the secondary armament. Already the helical springs and automatic breech gear are in use for the 8" and 10" guns, and it is proposed to apply them to the new 12" wire gun. In fact, the difference between the mountings of the primary and secondary armament is already one of size and not of principle, and any automatic gear which could be used for a 6" gun could without difficulty be adapted to the 12" gun. And thus the grave defect of the primary armament could be remedied, and the same advantage could be conferred on the ship by the use of automatic gear as is conferred on the soldier by the magazine rifle. It is not suggested that a 12" automatic gun would ever be used *pour lancer une pluie de fer* like the Maxim; but it is suggested that it would confer precisely that reserve of fire-power at the critical instant which is the greatest want of our ships at present. If this want were supplied there would be no longer any need of coupling

the guns ; the crew might be removed to the platform deck, and thus the need of armoured loading stations raised far above the water-line might be avoided ; and the weight of the secondary armament might be lessened as the rate of fire of the primary armament was increased.

Thus by the use of gear of a fairly uniform type—in itself no small advantage—the present defects would be remedied. A great increase in the fighting power of the ship might be combined with a great saving in weight both of guns and armour ; and this saving would enable the guns to be carried at a higher level in a smaller ship. In fact it seems hardly too much to say that if a *Centurion* with her 10,500 tons displacement were re-armed with two 12" and four 6" automatic guns with their crews well sheltered by her belt armour, she would be a match for the *Majestic* as at present designed and armed, notwithstanding her four 12" and twelve 6" guns and her 14,900 tons displacement.

These suggestions have within the writer's own knowledge been worked out into a detailed scheme, which has met with approval from practical men of great experience ; and, whatever may be the ultimate fate of that particular scheme, he believes that in some shape or other they will speedily be realised.

JAMES EASTWICK.

IF CHRIST CAME TO CHICAGO."

NO injustice can be done in classing this work with the literature of sensation. So much its very title announces. By most of its readers it will have been bought, not with a view to social instruction or edification, but as a spicy revelation of the scandals of Chicago. Sensationalism may be a legitimate line, but it is not favourable to matter-of-fact statement or strict justice. If Chicago becomes its theme and is portrayed to the world as a Sodom, honeycombed by the most loathsome vice, she cannot be expected to forget that when a sensational journal some time ago filled English society with most hideous suspicions, and proof of the facts was demanded, no proof was forthcoming, but a case manufactured for the purpose by means which brought it under the cognisance of public justice. It is impossible to think that the effect upon Nineveh was in every respect what the preacher desired.

The title, we cannot help thinking, is likely to place the reader at a false point of view. If Jesus of Nazareth did come to Chicago, He would see what never presented itself to His eyes, or, so far as we know, to His thoughts. The scenes of His preaching were the lake-shores and hillsides, amid the oleanders and the lilies of His paternal Galilee. Commercial life and civilisation never came into His field of view. If He saw Tyre and Sidon, the sight left no impression on His mind. At Jerusalem His attention was confined to the Temple, the magnificent buildings of which He seems, as Renan says, to have regarded with little favour. The society in which He moved was a society of peasants, apparently poor and suffering, with many sick, and, when it followed its teacher to the hillside, beholden to Him for a little bread. Wealth He beheld apparently only on its evil side, and His picture of it and of its relation to poverty in the parable of

Dives and Lazarus is an abstraction. Of politics, of which a visitor to an American city sees and hears so much, He saw and heard nothing. With the struggles of factions at Jerusalem He came into contact as a martyr to the tribal and religious bigotry of one of them; otherwise, nothing met His eye but the autocracy of a Roman governor. It is difficult, therefore, if you go beyond the most general rules of ethics, for a censor of Chicago accurately to represent Christ as judge, while in the attempt he may sometimes be led to forget his own human limitations. We cannot be surprised that the fashionable ladies of Chicago should have taken fire when the epithet "disreputable" was applied to them, or that their wrath should have been imperfectly appeased by the explanation that the term was used in an esoteric sense, and meant only that, viewed from the height of superior morality, they were sunk below the worst harlot by their selfish neglect to use their means for doing good, "though they might refrain from publicly advertising their lost chastity."

Mr. Stead's eye, ranging over the mighty city, with its vast variety of public buildings, homes, and warehouses, and its fleet upon the lake, with the multitudinous and varied life which they denote, fixes upon the refuges for tramps and the brothels. Of tramps no doubt he saw plenty, if he was at Chicago during the time of the World's Fair, which drew together and afterwards discharged much of the wandering population of the continent. For giving us a minute and graphic picture of brothel life the reformer had, we doubt not, some good object in view. But brothel life in Chicago seems to be pretty much what it must be in any other city where the license system does not prevail. In London or Liverpool, to which commerce brings a motley crowd, you will be pretty sure to find a counterpart. What practically prevails at Chicago seems to be a system of corrupt connivance between which and London street-walking it might be difficult to choose. In all places alike the hideous life of these helpless women is probably redeemed by much the same measure of wild-flower goodness, and lends itself to pathetic treatment in the same degree. Mr. Stead does not propose any specific solution of a problem which weighs everywhere on the heart of humanity. The one thing which is clearly practicable seems to be to keep the temptation as much as possible out of public sight, which is not done by the London system.

Under the attractive heading of "The Chicago Trinity," Mr. Stead has a long homily against millionaires. There is some injustice in the use of the sweeping name. Mr. Brassey plans and carries out by his skill, courage, and energy, and by the confidence which his character inspires, a series of enterprises beneficial to civilisation and fruitful of good wages to myriads of workmen, himself receiving upon the outlay as the return for his labour and risk an average profit of 5 per cent. Is he to be coupled with a stock-jobber and wrecker like

Jay Gould because the result in both cases is accumulation of wealth? "Millionaires," says Mr. Stead, "are some of the images into which society has modelled human clay out of the semblance of Christ. They are specialists whose whole existence is devoted to one purpose, and that the acquisition and the accumulation of gold." But of the three men named by him as examples of the class, the existence was devoted, by his own account, not merely, like that of Jay Gould, to the acquisition and accumulation of gold, but to the building up of business establishments which, he has to admit, have been in each case most useful to the community. Mr. Marshal Field he numbers among those "who loom up before the eyes of their fellow-men because they have succeeded in ascending a pyramid largely composed of human bones." Surely this is a rhetorical expression for the career of a man who, as Mr. Stead confesses, "has produced a retail establishment which is the perfection of human capacity devoted to the facility of distribution"; of which the management "is far in advance of most dry-goods stores in Chicago or elsewhere; which gives employment to 3000 men and women; and in which merit is readily recognised and promotion comes rapidly to the deserving, while there is no using up of extreme youth nor cruel stinting of girls' wages." This pyramid surely is not wholly made up of human bones. The same may be said, *mutatis mutandis*, of the other two millionaires, as their careers are described by Mr. Stead. All three are allowed to have been extremely munificent, and Mr. Pullman has founded a model town. For what, then, are they all arraigned, and why, to use Mr. Stead's phrase, will not these men of many talents be able to show a good account of their stewardship when Christ comes to Chicago? Because, it seems, being upright and inflexibly honest, they do not make those virtues felt in the City Hall. Because while the city is suffering from the want of qualities which they possess in superabundance, they confine themselves to the management of their own business and take no part in municipal politics, for which probably they have neither aptitude nor time to spare. On this account they are compared to those "detested regraters in famine times, who stored millions of quarters of wheat in their granaries, and watched the people perish of sheer starvation at their gates, waiting callously till wheat reached its highest point." They are pronounced even worse than those monsters. Did Christ deal out His judgments in this style?

Not only are the millionaires overwhelmed with denunciations, but the democracy is instigated to rise and strip them of their wealth. Mr. Stead looks forward with evident exultation to seeing Demos treat them as the cottager treats his bees. It does not occur to him, or probably to Demos, that these bees, their hive once taken, will make honey no

more, while the three thousand people employed in Mr. Field's store and the population of Mr. Pullman's model town will lose their bread.

That there are millionaires who have made their money in a very bad way and are social nuisances and scandals, nobody doubts; say what you will against them, though the less you indulge in pulpit rhetoric the more effective your denunciation is likely to be. A period of rapid development and vast commercial enterprise is sure to be one of colossal gains and losses. Perhaps when things have settled down the era of these huge fortunes will pass away. But let us not confound the good with the evil, and tell a man who has grown rich by honest trade, doing good to the community at the same time, that he is standing on a pile of human bones.

On the average, great fortunes in America have probably done more good and less harm than might have been expected. They have undertaken enterprises which could not otherwise have been undertaken, and tried experiments which could not otherwise have been tried. The luxury and display of their owners are limited by the conditions of democratic society, which among other things preclude large establishments of servants such as are kept by the magnates of Europe, since in America one domestic will not take orders from another. Besides, men who have made their own fortunes commonly retain the simplicity of their early habits of life. The worst sin of the millionaires as a class probably has been the corruption of politicians in the interest of railways or other commercial concerns, and even here they have acted largely on the defensive. In politics they take little part, desiring only to be let alone. The worst of them is that they die and leave their wealth to idle and worthless sons. We give up the *jeunesse dorée* of the great American cities without reserve to Mr. Stead's apostolic severity; though we cannot go so far as to say with him of men convicted of no actual crime that "any well-regulated community would be justified in sinking them in the nearest bog till the breath had left their bodies."

A "favourite pastime" of the millionaires, Mr. Stead says, is founding universities. It is a pastime not easily distinguished from the exhibition of public spirit and munificence. But Mr. Stead has found two cases in which professors were dismissed at the instance of plutocratic trustees for telling unwelcome social truths, and generalising from these he infers a general tendency of millionaires to silence the academical oracles which, as the press is already in a state of "servile subjugation," would destroy the only "fresh green spot in an arid waste of sand." The writer of this article happens to be connected with a university founded by a millionaire self-raised from the ranks of labour, who on coming into possession of his wealth went at once to a man of intellectual eminence and asked him how the

wealth could best be used for the public good. This millionaire never, so far as the writer knows, interfered with the social teaching. The danger of plutocratic interference with the teaching of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, or any other great American university, may pretty safely be said to be small. A professor who should advise his class to take rich men to the nearest bog and sink them till the breath had left their bodies would be amenable to university discipline apart from plutocratic interference.

It is in this connection that Mr. Stead goes on to charge the rich with the practice of assassination. "I have been assured," he says, "that the predatory rich do not shrink from using the sandbag and the revolver—though, of course, by deputies." If this accusation rests upon mere hearsay, surely it had better been withheld.

General comparisons between the characters of nations are precarious. But the writer's personal belief is that, though in America making money is the great game and the general object of ambition, the worship of money is not more intense there than it is elsewhere. What the American makes eagerly he spends freely. It is doubtful whether Americans marry for money more often than the British aristocracy, the superiority of which to American plutocracy to Mr. Stead seems clear. This remark might be confirmed by a case from the social history of Chicago if regard for personal feeling would permit. Distinction of any kind, or the notoriety which is taken for distinction, is, we should say, not less coveted than wealth. Rich Americans are sadly apt to lapse into flunkeyism when brought into contact with British aristocracy. But the mass of the people are preserved from the idolatry of rank by the absence of the idol.

All that Mr. Stead says about the municipal corruption of Chicago we are thoroughly prepared to believe, though caution is inspired by the picturesque vivacity of his language and by his singular fancy that the city council is the true church and the real centre of religious life. But this is the common story of municipal government by popular election; and the remedy proposed by Mr. Stead, that of abolishing the mayor's veto, so as to make the system thoroughly democratic, would, we apprehend, only aggravate the disease. A huge constituency, the members of which are total strangers to each other, cannot act as a united body in elections; it inevitably falls into the hands of the ward politician. There are spasms of reform when the state of things becomes intolerably bad, as it did in New York under Tweed; and here and there a city is lucky enough to fall, as Detroit has fallen, for a time at least, into good hands. Other cities have improved by a process the opposite of that which seems to commend itself to Mr. Stead, making the government not more but less democratic, by placing the administrative part of it in the hands of official experts or standing commissions. But the only city on the continent

permanently assured of good government is Washington, which is under three Commissioners appointed by the President of the United States. Exhortations to good citizens to exert themselves and improve the elections have been lavished to satiety. But the good citizen who enters the lists against the ward politician finds himself an amateur and an interloper contending with a professional master of the field. Under the system of universal suffrage you may poll four-fifths of the tax-paying property of a city for a reform candidate, and be beaten by the votes of the remaining fifth, which would be drawn out to defeat a "swell." The assessment dodging on the part of the rich which Mr. Stead most justly denounces, is susceptible of a sinister palliation as the evil resource of property defending itself against mob taxation. If the full amount of taxes, legally due were paid it might only be squandered by incompetence or devoured by corruption. It is in the cities, let it be remembered, that the evil has its seat: in the small towns and rural districts all goes on pretty well.

Of the political corruption it is possible to form an exaggerated notion, not perhaps as regards Chicago or Illinois, but as regards the better States and the Federal Government. The public service of the Federal Government we believe to be pure. Nor do we believe that there are many members of Congress who would take a bribe, though there are many at Washington as there are in all the parliaments who will vote against their conscience under the pressure of powerful interests. But corruption as well as unconscientious voting is inseparable from the demagogic and party system of government. Out of that system the world, if it wants purity in politics, will have to find a way. Corruption is Protean in its forms. The British practice of "nursing a constituency" by donations and subscriptions between elections is not less bribery than payment for votes at the time of the election. Nor does either of them rival in magnitude or in pernicious effects the bribery of the demagogue who has learned, like Athenian demagogues of old, to buy the votes of the people with largesses of other men's money.

Recklessness of life, evinced by running railway trains through thoroughfares, is another thing which Mr. Stead thinks would shock Christ if He came to Chicago. There is ground for the charge, and it may be extended from democratic America to monarchical Canada. Things in the New World are still in some respects in the rough. Recklessness of life is curiously coupled with humanity. A friend of the writer many years ago was blown up in a steamer on the Mississippi. There was no inquiry, though the captain had done it before, but the sufferers were treated with the utmost kindness by the people on the banks. In these respects there has been a great improvement even in the last quarter of a century. Travelling on such a line as the New York Central is not less safe than it is swift and luxurious.

Allowance must be made in all things for the want of finish attendant on the extraordinarily rapid expansion.

Nothing is more agreeable to a large class of readers than a fling at the Churches as whited sepulchres put to shame by the genuine and unpharisaic goodness of the rowdy and the prostitute. Mr. Stead does not neglect this source of literary popularity. But when he reminds us that the Christian Church has raised temples to Mary Magdalene, he should himself remember that the Church honours, not the harlot, but the penitent and the saint. He would apparently propose to bring back the Churches to real Christianity by turning them into fraternities for the relief of the poor. But if he will ask those who have given most attention to the subject of charity he will find, we believe, that they regard with misgiving the connection of almsgiving with religion. As in the Middle Ages beggars went round from monastery to monastery, beggars now go round from church to church, and thereby mendicancy is fostered. A case might be named in which the lavish almsgiving of a very rich congregation was followed, according to the testimony of a competent and friendly witness, by a wide spread of pauperism. The position of a Church in a Christian nation amidst relief agencies, hospitals, and benevolent organisations of all kinds bears little resemblance to that of the primitive brotherhood living in social isolation under the heathen empire. Nor can we agree with Mr. Stead that the Church would improve by identification with the trade-union. Mr. Powderly, it seems, did Christ and the Apostles the honour to speak of them as "the great Master Mechanic and His immortal twelve walking delegates." But the Gospel does not tally with this description. Is revealed Christianity true or is it not? If it is, the functions of a Church are Christian communion, teaching, and worship. If it is false, let not the Churches be kept in existence as relief associations of an equivocal kind, as donkey-engines to the trade-union, or as targets for the moral satirist. Let them be abolished, and let the city council be recognised, in accordance with Mr. Stead's theory, as the true Church.

We are ready to go any length with Mr. Stead in denunciation of gambling at Chicago or elsewhere. Chicago, we can well believe, with all her roughs and toughs, her motley and unsettled population, and the atmosphere of excitement created by the speculative character of her staple trades, is one of the chief seats of the vice. But Christ need not go to Chicago to see gambling. Hear the *London Daily Telegraph* :

"Private roulette tables have become common in cultivated society, and are openly sold by fashionable furniture dealers. Both sexes assiduously cultivate the 'bucket shop,' sometimes making money, but in too many instances making fearfully wry faces when they find that they have to settle

up their little differences with their outside brokers. The 'play' has become emphatically 'the thing,' although in a sense far different from that intended by the Prince of Denmark. Substantial business men find it irksome to make a railway journey of an hour and a quarter without producing a pack of cards and getting up a nice quiet game of whist; and it can scarcely be said that, in this year of grace 1894, there is a single section of society outside the strictly religious classes who are not in some form or another addicted to gambling. The incitements thereto, goodness knows, are numerous and exciting enough, from gold mines in the Mountains of the Moon to tickets in the German lotteries. Everybody is panting for the unearned increment; everybody yearns to eat, drink, and be merry, to wear fine clothes, and sparkle with jewels, to be bought with money for which no work has been done. There is gambling in the highest and gambling in the lowest of our *couches sociales*."

Hear also the correspondent of the *Birmingham Mail*:

"I read your paragraph on 'Do women bet?' I should say that, instead of being 20 per cent., they are at the very least 45 per cent., if not in an actual majority. In this immediate district there exists a system for collecting bets that beats creation. A bookmaker, who, by the way, is also a license holder, employs five or six men, who, I suppose, go under the name of clerks, each of whom has a round or district, and every day—that is, every racing day—these men call on their respective clients—women, of course, whose husbands are at work earning money to be thrown away. I know more than one case where everything that can be raked together to pawn for the purpose is done, and the winnings, when they have one, go to the bookmaker for a royal booze.

"What I should like to point out is the mischief a man who holds a license and is a bookmaker can do in a neighbourhood. He not only incites to gambling, but also to drink. I myself have seen scores of women enter the house with papers, and of course they must have a drink before they leave. Perhaps the public will ask how it is done. The house in question is so surrounded with touts that on the approach of a policeman the signal is given and the thing stopped till the coast is clear. This is no prejudiced view of the matter, but a real fact, which can be verified daily on a walk through this district by any one with his eyes open. It is surely time the law stepped in and said to the publican bookmaker, 'You shall have no license.'"

There is work, then, for Christ at home. Mr. Stead is perfectly right in holding that racing is as much gambling as poker or roulette, though under pretence of breeding horses which, preternaturally fast for a mile, in a week or perhaps in a day's run would be beaten by an Indian pony. England has been converted by the Turf into a vast gambling table, as any one who takes up a local newspaper may see. Many bet who know nothing of a horse and perhaps do not see the race. A greater moral curse has seldom fallen upon a nation. The infection spreads to the United States, to the British Colonies, and every country over which British society has influence. Mr. Stead would be a real benefactor if he could get up a crusade against the Turf.

It is hard upon a city to be represented by its sewers. This,

however, is the effect of Mr. Stead's picture of Chicago. No doubt Chicago has sewers, and possibly they may be fouler than those of Liverpool or of Hamburg. Handling the vast harvests of the prairie, the city shot up like a gourd. Men still living can remember her an Indian village. Her rapid expansion and the chances of wealth which she offered were sure to draw to her a swarm of hungry adventurers. "Come on here, Tom; this is the place for you; I came here without a cent and now I have failed for a million." There has been nothing to balance commercial appetites and character. The wheat trade is not poetical, hog-killing and pork-packing are still less so. In such a place wealth could hardly fail to put on its least refined and attractive form. Yet if Mr. Stead thinks that even in Chicago there are not people who care for other things besides wheat-selling and pork-packing, and have another god than the millionaire, we can assure him from personal experience that there are. A great university is just being founded. Material foundations must be laid before the domes and towers of civilisation can rise. Venice and Florence no doubt had coarse beginnings. Chicago, Mr. Stead admits, has supplied the world with plenty of bread, by which man lives, though he lives not by bread alone. "Within her borders," he says, "this day and every day a million and a half of human beings, at least one half of whom were born beyond the sea, contrive in some fashion or another to get three meals a day with varying degrees of punctuality." Each of these human beings thus provided with the means of living has his chance of being good. If Chicago has not been refined herself, she has fed refinement elsewhere. The very existence of such a city with its vast machinery of commerce is proof of a vast amount of honest enterprise, genuine work, and fair payment for that work. It is proof that, corrupt as politics and municipal government may be, there is good faith as a rule between man and man. Go into that Babel, the Grain Exchange. You will see time bargains by scores made across the ring by mere word of mouth, with perfect confidence in their fulfilment on both sides. Nor can it be doubted that Chicago holds many thousands of virtuous and happy households. That philanthropy and benevolence are at work Mr. Stead's own pages show. He found the streets at night orderly and decent, more so than those of his own metropolis. He found a first-rate fire service, which, according to his theory, would be a branch of the Church. He must have observed the extent and pleasantness of the public grounds. If he looked into the pork factory he would see pigs turned into sausages by a practice not only miraculously rapid but scrupulously humane. If he visited the World's Fair he would find the management admirable, and all the officials as civil as they would be in a country which has an aristocracy to teach it manners. We will venture to add that he was quartered in an

excellent hotel with regular charges. Much of his indictment is no doubt true, but much is wanting to the completeness of his picture.

Be Chicago what it may, however, in itself, it cannot be taken as a type of the American character or commonwealth. Mr. Stead himself gives us the statistics of its population, showing that the native Americans barely outnumber the naturalised aliens, while in the worst precinct more than a third of those set down as native Americans are negroes. He might probably add that of the native Americans a large proportion are children of aliens hardly yet assimilated though native-born. On the whole, it is surprising that the truly American element should have been able so far to impress its self-governing and law-abiding character on the miscellaneous exodus of Europe. The wonder is the greater since Chicago has had the misfortune to be chosen as a place of settlement by the most dangerous and turbulent elements—the Communists, the Anarchists, and the Clan-na-Gael. Against these enemies of society the police appears to have done its duty.

It is unfair, we must add, to take Chicago or any great city as a complete specimen of American life and character, or a trustworthy index of the probable destiny of the American commonwealth. In all the great cities there is a large alien population, Boston itself being now full of Irish; and it is in the great cities that the thirst of money, the vulgar luxury, the municipal corruption, and most of the special evils prevail. Let him who wants really to study the United States do what few writers on the subject seem yet to have done. Let him spend a few years in a country town and in intercourse with its inhabitants and the farmers of its neighbourhood. He will no longer regard Chicago or New York as an adequate measure of the habits of American people, or of the sinews and safeguards of the American commonwealth.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE PLEA OF PAN.

“SO you’ve really been to Greece?” said one undergraduate to another, as they settled themselves down in the express from Dover and began to fly through the blossoming fields of Kent. “What a queer place to go to! Did you get anything like a time?”

“Well,” said Hutchinson, “I suppose you wouldn’t call it much of a country. Good bathing in the Ægean, pretty fair climbing, but no fishing to speak of, and hardly any sport at all. The Duke of Sparta has some shooting in Elis, good enough for a foreigner, I daresay. But I saw no game, beyond a hare at Sunium and a few snipe on the Alpheus. Plenty of eagles of course: at Mycænæ I saw a Greek blaze at one with an old muzzle-loader. He might as well have blazed at the sun. There’s a talk of boars and wolves on Cithæron still, but I couldn’t get a sight of one. And the brigands are pretty nearly exterminated, so there’s really no shooting to be had for love or money. The native sport is to fire pistols at old temple columns at twelve paces.”

“What a God-forsaken place!” said Williams.

“Yes,” said Hutchinson; “and yet I saw one or two queer things.”

“Ruins, and statues, and all that, I suppose?”

“Oh, any number of *them*,” said Hutchinson. “But one doesn’t seem to get much further with stones and bones, you know. They are like one’s grandmother’s love-scenes—pretty in their day, but no special concern of ours.”

“That’s true,” said Williams; “but if you couldn’t shoot, and didn’t fool round after ruins, what was there to do?”

“Oh, I potted about on a pony,” said Hutchinson, “and saw one or two queer things.”

“So you said before. But what were they?”

"Well," said Hutchinson, looking quietly at his friend, "the queerest thing I saw was a god."

"A *what*?"

"A god," he repeated.

"My dear fellow," said Williams, "I'd no idea you were as bad as this. Hadn't I better stop the train and call your keeper?"

"Oh, I'm all right," said Hutchinson laughing. "Lots of people have seen a god before now, and there's no reason why I shouldn't see one, too, if he happens to be about."

"Of course not," said Williams, trying furtively to make out the polyglot directions for summoning the guard. "And what did your—your god look like?" he added.

"Oh, he wasn't much to look at, poor old boy," said Hutchinson, "but he was a rare old fellow to talk."

"To be sure, he would be," said Williams, letting the right hand window down. "And what had he got to say for himself?"

"Queer sort of stuff," said Hutchinson, "and I can't remember it all. Besides, he wasn't talking to me."

"Somebody with you? That must have been a comfort."

"Yes," said Hutchinson. "a fellow named Gordon, I had met the evening before at a little town high up in the mountains in Arcadia. I took him for a don at first, because he was so detestably polite, and kept calling my pony a mule, and knew his way about Greece without a 'Baedeker.' We slept in one room on a fairly clean rug, and he woke me at half-past four, and from the window I saw Erymanthus, a long range of square-topped mountains, just beginning to look grey with their snows against the sky of night. In Greece they save you a lot of time by not giving you anything to wash in. So, before five we were out in the dirty street with two little ponies and a guide. We were going to see a famous old temple, and the country round was certainly very beautiful. The stony track went straight into the hills directly we left the little town, and we crossed two high passes, and made our way through uninhabited valleys, and round the heads of watercourses, and through woods of a bushy kind of fir, and over stretches of green, covered with all manner of flowers and shrubs, where some early nightingales were trying to get their notes in tune, and hoopoes were flitting about like woodpeckers pretending to be butterflies. After some three hours' climbing we came to the top of the highest spur from the central range, and there, just in front of us, two or three hundred yards down, we saw the grey columns of the temple itself. Nearly all are still standing, and I think even you would have thought them rather fine, all alone out there in the hills. We lay down on a lot of thyme and other plants close outside the temple, having a view of the sea in two places, on each side the Messenian promontory; and, far away in the south,

the mountains of Taygetus, down by Sparta, ran up into sharp peaks like the Alps, covered with snow. The guide sat behind us with the ponies, and began playing with his string of beads—the only intellectual exercise of a modern Greek. Then I asked Gordon if he wouldn't tell me something about the temple.

"I know nothing particular about it," he said; "not half so much as 'Baedeker.'"

"So I told him not to pretend to be a worse prig than heaven made him. And I thought I heard some one laugh behind us, but I could only see the Greek staring sleepily at his beads.

"Well," said Gordon, "the temple was built as a thank-offering to Apollo the Giver of Health, and was designed by the same architect as the temple of Apollo's sister at Athens. It stands on the site of an old shrine of Pan, who, of course, was worshipped in all this pastoral district."

"Yes," I said, "but I want to know who Pan really was, and why one god could drive out the worship of another; and what the priests thought of their god, and how they served him, out on the mountains here."

"I'm sorry," said Gordon, "but I know nothing about the priests, and next to nothing about Pan. Only, it doesn't seem strange that a half-brutish conception like him—the rude god of an innocent but distinctly provincial Arcadia—should be superseded by the worship of Apollo in his purest and kindest form—the Destroyer turned to Healer, the scorching fire tempered and diffused into the genial light of such a morning as this. He is indeed the god of my idolatry. It is his priest that I would always be."

"Bless my soul!" I said, looking round at him, and seeing that his eyes were fixed on the distance.

"Even now," he went on; "in such a place as this, one may be conscious of a sense of healing, of purification, in the cool air and the freshness of the mountains. The current of life again runs clear, and the power of the eye is restored. The mind itself is pervaded with a purity as of sunrise. The human passions then appear to it gross and almost inconceivable, like the grotesque monsters of creation's early slime. It is not to be believed that they should dominate or allure a thing so fine and shapely as the spirit has then become. Envy, ambition, and desire then appear to us ridiculous, distorted, and in the truest sense obscene. Guided by an increasing discernment, the soul becomes rigorous in selection of her proper food, and rejects all that is unclean, or tainted with commonplace, or spoilt by superfluity. It is no drug which is thus given by the god; for the gift is health itself, and health needs no healing. To his service the soul willingly bows, that in it she may attain to freedom. Therefore she lays on herself the limits which are the doors

into space, and girding herself with restraints, she hastens to the fruition of the brief but high rewards which open upon her rigorous course. At every step her delicacy of choice increases; her demand for purity and decorous beauty becomes more exacting. But at every step also her frame becomes more tightly strung, and her purpose more strenuous. Then in the heart is built up, stone by stone, a temple such as this, fit house for a male god, a home of grave liberty, such as springs from laws self-imposed and self-justified. That is the Apollo whose priest I would be, here on the site of his ancient shrine. You see how stern the country is for all its beauty, how manlike in contrast with the feminine rapture of such lands as Italy. I would have myself of a nature to match this land.'

"'What's all that?' I said, for I was getting rather sleepy, and only caught a few more sentences here and there.

"'Our old master,' he went on, 'used to say, "Not what I have, but what I do is my kingdom." But now we have taken one further step towards our redemption from vulgarity. Not what we have, nor what we do, but what we are—that is our kingdom now. And what we are depends upon a long series of choice—those brief but eternal acts of choice—self-imposed limits which are the assurance of man's strength and of his ultimate spiritual emancipation.'

"After that, his voice was mixed up with the bees and the calling of birds, and all the other quiet noises of a calm day, and they were united in my head into a kind of orchestra played by fairies, only that now and then I seemed to hear a low clear note of a flute coming nearer and nearer. And after a time I was slowly awakened by a vague feeling that we were not alone. So at last I looked round to where Gordon had been sitting, rather behind me on the right, and between me and him I saw the great hind-quarters of some dark and shaggy beast.

"'Talk about the Father of the Goats, indeed!' I thought, and, drawing my gun towards me without moving a leaf, I raised myself on my elbows till, inch by inch, I exposed his hairy side. The whole thing seemed queer, of course, but I was too excited to think, and was on the point of jumping up to bring him down as he ran clear, when I heard a deep, low voice, with a kind of laugh in it, speaking.

"'I'm afraid, sir,' it said, 'you wouldn't approve of me, for it's hard to find any limit on my poor old body.'

"Down went my gun. No doubt you'll think me a fool to lose a chance of bagging a god. I might have had his skin to show you, done up in my rugs; and have hung his head in the College Hall, stuffed."

"My dear fellow," said Williams, "for Heaven's sake, don't talk rot! Here's Canterbury. The cathedral doesn't look half bad, does it? Perhaps somebody'll get in."

"No," said Hutchinson, "this train doesn't stop anywhere, and as I was saying, I didn't fire. To shoot a beast that could talk seemed too much like firing on a mob." He was stretched on the ground deep in flowers, with his head propped between his hands. His face was like the bust of Socrates in old Benson's room at school; and there was the queerest look of amusement on it, mixed with a kind of melancholy too, as though he were a little tired with all he had seen. The Greek had disappeared. Gordon was talking as though nothing unusual had happened. For myself, I felt like Balaam."

"Hope you heard as much sense," growled Williams.

"Well, I am not sure," said Hutchinson. "Even if you don't approve of me," the god went on, "it's a comfort to see you're not frightened."

"We moderns," said Gordon, "are never frightened—only infinitely curious."

"Infinite is a dangerous word, you know," said the god. "But my poor mother wasn't at all modern, for when I was born, she ran away at sight of me, and my supposed father had to get a rabbit's skin to wrap his baby in, and carry me up to the gods, who at once began that sad habit of making puns on my name. But that has always been the way with me; a terror one moment, a joke the next, I am like the People's Vote."

"Your presence was better than a vote in battle," said Gordon.

"Ah, sir," said the god with a modest sigh, "that's a very long time ago."

"Forgive my saying so," said Gordon after a pause, "but it's very strange to find you still alive. We have been told so very often of your death, both by fishermen and poets."

"Yes," said the god, smiling. "I'm afraid it was a wicked story of mine—that voice of lamentation heard over the evening sea round Paxos. You see, it is better to give up certain things than wait till they give you up. At least, I've heard lovers say it is so with love. And may not it be the same with life?"

"He that loseth his life shall find it," said Gordon.

"It's a true saying," said the god. "Think of poor old Zeus—a deity of some real importance in his day. But when his old way of life began to moulder, he clung to it with such brutal avidity that he was rotten long before he was buried, and is now only remembered by jokes on his domestic relations, as a kind of Henry VIII. who by a boyish mistake had rendered his first wife immortal."

"Good Heavens!" said Gordon, "what do you know of Henry VIII.?"

"Ah, sir," said the god sadly, "I see that, like the rest, you

always forget I am still alive. And do you suppose I have slept all these years, like the Seven of Ephesus?’

“‘I beg your pardon, I’m sure,’ said Gordon, ‘but you must own it’s a little hard to connect you with modern life.’

“‘Hard for the citizens of your great towns, no doubt,’ said the god. ‘How should they find room for the sun-burnt god of the hymn in my praise, the god who loves soft rivers and deep woods :

and at fall of night
Returning bids the valleys in their sleep
Listen to strains surpassing all the night
Of that sad bird who, tortured by the spring,
Her yearning lamentation honey sweet doth sing.

Yes, in modern cities no doubt it is hard, but here in Arcadia surely you might suppose even my old pastoral form to survive.’

“‘It’s very refreshing to find it so,’ said Gordon ; “but this new railway round your own Mount Parthenion must be rather intrusive on your solitude.’

“‘Oh, I don’t so much mind,’ said the god, ‘except that it kills my special breed of tortoises there. The train can’t help going faster than they, and it overtakes them as they bask along the lines. Still, I like to revisit Arcady for a holiday now and then, and as it is holiday-time, I’ll go my way, bidding you a triple farewell.’

“‘Oh, please don’t go,’ said Gordon, laying his hand on the shaggy side.

“‘Nay,’ said the god, ‘you’ll soon forget me. Even Athens forgot me, you know. You clever people always do.’

“‘But if one could be your second Pheidippides?’ said Gordon.

“‘No, really I’d rather go,’ answered the god. ‘I’m afraid I’m hardly modern enough to talk about nothing but myself with grace. I’ve always been behind the times.’

“‘At least,’ said Gordon, ‘tell me where you are to be found again.’

“‘I go to and fro upon the earth,’ said the god, ‘like him who has long caused my form and attributes to be blasphemed. And I have many outward semblances, and yet but one true form. The Egyptians knew it, though, as the historian says, they figured me under this pastoral shape as a matter of pious convenience. Also they knew that I was of the elder gods, compared to whom this Apollo here and his blue-stockinged sister are but upstarts of yesterday, separated from that early creation by clean-cut limits such as seem so greatly to delight you.’

“‘It was mental limit of which I spoke,’ said Gordon—‘a certain definiteness of mood and vision.’

“‘Mental limit, no doubt,’ said the god, ‘but may not such limit be signified in the outward form? These purified gods of yours were cut

off from our old creation, and bore no remembrance of the pleasant furry animals upon their marble limbs. Eyes peered at them shyly from the thickets, wondering what those white and naked shapes might be. Before they came, we were a merry crew together, Centaurs and Sphinxes and Titans, Gorgons and Hydras and Chimæras dire—a wanton pack of cross-bred cousins. It was then often hard to tell where the beast left off and the god began : as hard as it still is on my poor body, if I guess your thought aright. In those days lions and wolves held equal converse with gods, and in men's ears the birds sang the words as well as the music of all their pretty tales of love and fairy travel. Then came the change, which I myself should not have escaped, had I not hidden myself away with the shepherds here, hedged in by barriers of mountains from that cold-blooded and inhuman thing, the sea, which is always on the side of change.

“ ‘ When at last I ventured to emerge, stealing down the river-beds at night into rich Elis, or along the broad hollow of Lacedæmon, all was over. The comrades of earth's prime were gone, and I was left like an orphan of another race. The new gods did not even pay me the compliment of fear, but in educated scorn they laughed at my homely appearance. I let them have it their own way, perceiving that the fashion of laughter is the most fleeting of things. And for service I attached myself to the Great Mother, a solemn goddess, whom I chose because, when first she looked on me, I perceived kindly rain and sunshine mingled in her face. Her I served so faithfully that some Olympian wit called me the Mother's dog-of-all-work, and I proudly bore the name. In her praise I sang with bands of mountain girls in front of the Theban poet's door all night long. But those summer nights of music, when Cithæron looked dreamy and lower than his height under the moon, are far behind me now. The Mother is almost forgotten. The poet's words are scarcely understood, and Thebes is for the tenth time in ruins. Yet I am here, still living on, though rather fallen from my estate, which I admit was never high.’

“ The god laughed cheerfully, and Gordon said : ‘ I do not wish to seem at all impolite, but it is certainly a little strange that you, of all others, should be the only survivor.’

“ ‘ I don't wonder at your surprise,’ said the god. ‘ The worshippers of Apollo are able to rise to an airy height which I can hardly conceive ; and, like the man who went up to heaven on a beetle, they think that we poor children of earth look very small from that distance. Nevertheless, it almost seems as if there must be some everlasting quality about my worshippers and me. For I am certainly alive, and a god lives only so long as he has worshippers.’

“ ‘ And who are his worshippers ? ’ asked Gordon.

“ ‘Those who are like him,’ said the god.

“ ‘But what then is the everlasting quality of which you spoke?’

“ ‘Can you imagine,’ answered the god, ‘a quality which is common to wild animals and children and the poor?—shall we add women, too? perhaps it were wiser not.’

“ ‘I can indeed dimly apprehend some such quality,’ said Gordon, ‘but I could give it no name.’

“ ‘Neither can I give it a name,’ said the god, ‘any more than you can give a name to your own soul. I can but repeat what once the Great Mother told me. There are, she said, certain classes of beings which seem to stand at the meeting-place of many far-reaching and divergent powers. They appear to be haunted by dim associations, unconscious relationships. The fibres of their roots seem still to spring from the womb of earth, and with her breasts they are fed. But on another side they are no less full of promises of something beyond the rest of nature, as though they were always reaching out towards mysterious powers which may never be realised. As a reasonable fact we know there are certain things they will not and cannot do. But if they did them, it would be absurd to feel much surprise. Those two ponies on which you and your friend rode up from the village—how full of zeal and rivalry the younger of them was! trembling with energy, maddened by reproof, exalted by praise, dashing hot-blooded into every difficulty, and struggling through it with tempestuous impatience. How small was the difference between him and a boy warrior, the glory of his men, whom his passionate mistakes so often lead into death! And the old mare, so wise and humble, trustworthy at every step—was she not a nurse of ninety years? That shepherd whom you met on the way; night and day he lives with his flock; did he not seem to be one with the winds and hills? It would not have seemed strange if his sheep had said, Good morning, and he had bleated.’

“ ‘It is an old conceit of satirists,’ said Gordon, ‘that many men would more fully express their emotions by neighing, or howling, or braying.’

“ ‘Ah, yes, those satirists!’ said the god, ‘they were always much too clever for humble people like me. But let me rather tell you of a sight I once saw when the Great Mother suffered me to look into the inmost recess of her strange old workshop. She was standing, with a large apron on, before a kind of kneading-trough, and was fashioning mortal things. On one side of her, quicker than thought, flew a current of a brilliant blue element, hardly denser than air. On the other moved a sluggish and heavy stream of dark-red mud. And from it issued the fragrance of a fresh-ploughed field after rain. Into these two streams the Mother kept dipping a hand on each side, and clutching up random quantities; but the greater part

of both went by unused, and what became of it I could not see. After each dip the Mother brought her hands sharply together, and the two substances rushed into each other with a cry of joy, and became joined—oh, more closely than ever lovers were! She then began to mould them into shape in her trough. But they, in their passionate desire for living, continually thwarted her skill, so that in despair she often let them have it their own way. For she was in much haste, grudging every wave of the streams that passed unused. I saw her making a second Achilles, but his struggles to begin life so delayed her that she just finished him off as a wolf-hound, keen of eye and swift of foot. Another Cleopatra, too, was almost moulded, when she writhed away without her legs and arms, and lived alone in an island jungle as a magical white snake. The legs and arms were used for another woman, who drove men mad, and nobody knew why. And sometimes, after the Mother had begun upon an animal, the humour would take her to convert it into a man, whence come those people whom we naturally call bearish, or swinish, or apish, or proud as peacocks. But as for those whom, according to her intent, she succeeded in making into men in spite of their wriggings, I observed that at times she appeared especially pleased with her results, like a dyer when he has hit just the right proportions for his dye. For then the two substances in their passionate union were converted into a kind of warm-blooded marble, and out of that she made the most excellent sorts of man.'

" 'Such as the poets, I suppose,' said Gordon.

" 'One or two of them, perhaps, were poets,' answered the god: 'but there were others, nor were they uncommon, though often they slipt away unnoticed into some unexplored recess of time. Whether or not they did anything memorable appeared to be merely a matter of circumstance; for all that they did sprang from the very composition of their nature, so that their greatest achievements were in fact no less natural than their eating and drinking. About them hung a sense of security and assurance, as of a sunshiny day, and they acted not in compliance with maxims but under an impulse derived from the wholesome admixture of their own being, like the divine instinct which guides a dog or pigeon home without the aid of finger-posts or governmental charts.'

" 'If all were like that,' said Gordon, 'we should be a community of saints indeed!'

" 'Oh, don't be too sure!' said the god, smiling. 'One or two saints were certainly of this kind, but all were not saints. Only, whether their deeds were good or evil, there was something inevitable and simple about them, as about the powers of nature, whether destructive or benign. However, it was not of them I wished to speak, but of two other kinds in whom I perceived every degree and

variety of being, except that all fell short of that ultimate grace. For it would often happen that, when the Mother clutched a handful of the flowing mud, some would ooze through her fingers and be lost. Then she would sigh over the resulting forms, though they were often of a strange and fantastic beauty, and seemed even to shine with a delicate light of their own, like sea-things two or three days dead. Indeed, I was quite overcome by their elegance and charm, for they tripped away into the world with an airy step, and every moment I expected to see them take flight and hover down the path like butterflies. So in my wonder I asked the Mother why she sighed over them. But she was trying to squeeze some heavy lumps of mud into shape, and answered: "I can hardly tell you now, for I'm busy knocking a little decency into these silly monsters. But if you look at those pretty creatures a little closer you will find they are like bricks made without straw, having little constancy and endurance. And though they are now as gay as gossamers, and congratulate themselves aloud on their superiority to these other queer beings of mine, their fate is not really enviable."

"So I watched awhile, and found that her words came true. For on reaching the harsh atmosphere of the upper world these delicate figures appeared like people who have ventured abroad in the cold too thinly clad. They shivered at every breath, and smarted even when nothing touched them. The common sights and sounds of earth appeared to them all too rude and crude. Over some, indeed, poverty extended a covering of its own, and the encrusting mire of daily necessity served as skin and cloak. But the most were able to avoid poverty, and if common dirt touched them they carefully scraped it off, leaving their flesh quivering and sore. And some were so deluded as confidently to maintain their own super-excellence, and to publish guides whereby others might strive to approach it. Like the fox which had lost its tail, they proclaimed it the duty of everybody to become like themselves, and they dared to pity those who had not reached that state. Therefore they called themselves friends of man, but took care to retain a scrupulous distance between themselves and the objects of their friendship. Others, standing more decidedly aloof, choked up the vulgar channels of sense by delicious artifices, like the crew of Ulysses, though it was not Sirens that they feared. They devoted themselves mainly to the practice of a quality called Suburbanity, about which people like me may hardly venture to speak. For their solemnity much impressed me, and, like the initiated, they seemed to possess some inner secret which gave a value to their words and ways; for it is impious to suppose them created in vain.

"But in the end, even in their case, I learnt the reason of the Mother's sighs, seeing that, for want of due admixture with the earthy

loam, the glimmering blue substance itself began to grow thin and pale, being lost in wind, or fading like a dyed cloth too often washed. The best and unhappiest among them, conscious of the native beauty of their souls, but shrinking from this boisterous world, turned to contemplation of themselves and criticism of their own growth or decay. Thus the soul was diverted to devour its own substance with a kind of lustful appetite, amidst unimaginable suffering, and the day of death alone put an end to the torment. So self-centred and subtle did they become that in face of choice they could hesitate for ever. Many a one have I seen, at the meeting of two suburban roads, bewailing his lot and crying: "Here I stand. I can do either. The devil damn me!" No poison of Colchis or Median torture was ever so cruel as the suffering of such hesitation, and the sharpness of the pain did not deaden the gnawings of a vanity unappeased as the eagle of Prometheus. Nevertheless, unlike the cheery crowd which flings away life for a straw, the victims clung to it with pitiless anxiety, shuddering at hardship or danger. And so, with pain and disgust they trod their own blood in the wine-press, and prayed that their torment might never cease.'

" 'It is surely,' said Gordon, 'some circle of hell you describe, and not a race of the living.'

" 'I describe what I saw,' answered the god; 'and yet it is perhaps hard for me to be kindly towards them; for between them and my worshippers there is war without herald.'

" 'Again I ask you,' said Gordon, 'who these worshippers of yours may be?'

" 'The god smiled to himself, and gently rubbed his shaggy legs together.

" 'Ah,' he said, 'I have told you that my worshippers are like myself; but indeed I do not know whether I ought not rather to call myself the worshipper of them. In love, you know, it is hard to say which is the lover and which the beloved. And so it is with the gods and their worshippers. And, as a lover pines when his mistress is far away, or is debarred from him by some separable spite, so that he can hardly be said to live till he can again touch the hem of her garment, so should I pine and wither without those quaint lovers of mine; and if they were to cease altogether, I should necessarily die. But it is impious to have such fears, though to some people my fears are hopes.'

" 'What fears or what hopes?' asked Gordon.

" 'Let us go back,' said the god, 'to the Great Mother at her kneading-trough. You remember, we left her laughing over some lumps of mud, into which she was trying to knock a little decency. In their making it appeared that part of the blue ethereal substance had

streamed away like smoke, and vanished before the union was complete. Grotesque and ungainly creatures they were, moving heavily along, very close to the ground, from which, in fact, they seldom dared to look up for fear of missing their sustenance. Mingled with them swarmed the insects and water-things and birds, and wild beasts innumerable. All had a share in the etherial substance, but in some, as in slugs and shell-fish, it was almost hidden, whereas in the others it burnt and shone with a kind of longing, like a prisoner behind bars. And whenever I saw that look, whether in the eye of rat or bird or lion, a strange affection possessed me, as though the creatures were parts of myself, and had been separated from me recently and by accident. And I could have taken them to my heart, as a girl takes her baby, only that I feared the laughter of the superior gods. But the Great Mother smiled, and said: "My dear Pan, if you would do me a service, continue to watch over these wild things. You see how sweet and excellently fashioned they are. Nevertheless, this will not be your greatest task."

"And so, as the poets say, it is I who hear the shrill cries of the eagles robbed of their brood. I help the goat in her labour, and teach her to lick the kid all over with her blue tongue. I lurk in the forest when the tigers are full of love. I am in the look of the dog whom his master kicks. I count all the sorrows of the over-driven horse."

"One would suppose," said Gordon, "that this charge alone gave you plenty to do."

"Yes," said the god, "but you forget that I am both a god and a dog-of-all-work. This charge is but a small part of my labours. For, as I told you, I stand at the meeting of many ways, and each of them stretches to an invisible distance, like the high roads from Delphi, which is the navel of the earth. The same is true of my worshippers, who, as you remember, must necessarily be like me. It is as hard to find the limits on them as on my form, or to say which part is beast, which is man, and which is god. For into my especial care the Mother also delivered all those strange human figures which looked so brutish—nay, more brutish than the brutes. All of them are my working charge, and the poets were right in not limiting my lovingkindness to the shepherds of these hills alone. I sit beside the fisher all night, far out at sea in his lonely boat. He is rough and heavy, twisted with wet and cold; he smells of nets and fishes' scales; to me he is more beautiful than the great marble Poseidon of Athens. I stand with the hunter, waiting in the snow till the furry creatures pass. I know their swift pains and his joys, both. Grizzled, and dried like leather, in his old blue coat and bits of skins, he is fairer to me than naked Artemis. I am with the miner, hewing in his gallery under the earth; when the roof falls in, I hold his battered head. His mates

say: "He wasn't a bad sort of man; now he must be buried." His wife and children cry, and I cry with them, more than for dead Zeus or an assassinated king. I hold the ploughshare with the ploughman, rejoicing in the damp earth and in the man who is so like it; no perfumed Dionysus smells so sweet. I teach queer tunes to the blind piper who raises a feeble whistle in your streets; trim Apollo, for all his lyre, never woke such music. I bathe with the boys in your brown river. The police carry off their scrappy shirts and trousers. They run naked over the slimy stones, more alert than Hermes, and more eloquent. I am with the soldier on the cool morning of battle, when he eats and drinks and curses, all for the last time. Beside him, Ares was a theatrical poser. I am with the tanned woman in the field, when she makes haste to feed her child, and cannot be quick enough, till suddenly it is still. Her eyes are softer than a cow's or Here's. But really you will think my worshippers a most disreputable and vulgar lot, quite incapable of understanding those joys of contemplation and the rigid selection of emotions by which you set so much store.'

"'That's unfair,' said Gordon; 'none but the vulgar would accuse such people of vulgarity.'

"'Nay, my son,' said the god, looking kindly on him, 'if I mock you, it is in self-defence. I care not, it is true, for the disdain with which your refined friends would regard me. With them I take delight in thrusting out my hoofs and displaying my goatish side. But alone, or among my worshippers, do you suppose I do not rejoice over our gleams of inexplicable reason, our consciousness of a yearning for we know not what, our moments of transforming passion, elevating us to the infinity of gods? Those translucent regions at which you aim may well have beauties and joys which we can hardly picture. I only ask to be remembered. It was the petition I sent to the old Athenians in their most pellucid air. Be not of those who from their sphere of white ideas cannot spare a glance into my world of sombre colours flecked with crimson. Is there no cause for marvel in that warm obscurity where I with my poor charges dwell amid the dust and slime of old earth? Like a torch-lit cave, it is illumined with half-lights shed from rare sparkles of the eternal fire. Is it no cause for worship that, unprotected in our gloom and squalor, from the midst of the daily efforts to stave off death by a little food and warmth, we who have been so long called ignoble, insensate, brutal, and depraved, should still for the most part find time for kindness and laughter—for a sort of decency, if not beauty—and for a thing you might almost call virtue? O my son, keep your ear close against the ground, and you may still hear strange music. As in old days, when these Arcadians said I danced and sang in the valleys, you may still hear intermingled sounds of trampling and song echoing

from all parts of the earth—the cries of birth and death, the rush of panic, and at times a sweet piping, ringing clear above the dirge of confused wailings and the alarms of drums. It is the wild and unpremeditated music of my children which you hear—the melody and recitative of old earth's opera, performed from age to age by an unconscious orchestra and choir, clustered around me at that meeting-place of profound and untraceable powers which lead far backward and far onward, repellent and opposite to all seeming, but ever striving to unite into a harmony of joy and sorrow.'

" 'Great is the power of opposites combined,' said Gordon. 'Love himself, we know, is the child of plenty and poverty.'

" 'Yes,' said the god, 'and you have but to look at my body to understand what a strange union of spiritual opposites went to its begetting. Nor must you think me in the least ashamed of it, red and brown and mingled as it is. The moon—the naked moon, herself—one thin, white curve of loveliness—— O, you remember the tale :

"Arcadia, night, a cloud, Pan, and the moon !"

She scorned me not, she who scorned others. Have I not reason to be proud ?'

" 'Reason indeed,' said Gordon, 'to dream on that night through an immortal life.'

" 'And the Philosopher, too,' continued the god, 'do you suppose that he did not know what he was saying when he chose me of all the gods to whom to address his prayer for beauty in the inward soul ? And he added, "May the outward and the inward man be at one !"'

" 'That was a prayer indeed !' said Gordon.

" 'And he would not have addressed it to me,' said the god, 'unless he had known that I possessed such unity of body and soul myself, and so could give it. So then, my dear fellow, when certain people make light of me and my worshippers, and call us low and brutish, I think upon the Moon and that Philosopher, and in that thought I find a consolation better than satire.

" 'But the sun just stands at noon, and you know what the poet says :

"Shepherd, 'tis not allowed when noon is high
To pipe as shepherds, for there's Pan to fear ;
He, wearied with his hunting, turns to sleep,
And if we rouse him—O, the bitter rage !"

So, to maintain the poetic tradition, I must sleep now. It would never do to betray the poets, when they have said so many nice things about me. Therefore, farewell now, and, as the ghost says, remember me.'

"He put a hand on Gordon's shoulder and was gone. Suddenly

the air became still and heavy. The wind sighed, and sank. The sun himself seemed to halt and brood. The dogs barked no more in the valleys, and I did not hear the long, melancholy cry of the shepherds. Only a bee went on humming at a purple flower for a while, and then suddenly it ceased. I slept the sleep of the just even more sweetly than usual. When at last I woke, it must have been past two. The Greek was sitting beside the ponies again, playing with his beads. I looked for Gordon, but there was no trace of him, except that the grass where he had been sitting was pressed down. When we got back to the little town, nobody had seen him, and I've never heard of him since."

"I tell you what," said Williams, "this blessed Gordon of yours was most likely Apollo himself, reduced to the position of a latter-day prig."

"Not he," said Hutchinson; "he wore trousers. Even Pan hadn't come to that."

"Oh," said Williams, "there's no saying what a god mightn't come to under a County Council. But here's the good old Thames, and St. Paul's, and Westminster, and there are no gods about them, thank Heaven! I'm going to the Olympian Ballet at the Empire to-night. I suppose you drive straight to Paddington. There are trains to Hanwell every half-hour, I believe."

"Thank you," said Hutchinson; "some fellows have such a nice way of putting things."

HENRY W. NEVINSON.

PALESTINE RESEARCH—PAST AND FUTURE.

THERE was once in Germany a poor grocer's assistant. He was the son of a clergyman, but there was no money, and so he sold fried fish and candles in a small shop. When he was a child, he had seen a picture showing pious Æneas, with his father on his back, and his son in his hand, flying from the burning walls of Troy, and had said to his sister, "Some day I will go and see Troy myself." Being patient and industrious, he thrived, and grew rich; but he never forgot his early dream. From a poor student, he first heard the sounds of that beautiful language which is as the voice of many waters, and was stirred by them even when he understood not a word. In time he learned Greek and many other tongues, and in time he went to Troy and began to dig. But when he first declared that he had found the city, and had unearthed the treasures of Priam, the professors laughed, and after that they were angry; for many interests were vested in theories which placed Troy elsewhere, and which made the poems of Homer to represent at best a later civilisation. Yet he went on, and found more and more, and from Mr. Schliemann he became Dr. Schliemann, and then Schliemann simply. And now his discoveries are the boast of his country, and an Emperor has found the money to carry on his work. Yet it was due to the enthusiasm, the patience, and the genius of this one man that a revolution was effected in educated thought as to Troy and its story.

For what had Schliemann done? He dug up Homer. He had sat above the Scaean Gate, where the old men had sat when Helen went by, and they said it were good to die for such a woman. He had found the swell in the plain behind which the attacking Greeks used to hide. He had discovered treasures of gold, carved like those which Homer describes. He had shown that the poet did not draw

solely on his fancy, but that he described real things—a real city, and a real civilisation, as old as the days of Joshua and of Moses.

In the same way we of the Palestine Exploration Fund have for more than a quarter of a century been busy digging up the truth. Truth lies hidden in the well in Palestine; and amid many shifting theories, literary and antiquarian, the great facts due to exploration stand firm as rocks to secure the truth. But it is not the truth concerning Troy town, or the poems of Homer; it is the truth concerning the Bible with which we are concerned. Whatever our theories or our views, we all agree in accepting the contemporary testimony of ancient monuments, and the facts that are based on travel and exploration.

I propose to relate some of the great results that have been gained already, and to show reason why we may expect much more in the future, and the means by which the ends may be gained. For the work is not done. Whoever does it, there remains still much more to be found than has yet been discovered; and while explorers of every European nation are busy, in Greece, in Egypt, and in other centres of ancient civilisation, we must not stand idle, or leave the most interesting and important of all fields of research neglected, for want of means or of men.

The first great result was the discovery of the Moabite Stone. This monument proved that, in the ninth century B.C., King Mesha revolted from Israel, as we are told in the Bible that he did revolt. It showed that Israel then worshipped Jehovah, and that Omri and Ahab had ruled in Moab. It showed that the Moabite language was a dialect not unlike Hebrew, and that the art of writing was known thus early, even in this remote corner of the deserts beyond Jordan, far away from the highways of trade and civilisation.

The next result, due to the perilous excavations of Sir Charles Warren, was the recovery of the Temple area, and the unearthing of a monument more interesting than the Scream Gate—the “great tower that lieth out” on Ophel, which Nehemiah rebuilt. Then followed the discovery of the Siloam inscription, hidden in the dark aqueduct which Hezekiah hewed, from the “upper Gihon,” when preparing to defend Jerusalem against Sennacherib. This monument showed us that in Hezekiah’s time the ordinary language of the city was that pure Hebrew in which Isaiah wrote, and placed before our eyes the very characters in which his scrolls must have been penned.

Quite recently we have had further light thrown on the ancient civilisation of Palestine, through excavation at Lachish. The discoveries of Mr. Bliss have shown us the language of the Canaanites in Joshua’s time, and the characters in which they wrote. They have proved the early communication with Egypt, by the recovery at this site of Egyptian remains as old as the fifteenth century B.C. They

have shown us how different was the language of the Canaanite and of the Hebrew, and how close was the connection between Chaldeans and Canaanites—just as the Bible also told us before. And, in addition to these most valuable discoveries, we have now 200 letters found in Central Egypt, written to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., by Philistines, Amorites, Phœnicians, and Hittites, which describe the great rebellion against the Pharaohs in the age when, according to the Old Testament dates, the conquest of Palestine by the Hebrews took place. In my own opinion (and in this I do not stand alone), the fierce people who, according to the King of Jerusalem's letters, attacked him from Seir, who fought at Ajalon and reduced Ascalon and Lachish and Gezer to tribute, and whom he calls the *'Abiri*, are the Hebrews themselves, coming from Seir, and following that same line of campaign, by Ajalon to Lachish, which Joshua is described as pursuing in the Bible. Some home troubles had arisen, which, according to these Tell Amarna letters, caused the Egyptians to withdraw their garrisons from Palestine and from Syria; and the result was the rebellion of the Amorites in the north, the invasion of Damascus and Bashan by the Hittites, and the entire overthrow of the Canaanite chiefs in the south by the *'Abiri*.

But so far the results that have been attained have been mainly discovered on the surface. We have not yet gone deep down to the foundations, where most of the treasures of the future will be found, except at Jerusalem. Of all the ancient ruined cities we have as yet only excavated Lachish, and even here there remains a great part of the mound to be explored. The surface of the country between Dan and Beersheba is now familiar to us; and the results have been of no little importance, even when the surface alone has been examined. In the first place we have recovered the geography of Palestine more completely than could have been expected. We can draw the boundaries of the tribes with an exactitude which shows that the ancient writer in the Book of Joshua must have had intimate knowledge of every mile of the country that he describes. We can trace the narratives of Old and New Testament, which depend on geography, in such a manner as to show the historic genuineness of the account. We know the geological nature of the country and its climate and its fauna and flora; and we find all these unchanged since Bible times. How great the advance has been in all these matters is as yet only half understood by the public, and how great must be the influence in the future on educated thought concerning the country and the Bible.

But besides these results, we have obtained others of a negative character, which will be of the greatest importance for our guidance in future. We must never forget that nineteen centuries of eventful history have passed over Palestine since the time of Christ. On the

surface we find much that belongs to these later ages ; and the careful study of all such remains is most important to prevent our falling into popular errors as to the antiquities of the country. It is no longer possible, in consequence of our work, to confuse together the workmanship of Hebrews, Phœnicians, Romans, Arabs, and Crusaders. We know the history of their buildings ; we know the various scripts and languages in which they wrote, and the styles of their art ; and we are at last able to say with confidence what is ancient Hebrew work, or later Jewish, and what is to be ascribed to the times following the great destruction of Jerusalem. * Hebrew remains are few as yet, and later monuments are many ; but we cannot suppose the Siloam Inscription or the Moabite Stone to be unique specimens of such monumental writing. Quite recently a Phœnician text, describing the building of a temple at Jaffa in the second or third century B.C., has been found, which there is, I think, good reason to regard as genuine. There must be many more such texts hidden under the great mounds in all parts of Palestine, if we only go deep enough to find them and if we look in the right places for them.

When the Palestine Exploration Fund was first started there was nothing which could confidently be pointed out to show how reasonable was the expectation of such results. All the known inscriptions—except two or three from Phœnicia—belonged to times after the Christian era. All the known ruins were of late character. It was possible to assert, without fear of contradiction by fact, that the ancient civilisation of the Hebrews was mythical, and had no existence before the Greek or the Persian age ; that they could not write, and had consequently no books ; that they were merely savage tribes under petty leaders, wandering like the desert Arabs, and despised by the surrounding civilised peoples. Such things were actually then said ; but he would be a bold man who repeated them to-day. When Sennacherib describes his unsuccessful attack on Jerusalem, before he was driven home across the Euphrates by Tirhakah, king of Egypt, he says that Hezekiah's tribute included "Thirty talents of gold, eight hundred talents of silver, woven cloth, embroidered scarlet, precious stones of large size, couches of ivory, thrones of ivory, hides and precious woods—a great treasure of every kind." If Sennacherib is to be trusted, Jerusalem, in Hezekiah's time, must have equalled other famous cities in wealth and in art. The Assyrians carried captive 200,000 people small and great, horses and mares, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep ; and no less than twenty-six strong cities of Hezekiah were besieged with engines of war besides Jerusalem.

But it may be said that no one disputed such a condition of affairs in the eighth century B.C. : that it was only in the times of Moses and of Joshua, and yet more in Abraham's days, that Palestine and Syria were wild countries, without civilisation, and where writing was

unknown: that the Law could not have been carved on tables of stone by Israel in the fifteenth century B.C.; that Abraham could not have bought the field at Hebron with "current money of the merchants"; that there were no carts or chariots in Palestine in Jacob's time, or merchants who could have carried Joseph to Egypt, or "iron chariots" of the Canaanites in Joshua's age, or "Babylonian garments" in Achan's tent. Three years ago all this might be argued, but now these objections also have been answered by the explorer. We know that even before the time of Abraham the Akkadians, from the lower Tigris, hewed granite in Sinai and carried it in ships by Aden to the Persian Gulf. The statues carved of this granite are in the Louvre; and the texts upon them speak of gold and precious woods brought from Upper Egypt, of mines in Phœnicia whence precious metals were dug out, of cedars hewn in Lebanon, of a widespread commerce uniting Africa and Chaldea, and having its highway through Palestine; of Chaldean invasions similar to that of Abraham's time, when Arioch, king of Ellasar (the historic Eriaku of the Larsa monuments) marched even to Edom. And again, in Joshua's time, we learn from the Tell Amarna letters that Palestine was full of scribes, writing in cuneiform characters on clay; that the Amorites and the Hittites had chariots and horses, walled cities, and temples filled with treasure; that there was constant intercourse along the highways of trade between Egypt, Armenia and Babylonia, and fleets of Phœnician and Egyptian ships, visiting the ports not only of Syria, but at Ascalon and Jaffa as well. The picture of Palestine at the time of the Hebrew invasion which is preserved to us in the Pentateuch and in the Book of Joshua, when there were "cities walled to heaven," and treasures, and trade, is fully confirmed by the monuments, as is also the yet earlier picture of Hittite civilisation in the Book of Genesis. It is no longer a question whether we may reasonably expect to find written documents and ancient art objects in the mounds. They have been found; and the monuments tell us how plentiful and how ancient they were. Others only await the time when the spade will bring them to light.

I proceed to point out where we should look, and on what principle our future explorations should be conducted. The interest felt in Jerusalem, as the centre of the Hebrew kingdom, makes it naturally the first site to which we turn with increasing interest; and I believe that excavations here may still bring much to light, and that they are still possible, though there are many difficulties in the way. It is an inhabited city, and it contains one of the most sacred places of the Moslems.

But if we succeed in reopening explorations at Jerusalem itself there is good reason to expect that much will be discovered. The southern hills, outside the city walls, are allowed by all to have been

included in the ancient city before the Captivity. The western hill, usually called Sion, is that of the upper city of David and Solomon; and the south-west angle of its fortress wall has been discovered. It only requires to be traced towards the east. The little spur above Siloam, which is called Ophel in the Bible, was the quarter where the priests' houses grew up south of the Temple, where the kings of Judah had a palace, and where some of them were buried in the royal garden. It was walled in by the later kings, and the wall was rebuilt by Nehemiah. Here also, therefore, we have much reason to hope for important discoveries. We might light on the palace itself, and we might find some remains of early archives on its site. The only caution which seems necessary for the explorer is to remember that, in all probability, the new Jerusalem of Hadrian also extended over this part of the site, and to make sure that Roman remains are carefully distinguished from those of earlier times. By the aid of our accumulated knowledge of Roman remains in Palestine, by help of mason's marks, inscriptions, and other indications, we shall be able to make this distinction, and to say what is really Jewish or Hebrew in the discoveries of the future.

There are several other sites which one would wish to see examined as early as possible, especially in the plains. With the exception of Jerusalem there are not many places in the mountains which suggest examination. Among them, however, I would call special attention to the site of Herodium—the burial-place of Herod the Great. The site is familiar to all who have travelled in Palestine, under the name of the Frank Mountain (having been once held by the Christians against the Moslems), which rises as a truncated cone, 400 feet high, from the plateau south of Bethlehem. The buildings that remain are those described by Josephus as erected by Herod—a circular fortress with four round towers and vaulted chambers. At the foot of the hill is another building, and here a lake, fed by an aqueduct from Urtás, seems perhaps once to have had a fountain or a small temple in its midst. The palace contained much treasure, and served as a stronghold. The interior is now filled with fallen masonry, which ought to be removed; and in turning over the stones we might light on inscriptions in Hebrew or Greek, which would be of great interest for the history of the country about the Christian era.

It was a strange spectacle that was witnessed from the walls of Herodium, in the autumn of the year in which Christ was born. Herod, after vainly bathing in the hot sulphur springs of Machærus, in the palm-valley east of the Dead Sea, had died at Jericho. His body was borne in procession to the hills, and over the flat grassy plateau, in November. He lay on a bier of gold adorned with gems, robed in purple, and having a gold crown on his head, and a gold

sceptre in his right hand. Before him marched his Thracian, German, and Galatian guards; behind the bier came servants bearing spices, and all the great men of the nation. He was buried in the fortress, and here not impossibly his sarcophagus still lies under the ruins, though the treasures may have been carried away at some later time.

There is another important site which we would fain explore but which can probably not be further examined for many years to come, namely, the rock-cut tomb, supposed to be that of the patriarchs, under the sanctuary of Hebron. In 1882, through the assistance of his Royal Highness, we were enabled to ascertain that such a sepulchre does still exist, and to look down, through the hole in the roof of the ante-chamber, on the rock-cut door which leads into the cavern. In the twelfth century it seems still to have been visited by the Jews, for Benjamin of Tudela says that there are two inner chambers, and inscriptions on their walls, and that the bones of Israelites, placed in stone boxes, were ranged beside the graves of the patriarchs. But, as the entry is now closed, it is probable that this important site cannot be visited while the enclosure remains a Moslem shrine, regarded with superstitious terror by all the inhabitants of Hebron.

The difficulties of exploration are much less in cases where the site is now deserted; and there are several important places in Palestine which might thus be explored. Ascalon is now a ruin, surrounded by the great walls built by King Richard Lion-Heart in 1192. From the earliest times it appears in monumental notices of Palestine as an important fortress. A gigantic statue was found in the ruins many years ago; and a curious bas-relief representing Ashtoreth. The city was rebuilt and beautified by Herod the Great, and there is no saying what relics of its long history may not be discovered, under the sand dunes which are invading its gardens—remains of the Egyptians, the Philistines, and the Hebrews, dating back at least to the seventeenth century B.C. The city has, in all ages, been the key to the road from Egypt, and some of the Tell Amarna letters were written by its Philistine kings.

Further north we have the ruins of what, in the time of St. Paul, was the second capital of Judæa—at Caesarea. The remains in this case are not at any great depth beneath the surface. They include a temple and a theatre, which existed already in the time of Christ; and it is almost certain that important inscriptions—perhaps in Greek—must here lie buried, while the remains of the racecourse and of the theatre are still visible above the surface. Further north again there is an important mound called Mujedd'a, in the Jordan Valley, commanding the highway from the Carmel Port to Damascus—close to the line chosen for the railway. I believe this site, which is certainly that of an ancient town well supplied with springs of water, to be the

Megiddo of the Bible—a very important city. In 1600 B.C. it was a walled town, which resisted the Egyptians under Thothmes III.; and the wealth of its inhabitants is attested by the list of spoils taken thence. The chariots of the Canaanites who opposed Thothmes are said to have been plated with gold and silver. An enormous harvest was reaped in the fields around. The armour of the King of Megiddo was captured, and his tent which had seven poles plated with gold. The city is often noticed in later monumental accounts, and was still important when King Josiah was here slain by Necho, king of Egypt. Megiddo seems, therefore, to be one of the best sites to explore, and being entirely uninhabited and undisturbed, the results of such an examination may prove to be of great value.

Generally speaking, I think that it is along the great trade routes of Palestine that the most important sites occur. The towns in the mountains were for the most part small, and the civilisation of early ages was chiefly found in the plains, along the great highways from the Euphrates and from the sea to Damascus and to Egypt. These great routes remained unchanged in all ages. The Akkadians, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, and the Crusaders all marched along the same main routes, which were formed by the plains and river valleys between the impassable mountains. The route for the railway to Damascus is the same by which Thothmes III. reached that city nearly 3500 years ago. The monuments of the later Assyrian kings stand on the rocks of the Dog River, near Beirut, side by side with those of Rameses II., seven centuries older. The main route crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish, and one line went straight west to the sea at Issus, passing through the city of Samala, to which I must again refer. It was by this route that the great Persian army marched against Alexander; and the victory of Issus laid all Syria and Egypt at his feet. By the same route the Assyrians constantly reached the shores of the Mediterranean, at the gulf of Alexandretta, in earlier times.

Passing southwards, the trade route reached Arpad and Aleppo, and ascended the course of the Orontes in its open valley east of the Lebanon, by Hamath and Emesa, till Kadesh of the Hittites was reached. In the plains round Kadesh there are many huge mounds which mark the sites of Hittite towns, and not one of these has been explored, although we know that the Hittites were a civilised people who had their own system of hieroglyphics, and whose wealth and art were most remarkable. Kadesh was the central point where the route from Damascus joined that which led westwards down the broad valley of the Eleutherus to the Phœnician coast cities, Tripoli, Gebal, Beirut, Sidon, and Tyre. From Tripoli the main road led beside the sea all the way to Egypt, through Acre and Cæsarea, Jaffa, Ascalon, and

Gaza ; but there was an important cross-road to Damascus from Haifa under Carmel, by Megiddo. The richest and most important cities lay along these highways. Ribadda, king of Gebal, writing to Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., says that the temple of Baalath in his city was full of silver and gold. The Egyptian spoil and tribute lists, still earlier, speak of the precious metals and precious woods, of the ivory and carved statues, and bronze vases with artistic designs, which were to be found in Phœnicia about 1600 B.C. It was the wealth of Palestine and of Syria which tempted alike the Egyptian and the Assyrian invaders.

There is, however, I think, some evidence that, in the earliest times, the great centre of native civilisation was in the Lebanon, and not in Southern Palestine. The Phœnicians had ports and fleets long before 1600 B.C. in this part. The Amorites lived in the Lebanon Mountains, and the Hittites held all the plains near the Orontes, from Kadesh to Aleppo and to Carchemish. Remains of their art have been found by Burckhardt at Hamath, and by Sir Charles Wilson and others in Northern Syria ; and this region is full of deserted mounds, some forty feet high, which conceal unknown treasures of antiquity. The sites in this region which require exploration—and which others will soon explore if we do not—include especially Kadesh itself, Arpad, and Carchemish. I do not think we should confine ourselves between the limits of Beersheba and Dan : for the kingdom of Solomon reached to the Euphrates ; and the “Land of the Hittites” (often mentioned in the Bible) is quite as important for Bible study as is Southern Palestine. Our limits, I think, should be drawn from the Egyptian boundary to the foot of the Taurus ; and the most promising sites are to be found in the plain of the Orontes, east of Lebanon. In Lebanon itself, inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar are cut upon the rocks ; and the Assyrian conquerors, returning from their expedition to Egypt, left monuments at Beirut and at Samala, describing their distant victories. The Egyptians set up statues at Tunep, near Arpad, and it is quite possible that in this region we may yet recover texts which will tell us of the conquest of Jerusalem by the northern enemy, or early inscriptions even of the time of Solomon.

To illustrate this subject I would call attention to what has actually been discovered quite recently by German explorers at Samala, in the extreme north of Syria, and to the importance of their explorations as connected with Bible history. These results are as yet very little known in England ; but the statues which they have brought home are among the chief treasures of the Imperial Museum at Berlin. There is no doubt that this important field will be further worked by German scholars ; and George Smith long ago called our attention to its interest and value. I hope we may find

Englishmen co-operating with the Germans in the recovery of its treasures.

Samala, the site to which I refer, lies east of Issus and south-west of Mer'ash, where several very important Hittite bas-reliefs and inscriptions have been found. But the antiquities of Samala are not Hittite, but represent the civilisation of the Syrian race, which worshipped Hadad, the God of Damascus, and which used the Phœnician alphabet almost as early as the time of the Moabite Stone.

A circular enclosure, some 800 yards in diameter, with three gates, here enclosed an acropolis on a hillock in the plain. The great south gateway of the acropolis was built apparently about 730 B.C., and adorned with forty bas-reliefs cut in hard basalt, in a rude imitation of Assyrian style. Men with captives, a bowman, a horseman, and a soldier with an axe, are represented, with bulls, deer, and lions. Also mythological figures—a lion-headed man, a winged-lion ramping, and a sphynx. A statue close by has a Phœnician text of thirty-four lines in relief. It represents the head and body of a gigantic bearded figure with a round cap, and the inscription is on a columnar pedestal. I have not seen any translation of this text as a whole, but it is of so much value, as showing the beliefs of the Syrians about 800 B.C., that it may not be uninteresting to give it here in full, though it is unfortunately mutilated by three great cracks across the stone, which is black dolerite of great hardness:

"I Panammu, son of Karal, king of Yadi, have set up this statue to Hadad my Baal. My people are his—Hadad, the God, and light, and cherub, and sun; and to my hand is given, by Hadad, the God, and cherub, and sun, and light, the sceptre of Aleppo; and he has been a light to the people: wherefore he has received at my hand . . . much worship; and therefore I sit (on the throne) in great prosperity, given to me by my God . . . is it not a land of barley . . . a land of wheat, and a land of oil, and a land (tilled by) the care of my people . . . and they labour in the land and the vineyard. He (has given) a name to Panammu: moreover I sit on the seat of my father; and Hadad has given to my hand the sceptre of Aleppo. He has destroyed the (enemy); and may it cease from my father's house. And in my day also I enjoy meat and drink; and in my day there is made restoration. (Therefore) invoking (by this) statue I have also (set) the statue as my memorial, and (because favour) has been given to the sons of the villages of Aleppo. They have prospered (adoring) the God, and cherub, and sun; and a land of glory and honour is given to me, and royal authority . . . In my day Aleppo (has smitten) the godless, and has received much at my hands; and do not I ask good things from my God, for myself and the land. And to (the son of) Karal God has given much hope. Truly Hadad has given much: wherefore he is dear to me. May he bless the utterance of my wishes. He has given much to the people. May he bless the building much, and the erection of this statue of Hadad, and the shrine of Panammu the son of Karal, king of Yadi. And when Panammu is no more his son shall receive the sceptre, and sit on my seat, and shall increase greatly, and shall sacrifice to Hadad; and . . . he shall sacrifice . . . the free-will offering, and shall sacrifice to Hadad, and shall remember the sin-offering for Hadad. If behold he shall rule here . . .

Panammu has said 'Comfort thou thy people.' Panammu has said 'Thy people is mindful of sin.' Panammu has said 'This people enlighten thou (who are) in this land. Strengthen thou (the people of) my land thereby. He has asked of Hadad, and (prayed for) this land, to the God, and cherub, and sun, (and light) . . . and thereby my fear is set at rest, and I have increased in devotion. (He has deigned) to give me a loving offspring . . . and my son shall receive the sceptre, and shall sit on the king's throne a long time, and shall rule . . . skilful in war. (If an enemy arises) he shall destroy far away; if in wrath, if (in fury) they have waxed hot: if by his strength, if by his authority . . . he possesses subjection of careful chiefs for life: if through this there is unity in his lifetime: if through this the people are free; putting to shame (the foe) he shall perfect submission . . . and whatever is received by counsel he shall speak wisely, causing submission . . . fearing the God of his father in all things. Thus he shall cause for him the raising up of authority greater than that before my eyes. If (it be so) in the sight of men . . . this my carving is here to give a memorial, in the sight of the son of his people. A memorial well carved on my stone, and showing forth (all this) for the son of my race: a goodly carving on my stone; and it has shown that there is indeed submission in prosperity, and a turning away of thine eyes (from sin?) If by his strength, if by his might, if by his authority, if by offerings here he shall rule, Lo! Hadad (has given it). If there is destruction in the (land, he is a) refuge. If thou wilt, if thou ordainest it for me, it is so. There shall be destruction (to the foe)."

The royal race of this pious worshipper of Hadad sat on the throne for about a century after him. His grandson, Panammu, named after him, became a tributary of Tiglath Pileser; and his great-grandson, Bar Racab, erected another statue of black dolerite to Panammu II., which was found headless near his tomb, to the north-east of the Samala palace. On the skirts of the long robe of this statue another text of twenty-four lines was also found carved in relief. It has been translated into German, and the following rendering differs only in a few passages from that which has been published. The inscription tells us of the later history of these kings of Yadi, and how far the prophecy of the first Panammu was fulfilled:

"This statue has been set up by Bar Racab, to his father, Panammu, son of Bar Tsur (in) the year of deliverance by the hand of (Hadad the god of) his father. His god having delivered Yadi from subjection—the god dwelling in his father's house; and his god has been (implored?) because of the subjection . . . (of his) father's house. But he slew his father Bar Tsur, and slew seventy of his father's kindred . . . because he turned away (from his Baal . . . and very long imprisonment remained for him, and ruined cities were made more than inhabited cities: (there was) a sword on the house, and slaughter of one son, and loathing of life. The sword (was) in the land (in the lifetime) of Panammu son of Karul, before my father, and of his son's son. There was destruction of (the land and of) flocks and herds, and wheat and barley. And there was division by weight . . . and hoarding of debt by measure. But truly my father (turned) to the King of Assyria, and he made him king over his father's house, and broke the stone of subjection from his father's house, (and set him free) from restraint . . . and diminished the imprisonment, and restored the captivity of Yadi,

and remitted the debt . . . of the house of the slain, and set up (my father over) his father's house, and made it better than aforetime. And I have increased the wheat and the barley and the flocks and the grain in my day, and have eaten thereof . . . there is cheapness of price in my day. My father Panammu established owners of villages, and increased the owners. . . . My father Panammu was great among kings . . . (he) was indeed a master of silver, and behold also a master of gold, by his wisdom and justice. He took word from his protector, his lord the King of Assyria . . . the Assyrians were chiefs and brothers of Yadi: and his lord the King of Assyria favoured him. He was great beyond other kings (favoured) in the eye of his lord, Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria, who is obeyed . . . from the rising of the sun to the going down (of the sun), in the four quarters of the earth, and who has done good from the rising of the sun even to the sunset, and has done good from the sunset even to the rising of the sun. And my father (received) borders from his lord, Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria . . . towns from the border of Gurgum . . . and my father Panammu was great. . . . Moreover my father Panammu was very careful in adherence to his lord, Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria; in obedience he (was careful). And his people have mourned him as king; and all who obey his lord the King of Assyria have mourned him. And he took the King of Assyria as his lord. . . . He spoke to him and caused a palace to be built for him; and he brought my father from Damascus, to prosper in the days of his rule (over) all his house. And I am Bar Recab. (Because of the justice of) my father, and of my own justice, my lord the King of Assyria has set me (on the throne of) my father Panammu the son of Bar Tsur; and the erection of this statue (is my memorial to) Panammu the son of Bar Tsur; and I have built . . . and commanded offerings; and indeed he was faithful in seeking the King of Assyria. And truly this stands before the tomb of my father Panammu . . . and this his memorial behold thou here, O Hadad, god and cherub, lord of the house and sun, and all the gods of Yadi . . . my memorial before God and before men."

These two inscriptions, which represent very different political conditions within a century, are the most important that have been found, written in the Phœnician character, since the discovery of the Moabite Stone, which alone is older than either. Panammu II. was already known as a Syrian king tributary to Tiglath Pileser; but the importance of his kingdom was hardly suspected. The inscriptions have great value from a religious point of view, and because of the character and the language in which they are written; and, again, historically, and as illustrating the contemporary history of the kings of Israel and of Judah. A few words will therefore be of interest, perhaps, on each of these questions.

The writers were polytheists, adoring "all the gods of Yadi." They came probably from the south, since their town was, called Samala, "the Northern"; and their chief deity Hadad is noticed in the Bible as the God of Damascus, from whom Ben Hadad, the king of Damascus, was named. Hadad was already known to have been a sun-god, as he is here described, but he occupies a very important position as the Elohim of the Syrians according to these texts. The Syrians, the Canaanites, the Assyrians, and the Egyptians alike wor-

shipped the spirits of Heaven, Earth, Ocean, and Hades, the Sun, the Moon, the planets, the thunder, and the rain; but it must not be forgotten that, although this was certainly the popular creed, their higher teachers had very early perceived that all these phenomena of Nature were controlled by a higher law; and that they had recognised all the gods as only manifestations of a single Power. It has long been known that this was recognised in Egypt even before the time of Moses; and Mr. T. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, has recently shown that it was the case also in Babylonia. Not only so, but he has shown that, at least as early as Solomon's time, the name of Jah or Jehovah was used in Babylonia as that of the Supreme Deity; and we know that it was also so used in Hamath and in Phœnicia. This fully agrees with the words of Genesis, which speak of primitive men, before Abraham's time, as calling on the name of Jehovah. Senzacherib, in the Book of Kings, says that he came against Jerusalem in the name of Jehovah. Balaam, from Pethor on the Euphrates, worshipped Jehovah; and Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus are called servants of Jehovah in the Bible. The monuments contradict the theory that Jehovah was only the name of a tribal or family God of Moses, and show how early and how widely the name was used. The later Hebrew prophets speak of other nations besides Israel then worshipping Jehovah as the One Supreme God. Perhaps, under the name of Hadad, we see some indication of similar belief, although the meaning of the word is unknown.

As regards the characters in which these inscriptions are written, they are very closely similar to those of the Moabite Stone. We now know that, by 900 B.C., the art of alphabetic writing was practised all over Palestine and Syria, to the most remote limits of the country. At present there is a gap between this period and the earlier age when, in the fifteenth century B.C., the Canaanites used the cuneiform characters; and it is not at present known exactly when or where the alphabet first appeared. My own idea is that the Phœnicians developed it from the older characters used by the Hittites, which present many striking similarities. It is at least clear that, even if the alphabet was not generally used much earlier than the time of Solomon, the art of writing in other characters goes back even to the time of Abraham.

But the language is even more interesting than the characters used in writing. It is not Hebrew, but (like the Moabite) it approaches nearer to the Aramaic, which became the Jewish language after the Captivity. It differs from the language of the Bible and of the Siloam inscription as a dialect, and contains peculiar words and forms of grammar. We know that, in Hezekiah's time, the Aramaic or Syrian dialect was not the same as Hebrew; and the difference is made clear by these discoveries. There are certain words used in the Book of Genesis which some scholars have regarded as showing the

late date at which it was written, because they are Aramaic rather than Hebrew; but on these inscriptions some of the very words in question are found in use in Syria as early as 800 B.C. Our ideas concerning Hebrew must remain in abeyance until a sufficient number of ancient texts has been recovered to allow of our tracing the history of the West Semitic dialects. At present we only possess five inscriptions older than the Captivity, but even in these, more than eighty of the words used in Genesis are recovered; and their language is of the highest value for purposes of comparison with Bible Hebrew.

Then again as regards the history of these kings of Yadi, and its connection with Bible history. The Assyrians had long been turbulent, and had raided across the Euphrates in very early times. In the days of Samuel, Tiglath Pileser I. came down to Arvad on the Phœnician shores, and embarking in a Phœnician ship he killed a dolphin in the Mediterranean. But these raids were intermittent until the time of Tiglath Pileser III., who is the king of that name mentioned in the Bible and in the inscription above given. Meantime a very powerful Syrian State had arisen, with its capital at Damascus, which Rezin took from Solomon. The wars of the Syrians against Israel and Judah form the subject of many chapters in the Books of Kings. The Syrians were attacked on north and south by Assyrians and Israelites, but for a long time they held their own, although Jeroboam II. conquered both Damascus and Hamath.

The reign of Tiglath Pileser III. was mainly devoted to the conquest of this Syrian State, which intervened between Israel and Assyria. Before his time, as we have seen above, there were independent Syrian kings having a civilisation and a religion of their own. But in 743 B.C. this conqueror received tribute from Carchemish, Hamath, Gebal, and Tyre, and specially mentions the submission of the second Panammu, king of Samala. In 738 B.C. he took the Hamathites captive to Assyria, and in their stead established colonists from the Tigris, just as Sargon some forty years later took captive the Israelites from Samaria, and replaced them by foreigners. In 734 B.C. Tiglath Pileser attacked Samala, and took away 700 captives with their sheep and oxen. It is to the subsequent restoration of these captives, after King Panammu had been again set on his throne as a tributary, that the later of the two inscriptions—that of Bar Racab—seems to refer.

Meantime the Syrians of Damascus had been raiding southwards in Edom, as far as Elath on the Red Sea. The King of Judah appealed to Assyria against Rezin of Damascus; and in 732 B.C., after Arpad had been taken and all Syria subdued, Tiglath Pileser took Damascus, and received (according to his own monuments) tribute from Ahaz of Judah, and from Panammu of Samala, in that city. Tiglath Pileser died five years later; but his reign was marked by the complete conquest of Syria; and this again laid a

base from which a further advance became possible, so that in 720 B.C. Samaria was taken by Sargon.

The extreme submission of Panammu II., and of his son, who speaks so glowingly of the power and goodness of his "lord the King of Assyria" did not save the royal house of Samala from its final fate. Although Panammu was brought from Damascus, and set on his throne, where his son succeeded him a few years later, it is known that in 680 B.C. there was an Assyrian ruler in Samala. Ten years later, Esarhaddon, after the conquest of Memphis, set up at Samala a very large monolith, inscribed in cuneiform, on which the Nubian King Tirhakah appears as his captive. The long and vain-glorious Assyrian text on this monument makes no mention of any royal house in Samala; and the foreign language of Assyria takes the place of the native speech of the earlier native statues.

I have dwelt thus long on these two important texts for several reasons. First as showing what others are discovering in the East, and what may reasonably be expected from explorations, especially in the North. Secondly, because of the interest of the subject, as showing the civilisation of a people who were in constant conflict with Israel before the Assyrians conquered both, and its affinity to the Hebrew civilisation of the same age; and, lastly, because these are the most recent important discoveries made in the East. Samala was not the only important place in Syria. Arpad stood many long sieges before it was taken by Tiglath Pileser; yet Arpad has never been thoroughly examined, though the site is well known. Tunep, not far off, was an important fortress in which statues of the Pharaohs were set up in the time when Israel was in Egypt. Yet Tunep remains unexplored. Kadesh was a large city, the site of which I visited in 1881, and found it strewn with ruins of the Greek age; but the great mound of Kadesh remains still unexcavated. Above all, Carchemish—which is generally placed at the large ruin of Jerablus on the banks of the Euphrates—was a most important Hittite city, which long resisted the Assyrian advance across the great river.

From Carchemish three splendid bas-reliefs covered with Hittite writing were sent by George Smith to the British Museum. At least one other, of which we have no published copy, lies in the ruins, representing a winged goddess, with an inscription above. There have been some excavations here attempted, but they have never been carried out systematically, and have only served to show that the site is full of important remains of sculpture and writing. We already know that it was in some cases usual to write bilingual texts in Hittite and cuneiform; and if we would set at rest for ever the question of the language of the Hittites, we should endeavour to find such texts in Syria. There is no place at which they are more likely to be found than at Carchemish, the Hittite capital, on the

border of the Assyrian country. For these reasons I think that explorations at Carchemish are likely to lead to most important results, telling us of the early history of the Canaanites, and of the Assyrian conquest, which led finally to the captivity of Judah. Ezekiel, and the captive kings of Israel and Judah, must have passed through this city on their way to their bondage in Assyria; and Sargon, the conqueror of Samaria, was also the conqueror of Carchemish, from which he took away the last Hittite princes as prisoners. We may find Sargon's account of his victories over Israel at this place.

As regards antiquarian results bearing on the study of the New Testament we may look for valuable results, and some have indeed already been obtained. On the west side of Jerusalem a tomb has been found, quite recently, which—judging from drawings of its masonry and ornamentation—seems to me to be probably the “Monument of Herod,” in which the later members of that family were buried. I have already mentioned Herodium, the tomb of Herod the Great; and beyond Jordan, at Siah, in Bashan, there is a very remarkable temple raised in honour of Herod, but dedicated to the Arab god Aumo. This has been only partially explored, but is in many respects of great interest. It has on the east a square court, like that of the priests in the Temple at Jerusalem; and round the great eastern gate the vine is carved, just as the golden vine was affixed to the east gate of the Jerusalem Temple. There is, however, nothing to surprise us in Herod's having been connected with a Pagan temple: for he himself erected temples in honour of Augustus at Samaria and Caesarea. He tolerated the Jews, and aided to re-build the outer court of their Temple; but he was not himself a Jew but an Idumæan, and appears to have been equally tolerant of all systems of religion at home and abroad.

As regards the languages spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ, much that is of high importance has resulted from exploration. The dedication to Herod above noticed was written both in Aramaic and in Greek, and there are a great many Greek texts of this age in all parts of the country which show us that the old Canaanite religions had not yet died out, but were mingled with Greek mythology, so that the names of native and of Greek deities stand side by side. The region where the Greeks were most numerous was apparently Decapolis, east of the Sea of Galilee, and it seems to me probable that the people of Gadara, who keep swine, were Greeks, for the pig was regarded as an unclean animal by the Phœnicians and other natives as well as by the Jews. It has often been disputed whether the Gospels were originally written in Greek or in Aramaic; but it has now been rendered certain by exploration that Greek was very widely used in Palestine at this time, and that it was understood by the Jews as well as by others. We have recovered the stone written in Greek, which

warned the Gentiles not to enter the inner court of the Temple, and have found early Jewish bone-boxes on Olivet inscribed in Greek.

As regards the early history of Christianity in the East in the second and third centuries, much which is of great interest has also been brought to light, and more remains no doubt to be found, especially at Cæsarea and at Ascalon. On Mount Hermon is a building which is the oldest known consecrated to Christian worship—the synagogue of the Marcionites, who were an heretical sect in the third century and earlier. I think that excavations at Pella—which was the home of the Christians before the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus—might also bring to light interesting facts; but one of the great difficulties is to discern, in some cases, whether a text is Christian or not, when it is older than the time of Constantine. For the Christians were afraid to confess their faith. They never carved the cross on their tombs or synagogues till their religion was tolerated; and they concealed the name of Christ under the term “Chrēstos” or “good,” which occurs on several of their early monuments, and especially in the inscription of the Hermon synagogue just mentioned. In later times they wrote religious texts—especially verses of Psalms in Greek—over the doors of their houses; and the ruined towns of Syria, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries, have already given us many examples of such texts.

One of the most curious discoveries in this connection is the origin of the terms “bishop” and “deacon,” as used in the East before the establishment of Christianity. *Episcopus*, or “overseer,” was a civil term for a civil functionary under the Romans in the East. Lists of these civil officers occur in texts from Bashan. Dr. Ramsay has found texts on which the *diaconoi*, or civil subordinate officers, are noticed, who were certainly not Christians. The terms were applied by the Church to her officers from the first; but they were borrowed from the civil organisation of the times, just as the basilica, or hall of justice, was the earliest form of Christian temple in east and west alike.

I have attempted briefly to show part of what has been done, and what is now doing, and how much more remains still to be worked out. But we must be up and doing. Twenty years ago the Palestine Exploration Fund stood almost alone. But now the movement has spread in every direction. The French and the Germans are busy in Greece and in Syria. The Egyptologists have added immense stores of valuable material to our collections. We must not allow others to outstrip us, or leave neglected one of the most hopeful and important fields of research. We must not rest on what has been done, for that is merely the prelude and the laying of a firm basis for future work.

SPIRIT AND MATTER.

ON page 312 of his Introduction to Professor Max Müller's translation of the "Critique of Pure Reason," Professor Noiré makes the following remark: "Leibnitz believed himself to have been the first to solve the *eternal opposition* between mind and matter." Even those who have but a slight acquaintance with philosophy can hardly fail to be struck with the persistent manner in which they are confronted with this "eternal opposition." In much of the ancient philosophy it takes the form of regarding matter as the root of all evil, and the human body as a mere degrading prison-house to the soul whose tenement it is, thus broadening and deepening to the utmost extent the division conceived to exist between them.

"The Platonic dualism," says Professor Noiré, "served to accentuate the chasm between the world of ideas and the world of phenomena, a difficulty which presents the real crux of modern philosophy. Plato's plan was to allow the phenomena to become absorbed in the ideas while the material world was banished to the realms of non-existence. But this is evading not solving the difficulty, for in all that Plato himself predicates of matter we recognise qualities that only belong to something which has a real existence. That matter opposes itself to the formative power of spirit; that it is that wherein the Maker of the world reproduces the ideas as a mechanic works upon his material; that it is not merely an impediment to knowledge by its mutability and diffusion in space; but that it actually sets itself, as a bad ungodly principle, in direct antagonism to the creative cosmic forces---these are too grave accusations to be directed against what does not exist." *

Matter was at an equal discount with the mediæval philosophers. They regarded it as contemptible and evil, failing to see how high a value their Christian faith should have taught them to place on it. The dualism of Descartes, who may be regarded as the true father of

* Introduction to Kant's "Critique of Pure Reason," p. 52.

modern philosophy, did not indeed deny *reality* to matter, but caused him to draw the line of demarcation between it and spirit as sharply as any of his predecessors, for he regarded the external world as ruled by mechanical principles only, looking upon animals as automata, and reserving to man alone the possession of mind. The connection between the spiritual and the material in human nature, Descartes regarded as purely arbitrary, and sustained by a direct act of volition on the part of the Creator, repeated each time that the bodily powers of man were called into action by his soul—in fact, the only way out of the difficulty raised by a belief in the independent existence of mind and matter, was to postulate a continuous series of miracles, and this Descartes accordingly did.

The form which dualism has taken in the present day is perhaps best represented by Mr. Herbert Spencer, who tells us that we can reduce the whole universe to mind, or the whole universe to matter, but that either reduction is unsatisfactory, because it excludes the other, which, despite the exigencies of theory, reasserts itself in practice, yet can never arrive at any rational mode of reconciliation with the antagonistic view. The Spencerian philosophy represents, however, only one school of thought, and that not the highest. Kant and his successors have shown us a more excellent way, and have pointed to the true solution of the problem by directing us to the conclusion that Nature, or the material universe, is not the antithesis but the expression of spirit, while science, in her turn, and despite her supposed materialistic tendency, has been aiding to bring about “this ultimate synthesis in which Man and Nature are regarded as the manifestation of one spiritual principle,”* by demonstrating with ever increasing clearness the indissoluble union of the two, yet acknowledging by the mouth of some of her most honoured representatives that there is an element in both which is not comprehensible through the laws of matter.†

We may observe, however, that there is nothing antagonistic to the “laws of matter” in the existence of such an element; simply the latter cannot be accounted for by the former, that is all, and is either consciously or unconsciously assumed because the laws of matter could not otherwise be satisfactorily enunciated. In the domain of physics proper—*i.e.*, in the science of inorganic matter—

* “Essays on Literature and Philosophy,” Professor E. Caird, p. 581.

† In this connection it may be interesting to refer to a discussion in the Biological Section of the British Association in 1893, in which (according to the *Times*’ report) Professor Cleland said that there were things which were not to be accounted for [in biology] upon chemical or physiological principles, and suggested that it was not an incredible hypothesis that the existence of an element unknown to the laws of matter should have to be admitted. Professor Allen, of Birmingham, remarked during the same discussion that it appeared to him that, in addition to the matters which the physicist ordinarily accepted, there must be some other principle of Nature, and that was the principle which determined and maintained the relationship between matter and energy.

Force is the inexplicable element. It cannot be explained by any law of matter, but is presupposed in all. "The *ne plus ultra* of explanation to the physicist," Dr. Lodge tells us, "is contained in the term mechanical,"* but the whole science of mechanics is based upon the conception of force, of which the same authority says on another occasion: "By what means is force exerted, and what definitely is force or stress? . . . I venture to say there is something here not provided for in the orthodox scheme of physics."† In the domain of biology, life itself is the inexplicable element. The science which bears so proud a name, is the science of the conditions and processes of life, but of that which manifests itself under those conditions and in those processes it is unable to offer even a tentative explanation; and if this is true of the lower life of vegetable and animal, how far more strikingly true does it appear when we rise to the self-conscious life of man. Holding by the "eternal opposition between mind and matter," both are incomprehensible to us. In biology we are without so much as a working hypothesis of the nature of life; in anthropology we are thrown back upon "cosmic forces" to explain the psychical development of man,‡ yet are told that when that psychical development has reached a certain stage (the ethical) its salvation depends on "combating the cosmic process."§ If such results as these be consequent upon regarding mind and matter as eternally opposed, it is surely time that we should endeavour to look upon them in some other light. A theory which does not even permit of a coherent statement of facts is self-condemned, and this is the case with the theory of the opposition or antithesis between mind and matter, which may be regarded as simply an erroneous manner of formulating the true fact that there exist in Nature two distinct elements, and that we cannot resolve them the one into the other, but must endeavour to ascertain the terms of their relationship. What we may conceive that relationship to be has been already briefly indicated in the present paper—viz., that matter is the expression or "necessary manifestation" of mind or spirit, and was adverted to more at length in articles published in this REVIEW in December 1893 and May 1894.

It has appeared to the writer, however, that a truer and more adequate conception of this subject might be attained by means of an analogy, at once close and extraordinarily suggestive—that of thought and language. The student of philosophy will here be reminded of the idealism of Berkeley, or rather of the not very accurate inter-

* "Letter to Nature," vol. xlviii. p. 564.

† Address to the Mathematical and Physical Section of British Association. 1891.

‡ See Presidential Address of Dr. Munro, F.R.S.E., to the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1893.

§ "Let us understand once for all that the ethical progress of society depends not on imitating the cosmic process, still less in running away from it, but in combating it."—Huxley: "Evolution and Ethics," p. 34.

pretation put upon it by later philosophers and historians, according to whom Berkeley regarded the being of matter as dependent upon its presence in thought, so that to be perceived and to be were one and the same thing. This, equally with "Plato's plan," before referred to (see p. 422), would "banish the material world to the realms of non-existence." No such drastic measure is suggested in the present paper. Matter is a real thing, just as language is a real thing; but we could not have had language without thought, and in the same manner it is contended that we could not have had matter without spirit, or the "immanent Reason" of which it is the expression. At the same time, just as it is an inadequate representation of the relationship of thought to language to say that the former is the *cause* of the latter, so it is also inadequate to make causality the link between matter and that which reveals itself through matter. Language is the mode in which thought takes shape, its way of becoming known to itself, and therefore language is evidently dependent on thought for its existence, but their relationship is a far more intimate one than that of cause and effect. We cannot conceive ourselves putting, with regard to thought and language, Hume's question, by what right reason can assert that there is anything in the world possessed of such a nature that when it is posited, something quite different must also be posited. Language is not "quite different" to thought; it *is* thought, thought expressed. We cannot "account for" thought by the laws of language, simply because thought unconsciously makes those laws by way of attaining to a clearer recognition of itself. In the same way we cannot "account for" mind by the laws of matter, because those laws are in reality the principles according to which human intelligence apprehends the material universe. In them mind recognises itself in the external world.

It will be sufficient for the purpose of the present analogy if we confine ourselves to human thought and human language, without, however, by any means intending to imply thereby that there is no other kind of thought, and no other way of expressing it. As has been already pointed out, it is immediately obvious that language could never have come into existence without thought. Noise and meaningless sounds we might have had, but "articulate sound is always an utterance, a bringing out of something that is within, a manifestation or revelation of something that wants to manifest and reveal itself."* In whatever manner language first arose, whether we regard its primitive elements as having taken their origin in imitative sounds, or in any other way, it never could have arisen at all except as an utterance of thought which was constrained to find some expression for itself. So far all will be agreed, but what is certainly less apparent on the surface, and what escaped the

* "The Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 44, Max Müller.

observation of philosophers until comparatively recent times, is the effect that finding articulate expression must have had on thought itself. A familiar experience may give us some insight into this. We all understand what it means to have vague and unformed notions on some subject of study or experience. "I know what I mean, but I cannot explain it," is a common expression. Those who have been at the pains to test its true significance, however, will have undoubtedly come to the conclusion that they do *not* know what they mean until they *can* explain it. When, after much labour and difficulty, perhaps, they at last manage to express in spoken or written words the thought which they "could not explain," with what vividness and reality does its meaning at once stand out and expand itself before them, so that very soon the language in which they embodied it seems poor and inadequate, and they are compelled to seek for worthier and ampler expression. In the very act of uttering itself, the thought outgrows its utterance, and labours to find another yet more true and complete. Some such process as this assisted at the formation not of languages only, but of *language*, of that articulate speech without which it may well be doubted whether human reason as we know it could ever have existed. "Without reason no speech, without speech no reason," * says Professor Max Müller; and Dr. Romanes, who by no means concurs in all the conclusions reached by Müller, and who is certainly not inclined to magnify the effect on man of any exclusively human attribute, gives it as his opinion "that it is not improbable in the absence of articulation, the human race would not have made much psychological advance upon the anthropoid apes." † Thought and language, then, developed together, acting and re-acting upon one another, language becoming ever more full and complex, as the thought to which it gave expression rose by its aid, and through differentiating processes into higher and higher generalisation, till from the simple and primitive ideas of savage man which can be rendered almost as well by gesture as by words, we arrive at such abstract conceptions as are to be found in the treatises of Kant, of which Dr. Romanes truly says it would be impossible to render a single page by means of wordless signs alone.‡

Now the study of a language may be regarded under two aspects. We may pursue it with reference to the thought which it embodies, endeavouring to arrive at as accurate an understanding of the words used as possible, in order that we may fully enter into the meaning they are intended to convey. This may be said to be the method of the literary or classical scholar. On the other hand, we may desire to fix our minds not on any thoughts contained in the language, but

* "The Science of Language," p. 69.

† "Mental Evolution in Man," p. 15.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

on the language itself, which we may "treat as a mere corpse, not caring whether it ever had any life or meaning, but simply trying to find out what it is made of, what are the impressions made upon our ear, and how they can be classified."* This is the method pursued through at least half his work by the philologist, and by its means all the knowledge possessed of language as divorced from thought, of the resemblances, relationships, community of origin between different languages, has been acquired. Most surely then this method is not to be despised; it may indeed, if rightly handled and applied, become one of the most powerful safeguards against "the mischief which begins when language forgets itself, and makes us mistake the word for the thing, the quality for the substance, the Nomen for the Numen."† The only precaution requisite is to remember that though we are purposely confining our attention to the "body of language" only, it nevertheless has a "soul" also, viz., the thought which it expresses, and of which our study of the body is but finally intended to give us a clearer understanding.

Now the method of the philologist with regard to language is the method of the scientist as such with regard to Nature. His object is to investigate, to verify, to record, to classify the facts of animate and inanimate matter, "not caring whether they have any life or meaning" beyond matter. His business is with the body of Nature, which he finds more convenient to "treat as a corpse," that he may analyse and dissect it at his leisure. And no fault can be found with him for so doing any more than with the philologist for treating language in a like manner, so long as this treatment is regarded as provisional and partial, the clearing out of ground preparatory to laying deeper foundations, and raising a worthier superstructure. It must be remarked, however, that in this preparatory, though most important and necessary work, it cannot be expected that any solutions of the profounder problems presented by Nature will be attained, any more than the mere reduction of language to its elements will by itself enable the philologist to understand the abstract propositions which that language contains.‡ With this proviso, we have every right, both in the study of language and in the study of any branch of natural science, to "claim the liberty of treating separately what in the nature of things cannot be separated,"§ only we must not expect to arrive at a true understanding of these divided elements until they are again reunited. This appears to be recognised in the study of

* "The Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 580.

† *Ibid.*

‡ "The outward form is the key to the inward fact which it embodies; we can get at the original force and meaning of grammatical expressions and derivative words only by interrogating the phonetic utterances by which they are expressed. The science of phonology is the entrance to the science of language, but we must not forget that it is but the outer vestibule, not the inner shrine itself."—"Introduction to the Science of Language" (Sayce), vol. i. p. 60.

§ "The Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 95.

language, analysis being only regarded as the road to a more complete and comprehensive synthesis; but in the study of Nature it is too often not recognised, and therefore the two halves of that study, the spiritual and the material, are respectively taken for the whole by the students whose attention is exclusively directed to the one or the other, and both are rendered incomprehensible. No doubt the reason why the science of language does not fall a victim to this treatment, is because articulate sounds are perceived to "have no independent reality," to "exist nowhere apart from meaning," from which "it follows that this so-called body of language could never have been taken up anywhere by itself, and added to our conceptions from without."* In other words, language is so evidently embodied thought, that its absolutely separate existence is not even conceivable. Now it must be remembered that something of this kind is allowed—nay, insisted upon with regard to Nature even by the philosophy of the unknowable, for the knowable is therein distinctly regarded as a method or mode of the unknowable, absolutely dependent upon it, and as having no existence apart from it. The knowable is therefore most unquestionably thought of as "an articulate utterance," only it is one whose meaning we can never attain to, one which transcends human intelligence. The existence of two elements in Nature is more than admitted, for their relationship to one another is even to some extent defined. The knowable is regarded as the manifestation of the unknowable; but it is a hieroglyphic to which we can never find the key, an utterance not of something which wants to reveal but to obscure itself. If this be the case, however, the most insoluble problem of the universe is why the futility of utterance should ever have come to pass at all, and especially why there should exist intelligences which desire to interpret it. A revelation which cannot reveal is a sorry expression to adopt as our ultimate formula of the universe, and we may well turn with relief to the more reasonable theory which regards it as the necessary manifestation of that which through it we may learn to know, so long as here also we bear in mind "the mischief that arises when language forgets itself and makes us mistake the word for the thing, the quality for the substance, the Nomen for the Numen;" for, if the universe be an "articulate utterance of something which wants to reveal itself," then that something holds to it the relationship which thought holds to language, and by the study of the expression we may come to understand something, at any rate, of what is expressed. Before proceeding further, however, it will be well to give a moment's consideration to the question whether we have any right thus to regard matter as the manifestation of spirit, instead of resting in the agnostic formula of the manifestation of the unknowable by the know-

* "The Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 74.

able. Without a moment's hesitation we may say that we have such a right, and that it lies in the existence of our own self-conscious nature. Fifty years ago, though the right was ours, we could not prove it. Before Darwin and Spencer and Huxley and Wallace, and others whose names will readily occur to the reader, had shown us as they have now shown us the meaning and scope of "evolution," man was held to be a thing apart from the universe, a microcosm within the macrocosm, an inhabitant, not a part of the natural order. Consequently it would not have been possible then to argue, that because man is possessed of a self-conscious spiritual life, a nature in which the principle of unity transcends every difference, even the ultimate difference of subject and object, in which knowing and known are combined, therefore that spiritual life, that principle of unity, must be implicit in the universe. There were no data to justify such a conclusion, but now we possess them in abundance, and may assert, without fear of contradiction, that if in man "the element not to be accounted for by the laws of matter" be a spiritual element, then there must be such an element in all Nature, a "something wanting to reveal itself," and struggling continually into more perfect expression. That the self-conscious life of man is not accounted for by the laws of matter, is acknowledged by all the most thorough-going evolutionists of the day, whether agnostics or not.

"Can the oscillations of a molecule," says Herbert Spencer, "be represented in consciousness side by side with a nervous shock, and the two be recognised as one? No effort enables us to assimilate them. That a unit of feeling has nothing in common with a unit of motion, becomes more than ever manifest when we bring the two into juxtaposition. . . . Here, indeed, we arrive at the barrier which needs to be perpetually pointed out, alike to those who seek materialistic explanations of mental phenomena and to those who are alarmed lest such explanations may be found. The last class prove by their fear, almost as much as the first prove by their hope, that they believe Mind may possibly be interpreted in terms of Matter: whereas many, whom they vituperate as materialists, are profoundly convinced that there is not the remotest possibility of so interpreting them." *

Dr. Tyndall has repeatedly emphasised the impossibility of attempting through physical theories any explanation of consciousness:

"Granted that a definite thought and a definite molecular action in the brain occur simultaneously, we do not possess the intellectual organ, nor apparently any rudiment of the organ, which would enable us to pass by a process of reasoning from the one to the other. They appear together, but we do not know why. Were our minds and senses so expanded, strengthened, and illuminated as to enable us to see and feel the very molecules of the brain; were we capable of following all their motions, all their groupings, all their electric discharges, if such there be; and were we intimately acquainted with the corresponding states of thought and feeling, we should

* "Principles of Psychology," vol. i. §§ 62, 63, p. 158.

be as far as ever from the solution of the problem, 'How are these physical processes connected with the facts of consciousness?' . . . In affirming that the growth of the body is mechanical, and that thought, as exercised by us, has its correlative in the physics of the brain, I think the position of the materialist is stated, so far as that position is a tenable one. . . . I do not think he is entitled to say that his molecular motions and groupings explain everything. In reality they explain nothing. The utmost he can affirm is the association of two classes of phenomena, of whose real bond of union he is in absolute ignorance."*

The words in which Professor Le Conte † expresses the same thought are no stronger—it would be difficult to make them so—than those just quoted from Dr. Tyndall :

"* Suppose we exposed the brain of a living man in a state of intense activity. Suppose, further, that our senses were absolutely perfect, so that we could see every change, of whatever sort, taking place in the brain-substance. What would we see? Obviously nothing but molecular changes, physical and chemical; for to the outside observer there is absolutely nothing else there to see. But the subject sees nothing of all this. His experiences are of a different order—viz., consciousness, thought, emotions, &c. Viewed from the *outside*, there is, there can be, nothing but motions; viewed from the *inside*, nothing but thought. From the one side, only physical phenomena; from the other side, only psychical phenomena. Is it not plain that, from the very nature of the case, it must ever be so? Certain vibrations of brain-molecules, certain oxidations with the formation of carbonic acid, water, and urea on the one side; and on the other there appear sensations, consciousness, thoughts, desires, volitions. There are, as it were, two sheets of blotting-paper pasted together. The one is the brain, the other the mind. Certain ink-scratches, or blotches, *utterly meaningless* on the one, soak through and appear on the other as *intelligible writings*, but how we know not and can never hope to guess."‡

Examples of this unqualified accord among authorities not by any means in complete agreement on other points, might be multiplied almost at will; but enough have been given to prove that such an accord exists, and that the self-conscious life of man is unquestionably regarded as an element not accounted for by the laws of matter. It is to this self-conscious life—*i. e.*, to the consciousness of existence possessed by the thinking subject—that the term *spiritual* is applied, and there cannot be any doubt that in man his physical or material

* "Fragments of Science," vol. i. pp. 86, 87.

† "Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought," p. 291.

‡ Certainly not to *guess*; but it is hardly wise to limit in so uncompromising a manner the ultimate possibilities of research and discovery. Witness the very different anticipation to which expression has been recently given by one of our most eminent physicists: "We hope some day to know so much of these internal motions, and of these structures [of molecules] that we may be able to discover the structure in the brain that betokens memory, and the motions underlying great thoughts, goodness, love. We may then hope to form some dim scientific judgment of the thoughts underlying creation. We may be able to tell what thoughts underlie the motions of a solar system or the development of a race."—See *Science Progress* for March 1894: "Physical Science and its Connections," by G. F. Fitzgerald, F.R.S. It need hardly be pointed out that such discoveries as these, should they ever be realised, would deal a more decisive death-blow to "materialism" than even the inexplicability of consciousness by any laws of matter at present known to us.

organism expresses the life of spirit thus understood. It is in the body that the self which feels, thinks, and knows, differentiates itself from the external world, and becomes conscious of its own existence and of the inadequacy of the body to explain that existence; and it is in the body accordingly that the spiritual life is manifested. But is it in the body of man alone? Not if psychical phenomena are to attest the life of spirit; for in so far as any animal, however low in the biological scale, exhibits truly psychical phenomena, and even the protozoa appear to do so in a rudimentary manner,* we are driven back to elementary spiritual life to account for them; consciousness, even if it be mere sentiency, is not explicable by the laws of matter. But the question immediately presents itself, Are we to stop here? "No, for the lowest animals and lowest plants merge into each other so completely that no one can draw the line between them with certainty." Neither can we place the boundary line between organic and inorganic matter; for here we still encounter force, and what is the difference between the force which acts on animate and the force which acts on inanimate matter? Though the results are so different, how are we to distinguish between that which causes the molecular groupings in a crystal, in a protoplasmic cell, and in the human brain? In each case the material changes are brought about by changes of motion; in the last case, these material changes are accompanied by thought and self-consciousness. Are we not, then, forced to infer that if in the only place where "we know what motion in itself is—i.e., in our own brains we *know* nothing but thought"†—then wherever motion appears, thought, the evidence of spiritual life, is implicitly present also? We therefore arrive at the conclusion that spiritual life is universal, and that to human intelligence it is universally manifested through matter; only that as we descend in the scale from man to animal, from animal to plant, from plant to crystal, we observe it diminish in power, activity, and intensity, until when we reach the inorganic stage of matter we find as enormous a difference in the spiritual life as in its material expression.

And here we are at once brought back to the analogy of thought and language. The almost immeasurable distance between the first crude articulations of primitive man as we may suppose them to have existed, and the abstract and highly elaborated language of science and philosophy is comparable only with that which divides the thought expressed in the one case from that expressed in the other. There is a parallel to this in the vast chain of being which separates the life of inorganic matter from the life of man. Marvellous as are the unerring molecular motions by which a crystal is built up, what

* See Romanes' "Animal Intelligence," chap. i.

† Lecture on "Electro-Magnetic Radiation," at the Royal Institution, March 1891, by Professor G. F. Fitzgerald, F.R.S.

are their complexity and intricacy compared to those of the molecular motions going on from moment to moment in the brain of a thinking, willing man? And it is in proportion to the increase in complexity and intricacy of motion that the increase in fulness and intensity of life is made apparent. But neither in the case of thought and language, nor of spirit and matter is this greater fulness and intensity attained without struggle.* Language bears the marks of the various and often conflicting agencies which have been at work during its formation; by slow and painful steps it has attained its comparatively advanced development; yet, even now, how imperfect do we often feel it to be, how cumbersome, how apparently detrimental to the very thought which yet without it could not pass into the stage of conscious existence, to which the lack of the power of expression would be death, and the development of the material universe is in like manner marked by a continual struggle.

The "story of the heavens," so far as it can be read or surmised by man, and the story of the earth are alike in this respect; they do, not—from the human standpoint, at any rate—exhibit a picture of calm and peaceful progress, but of development which, however entirely controlled by law, is nevertheless the outcome of what appear to be conflicting and opposing forces, or, more accurately, forces which keep one another in check, to which full play is not allowed. And if this be apparent even in inorganic evolution, it becomes far more strikingly evident when we pass on to organic. The struggle for life among plants and animals, and the consequent suffering to the latter, the still worse form of this same struggle in the human race, and the terrible incubus of moral evil, imply at the least (and it is not intended to deny that they imply much more) a difficult and even agonising endeavour on the part of that "which wants to reveal itself" to attain adequate utterance. In man alone is articulation reached, and in him how imperfectly! Yet it is reached; the mystery of the universe has found expression at last, and just as all possibilities opened out to thought when it found its way to articulate speech, so all possibilities open out to the life of spirit which has become conscious of itself, for at the same moment it becomes also conscious of God. That there are many different stages in this

* "The number of abstracts possessed by a language is a good gauge of its development. It is difficult for us to realise the mental struggles and the ages of previous preparation required for the discovery of those ideas which now seem to us so familiar. The day on which, according to the ancient legend, Pythagoras struck out the idea of the world, and named it *κόσμος*, summed up all the labours of Eastern philosophy and Greek thought, before which the law and order of the universe at last lay revealed. It is to Anaxagoras, to Heraklitus, to Xenophanes that we owe those ideas of mind, of motion, of existence which form the groundwork of modern science. Nay, our own generation has witnessed the creation of more than one great abstract idea, henceforth to be the common property of mankind through the word by which it is expressed. To have won for the race a single idea like that of *Natural Selection* is a higher glory than the conquests of a Cæsar."—"Introduction to the Science of Language" (Sayce), p. 102.

consciousness, both of self and of God, that it has been, and too often is still, vague, contradictory, even unrecognisable, is but what we must expect in the present stage of development; for though the spiritual life has begun to find articulate expression, that expression is as yet hardly more than the imperfect speech of childhood. Even now, however, the advance made since articulation was attained may give us good ground of hope for the future. Possibilities are not actualities, but they are a necessary antecedent to actualities. Without the first crude sense of a power in and about him which yet is not his, man could have made no advance towards the faith which our age perceives, however dimly, to be the only faith adequate to its need, the faith that "in our efforts to realise the good of humanity, we are not merely straining after an ideal beyond us which may or may not be realised, but are animated by a principle which, within us and without us, is necessarily realising itself, because it is the ultimate principle by which all things are and are known."* A very different conclusion this to the one reached by an eminent expounder of agnostic thought that, "since the cosmic process has no sort of relation to moral ends," the "ethical progress of society consists in combating it,"† an outlook which may well strike terror into the heart of the boldest, and raise into more distinct consciousness the need of "that absolute certitude of religion that man can work effectually because all the universe is working with him, or in other words because God is working in him,"‡ which, since it is the indication of a capacity,§ is the prophecy of its own fulfilment. Yet, if this be so; if the "principle which within us and without us is necessarily realising itself," be divine, what does the contradiction of evil mean? Supposing even—and this is a large supposition, too large to be conceded—that it could be adequately accounted for by that struggle for expression which has been compared to the struggle of thought for utterance, why should such a struggle be? That the whole of Nature points to its existence, that man emphasises and witnesses to its reality throughout his entire history, individual and collective, these are facts which none can gainsay, and they are facts which no one who attempts to investigate the relationship between man and that Power by which he came into being, can venture to ignore. The considerations brought forward in the present paper, are, as the writer firmly believes, capable of throwing light not to be despised on these awful and momentous questions; but for the moment they must be left on one side. They are not included in that aspect of the analogy

* Caird : "Essays on Literature and Philosophy," p. 531.

† Huxley : "Evolution and Ethics," p. 34.

‡ "Essays on Literature and Philosophy," p. 531.

§ See Essay on "The Divine Response to Human Capacity," in the April number of this REVIEW.

between thought and language and spirit and matter which has formed the subject of this paper. All that has been now advanced is that just as thought is essentially self-manifesting, so the life of spirit is essentially self-manifesting, and that as language is the utterance of the one, so matter is the utterance of the other. And from this standpoint, even while recognising the deep and far-reaching significance of that tremendous problem which has yet to be faced, there is hope—almost boundless hope,—in the vista opened before us.

“ Words, we are told, are the fortresses of thought. They enable us to make every intellectual conquest the basis of operations for others still beyond. Moreover, thought and language act and react upon one another; so that . . . the growth of thought and language is coral-like. Each shell is the product of life, but becomes in turn the support of new life. In the same manner, each word is the product of thought, but becomes in turn a new support for the growth of thought.” *

Applying these metaphors to the relationship between spirit and matter, may we not say as we survey the rise in the scale of being through inorganic to organic, and finally to superorganic life: Material forms are the fortresses of spirit, whose every conquest is thus made the basis of operations for others still beyond; and again, each material form is the product of spirit, but becomes in turn a new support for spiritual growth?

EMMA MARIE CAILLARD.

* Romanes: “ Mental Evolution in Man.”

THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

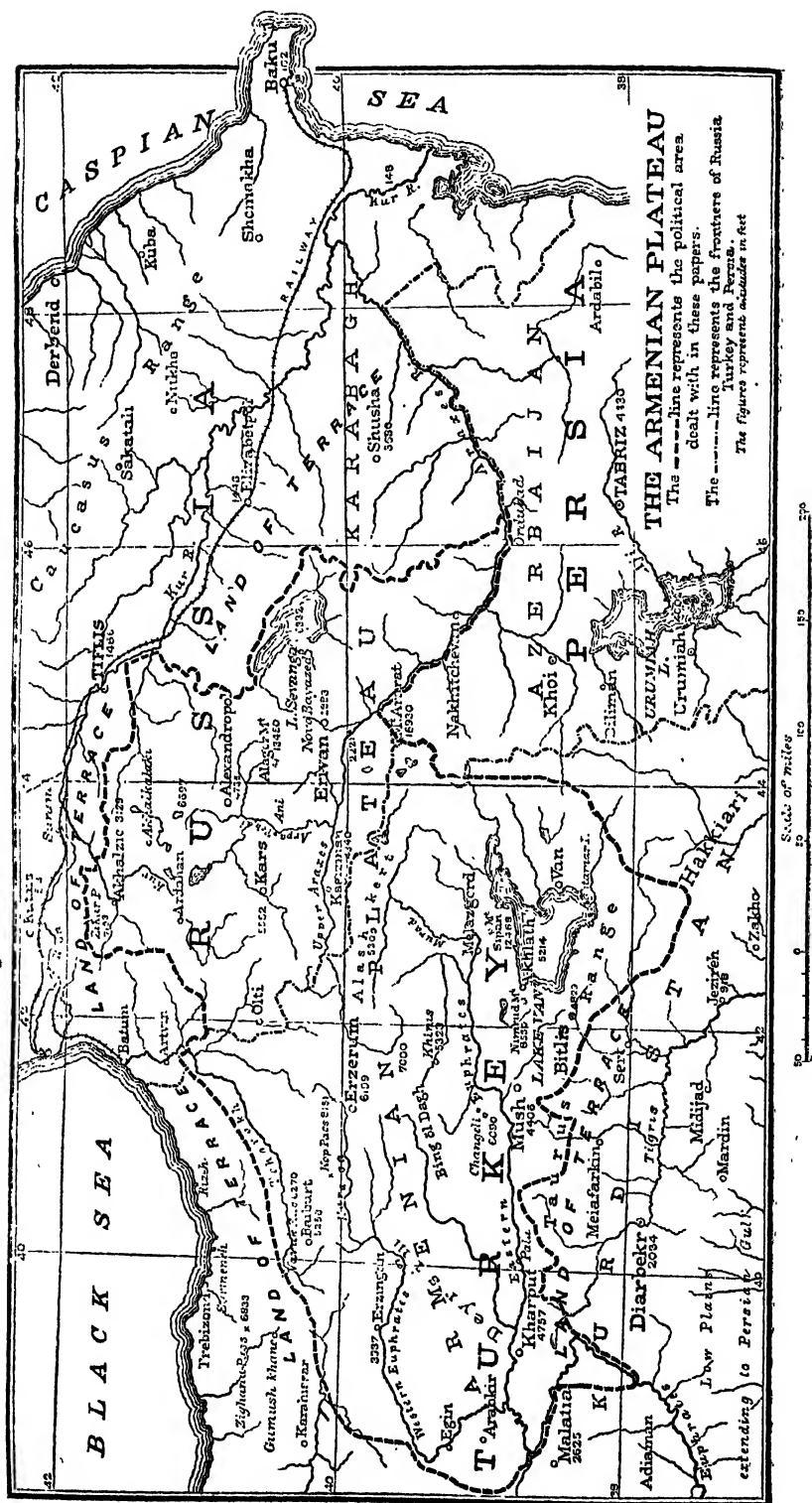
III. (CONCLUSION.)—IN TURKEY.

IN the course of the two preceding papers I have endeavoured to present a description which, although general, may perhaps be sufficient of the Armenian country as a whole. I have also touched upon the importance of the Armenian Question in its relation to the larger politics of the nearer East. But the greater part of the space at my disposal has been devoted to a study of the conditions political and social which prevail upon that portion of the plateau which lies within Russian territory and which at once illustrate and determine the measure of progress achieved by the Armenians under Russian rule. Such a discussion, although it may appear academical, is, in my opinion, not only indispensable to any adequate presentation of the whole subject, but is also of the highest practical importance in its bearing upon the Armenian problem in Turkey. In these Russian provinces the Armenian element, strengthened by continuous emigration from Turkey, composes the principal part of the population, and the Armenians have been able at least to give earnest of whatever capacities they possess. I was so much impressed with the results of their activity and with the variety of interest which their country presents that, when once the ascent of Ararat had been accomplished, I resolved to prolong my journey across the frontier and to devote the autumn and winter to a tour in the provinces of Van and Erzerum.

The line of the Russian frontier, as it marches with the borders of Turkey and of Persia, corresponds with a remarkable geographical feature in the configuration of the plateau. The middle course of the Araxes waters a vast plain which, on the northern skirts of the Ararat system in the neighbourhood of Erivan, lies far beneath the normal level of the table-land, and, varying in breadth as the long

volcanic ranges approach or recede from the river, extends to the Caspian Sea. This great depression of the surface is the leading feature of the country on the east of Kagizman. West of that town the ranges close together and present the appearance of a surging ocean still lashed by the violence of the storm: the impetuous torrent of the Upper Araxes, coming from the neighbourhood of Khinis, breaks from one to another trough as it threads these serried ridges and reverses the direction of its former course. This confused and troubled mountain scenery has probably been caused by the action of denudation, operating upon the higher levels of the plateau on a scale which is magnificent and immense, and contrasts with the solemn restfulness of the landscape through which the river, exhausted by canalisation, flows eastwards slowly to the sea. Between the long and almost horizontal outline of Alagöz on the north, and the serrated summits of the Ararat system on the south, this noble plain of the Araxes widens as it opens to the east, and attains perhaps its greatest dimensions just west of Erivan. At that point the massive fabric of Ararat, advancing from its satellite system alone, attains the great elevation of nearly 17,000 feet above the sea; and the whole structure of the mountain from the base to the dome of snow may be seen across a space, which is comparatively level, at a distance of nearly 50 miles. From Kagizman to the Caspian this depression which marks the Araxes valley appears to bisect the plateau into two distinct halves, and this valley is separated from the country on the south, at first by the rugged chain of Ararat, and then by the mountains of Azerbaijan. Thus the territory of Russia is divided from that of Turkey and of Persia by no artificial line; while the majestic slopes of Ararat itself are the meeting-place of three empires which come from the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the Persian Gulf.

Several passes lead from the valley of the Middle Araxes across the wild range which I have called the Ararat system, and which is known in the country under the name of Aghri Dagh. That by which I travelled attains a height of over 8000 feet, and descends into Turkish territory at the plain of Alashkert. The Sultan still holds the greater portion of the plateau, and some of its richest districts are subject to his rule. If Russia is supreme in the valley of the Middle Araxes, the fertile country about Lake Van belongs to Turkey; the plains of Mush and Bulanik and, further west, the populous plain of Kharput are all within the Turkish border, and compose an area of grain-growing country which is capable of supporting a population far more numerous than that which it at present maintains. On the north of these plains, of which those of Mush and Kharput are the least elevated, although the plain of Mush is situated at an altitude of over 4000 feet above the sea, the level of



the country rises, the plateau gathers into a compact and solid mass which divides the two branches of the Euphrates, and constitutes the roof of the three watersheds of the Black Sea, the Caspian, and the Persian Gulf. On the section between Mush and Erzerum the true character of the great table-land is displayed in a wholeness and simplicity of feature, which it is difficult to mistake. You are here at the heart of the whole geographical system, at the culminating point from which the waters gather to start on their long and strenuous journey to different and distant seas. It is over a wide expanse of level land, clothed for the greater portion of the year with a continuous canopy of snow, that the prospect ranges to distant chains of mountains whose summits are scarcely higher than the ground upon which you stand. The surface of the upland has been broken by volcanic action which has reared the crater of the Bingöl Dagħ, or mountain of a thousand springs; yet that mountain is but a minor incident in a large and comprehensive plan which I shall endeavour on a future occasion to analyse according to the conception of it which I have formed, but which only bears on my present purpose in its leading and ultimate results. On the west and east as well as on the north and south of this section of the plateau between Mush and Erzerum, the processes of denudation must have operated on a scale which the existing natural conditions make it difficult to conceive. Not only have these processes contributed to form that confused mountain scenery which on the west and east of this central section distinguishes the head waters of the Araxes and the valley of the Western Euphrates below Erzerum, but they have also resulted in a natural phenomenon which no traveller can have omitted to remark. It often occurs that the banks of the rivers are bordered by plains which are perfectly flat, and which present an appearance exactly similar to the dry bed of a lake. The usual direction of these plains is that of the drainage, namely, east and west, and the chains of mountain which enclose them are in reality but the rim of higher levels, the banks in these gigantic cuttings in the surface of the table-land. The most noticeable example of this phenomenon is presented by the valley of the Western Euphrates just north of Erzerum, but the feature is characteristic of the whole plateau and distinguishes it from the land of terrace, where chain succeeds chain in rapid succession in obedience to lateral forces, and to the law of shrinkage and fold. I should not insist on these natural features if they had not contributed in so marked a manner to determine the character of the different peoples with whom we are here concerned. Whatever opinion we may hold of the value of political geography—and indeed there can scarcely exist another study which is so often and so wilfully misused—the large scale on which Nature has worked in Asia, and the great differences both of climate and of natural

conditions which distinguish the lofty highlands from the buttress ranges which support them, and from the low alluvial plains, have combined with ethnological causes to produce a large correspondence of distinct geographical areas with natural and important political divisions in the distribution of the human race. It is therefore useful for our present purpose to define in a convenient manner the limits of the plateau within Turkish territory on the north and on the south. On the north, and on the section between Erzerum and the coast, the plain between Baiburt and the Vavuk Pass, which appears to belong to the same characteristic formation as that which has just been described, and on which the remains of ancient Armenian churches still testify to the historical extension of Armenia to this point, may be regarded as the meeting-place of the plateau with the ranges of the northern terrace land. On the south the serrated mountain system, which, like the gloomy wall of a Norwegian fiord, overhangs the southern shore of Lake Van, and which is continued along the plain of Mush and westwards to the neighbourhood of Kharput, has already been mentioned in these papers as the northern limit of the southern terrace zone.

In estimating the population of these Turkish provinces I have found it convenient to follow the method which was adopted in the case of the Russian territory, and to select those existing governmental divisions which correspond in a general manner to the area of the plateau. The area of these governmental divisions composes the political area with which we shall deal. For this purpose I have taken the following Governments, or divisions of Governments: the whole of the Government of Erzerum, that portion of the Government of Van which constitutes the Sandjak or governmental division of Van, the whole Government of Bitlis with the exception of the Sandjak of Sert, which belongs to the terrace land. On the west I have included that small portion of the Government of Diarbekr which is formed by the Caza or governmental sub-division of Palu, and the whole of the Government of Kharput, which includes the Deyrsim, with the exception of the Sandjak of Malatia. The superficial measurement of the area obtained in this manner amounts to about 42,000 square miles, which compares with the figure of 22,000 given in the first paper as the area of the Russian portion of the plateau within the boundary there defined. Although the Turkish territory, thus delimited, overlaps on the south with the terrace land and includes the heads of the great passes which lead down from the plateau to the Arab plains, yet I think it will be found that we are avoiding a serious error which even some of our ablest consular officials appear to me to have made. When Mr. Goschen was actively pursuing his inquiries and endeavouring, in connection with the Armenian Question, to

discover *sure ground upon which to build*, the statistics which were supplied to him not only represented the population of the plateau but also included in one and the same estimate extensive districts which lie outside it and which present conditions so entirely dissimilar as to render such a co-ordination misleading, at least for those purposes of practical construction which were present to his mind. A single instance of such error will illustrate what I mean. The Government of Van includes the Sandjak of Hakkari, a wild and seldom visited region which belongs to the terrace land. It is inhabited by Kurds, who for the greater part are in the pastoral and nomadic stage, and by Nestorian Christians, whose ancestors fled from persecution to these mountains and who are scarcely more civilised than the Kurds. So difficult of access is this rugged country, and so remote from the seat of Government are the principal centres which it contains, that it would be a work of no small difficulty to administer it efficiently from Van. As a consequence it enjoys a practical immunity from authority, a boon much appreciated by the Kurds. I have purposely omitted this division of the Government of Van from the area and from the statistics with which we are concerned; yet it has been included by others in their estimate of the population of the Armenian provinces, although the number of Armenians who may have filtered into it must be infinitesimally small. The problems which are presented to a governor on the plateau by reason of the difference in religion and in habits of the peoples over whom he is called to rule are quite sufficient to absorb his attention without the addition to his jurisdiction of districts which, if Russia were mistress of the country, would be constituted into a military government and subjected to military law.

In the case of these Turkish provinces I have found it a task of the greatest difficulty to arrive at a statistical estimate of the population upon which it might be possible to rely. The results which I am about to present are the outcome of a long and laborious investigation pursued in the country itself, in which I was sometimes aided, but more often bewildered, by the lists which I had in my possession, and which have either already been published, or were furnished to me by private friends. In the absence of a census conducted on scientific principles any figures can only be approximately correct. Two possible sources of information exist which, in the first instance, it is natural to consult. The first are the official lists which are published in the almanacs of each Government, and which profess to give the numbers both of Mohammedans and of Christians inhabiting each Caza or administrative sub-division. The second are the books of the diocesan authorities who, under the 14th and 96th Articles of the so-called Armenian constitution, are enjoined to maintain complete records of all births and deaths among Armenians in the

diocese, and to provide copies to the Central Bureau of the Patriarchate in Constantinople. But the diocesan authorities are chary of recording information which conflicts with the number of Armenians who are placed for purposes of taxation upon the Government lists; and these lists themselves are founded upon a system whose essential tendency it is to underrate the number of the population, Mohammedan and Christian alike. Owing to the seclusion of women in the East no serious attempt is made to count the female population; while in the case of males, the figures in the official statistics derive from the military census, which is at best a very imperfect record, and which each man strives his utmost to evade. All Mohammedan males are liable to be enrolled in the army, while the Christians are obliged to pay an annual tax which exempts them from military service, and which is incident at birth. In the case of the sedentary population it is probable that the Christians evade this census to a greater extent than their Mohammedan neighbours: for the budget of a Christian family is immediately menaced by the birth of a male child. On the other hand, there are extensive districts on the southern portion of the plateau in which the Kurdish tribes inhabiting them are in a state approaching independence, and have never been counted at all. The official lists must for these reasons be used with much discrimination and care. In one Government they will be compiled with some measure of completeness; in another they will be defective as regards the Armenians; in yet another as regards the Kurds. In addition to this source of information there are the estimates which have been made in particular districts by private people engaged in business, and who know their own district well. The figures which emanate from the Armenian Patriarchate, and which have found their way into the Blue Books, have evidently been designed to subserve a political purpose, and may be dismissed under a sense of disappointment and disgust. Before presenting in summary form the results at which I have arrived, two points suggest themselves to me as calling for remark. In the first place I am satisfied that the total population of the country is in excess of the figure which I give. That figure only shows a percentage of population to the square mile of about 30; in the Russian provinces, which can scarcely be called populous by comparison, although they probably contain less waste land, the percentage is about 47. Secondly, while the greatest care has been taken to get the totals of the different peoples at least correct in the proportion which they bear to one another, it is probable in the case of the Armenians and of the Kurds that even for this purpose the figures are a little too low. I have preferred to content myself with reproducing the statistical materials which, however imperfect, I consider the best, and only to mention in this connection the general impression which I have received. The population of

the plateau within Turkish territory for the area already delimited may be conveniently divided in the following manner : *

Mussulmans	{	Turks (Sunni Mohammedan)	442,946
		Kurds (Sunni Mohammedan and Kizzilbash)	410,812
Christians	{	Armenians (Gregorians; some Roman Catholics and Protestants)	387,746
		Greeks	1,604
		Others	6,733
Total			1,252,841

It may also be useful to add these figures to those which I have given for the Russian provinces. The population of the whole plateau within the political limits which I have traced will then be represented by the following figures :

Armenians	906,984	Russians	28,811
Turks	489,931	Others	81,439
Kurds	479,676		
Tatars	306,310	Total	2,318,551
Greeks	52,367		

Among the inhabitants of these Turkish provinces who are classed as Mussulmans there exist considerable differences both of race and of religion ; but for our present purpose it is most useful to distinguish them according as they are Turkish or Kurd. Under the former name I have counted the Mussulman population of the northern portion of the Government of Erzerum, or, to use more specific language, of the entire Government of Erzerum, with the exception of the Sandjak of Bayazed and the Cazas of Khinis, Keghi, and Terdjian. I have also included as Turkish one-half of the Mussulman inhabitants of the Caza of Passin. In the Governments of Van and of Bitlis the only portion of the population which I have thought it safe to number as Turkish are the Mussulmans in the towns of Van, Bitlis, and Mush : as citizens in governmental centres they are attached, if not by a common origin, at least by a common character and common sympathies, to the interests of the ruling race. In the case of the

* It is interesting to compare these results, which were obtained quite independently and before I had seen his estimate, with the figures given by the late Mr. Taylor, for many years British Consul for Erzerum and the surrounding country. Mr. Taylor knew the country intimately, and had travelled extensively in it. On his figures are based those which have been given by his successors in office, and which appear in the Blue Books. After making the necessary deductions for districts annexed to Russia since the date of Mr. Taylor's reports, his estimate of the population, as adapted to the area with which we are dealing, is as follows : Turks, 348,350, Kurds, 466,982, Christians, 352,657—total, 1,167,989. This estimate corresponds in a satisfactory manner with mine, after we have made allowance for information, either new or more complete, which has appeared with reference to certain districts since Taylor's time. The census shows that Taylor under-estimated the Turks who inhabit the northern Cazas of Erzerum Vilayet. Taylor also placed the Kizzilbash Kurds of the Deyrsim at 110,000. Relying on more recent reports, I place them at 50,000.

Government of Kharput and of the governmental division of Palu, I have been unable to verify by general acquaintance the estimates which I have adopted as the best: these estimates make the Turkish about as strong as the Kurdish element in the Sandjak of Kharput, and a little less numerous in the Caza of Palu. That part of the Mussulman population of the Sandjak of Deyrsim who are counted as adherents of Government may most usefully be classed as Turkish and have been included in the roll of Turks. In the several Governments the remainder of the Mussulman inhabitants compose the total which has been given for the Kurds.

To express these results in general language, we may say that the seat of the Turkish population is the country on the north of Erzerum, while the Kurds inhabit the more southerly districts which extend to the southern terrace land. But what is the meaning of the name Turkish, which has been used to distinguish the one from the other element? We must certainly guard ourselves from the danger of attributing to a convenient political designation an ethnological sense. We are justified in declaring that the Mussulman inhabitants of the northern districts of the Government of Erzerum are not of Kurdish origin; on the other hand, the ground is less tenable if we suppose that they belong to the Turkish race. How large an admixture of Turkish blood may flow within their veins is a question which it is impossible to determine: it was rather the fertile country on the west of the Euphrates that presented the most attractive settling ground to the invading hordes of Turks. I am given to believe that a considerable number derive from the widely spread Georgian family; but that family has here mixed with other race elements of which the Turkish is one. In what pertains to national solidarity, in the possession of common interests and common sentiments, these Mussulman inhabitants of the northern districts may justly be classed as Turks. But even this statement is subject to exception and can not be universally applied. Just as in the northern zone of terrace there still exist whole districts of which the inhabitants have adopted the Mohammedan religion, but retain their essential affinity to the Greek race to which they belong, so on the plateau itself among the ranks of the Mussulmans may be found considerable aggregates of people who, although of Armenian origin, profess the dominant creed. In the northern province an important instance of this change in religion rather than in nationality is found in the district of Tortum between Erzerum and the town of Olti; the Mussulman inhabitants of that district are said to be the descendants of the ancient Armenian families who are known to have inhabited it within historical times.

While the Turkish inhabitants are engaged in agriculture and in those pursuits of urban life which attach to the service of Government

or of individuals, or to the less ambitious among the requirements of industry and commerce, the Kurdish population, on the other hand, present a variety of social development which includes both the sedentary and the nomadic state, the organisation of the commune and the tribe. A people who were known to a remote antiquity and whose character is already sufficiently familiar in Europe, the Kurds who inhabit the plateau are not only distinguished from one another according to the plane of social life to which they have attained, but are divided by essential differences of language and of creed. From the neighbourhood of the town of Sivas in Asia Minor to beyond Malatia on the south, and between the two branches of the Euphrates to the vicinity of Mush, the Kurds, although classed in the official lists as Mussulmans, neither practise the orthodox religion nor speak the same dialect as their neighbours of kindred race. Branded throughout the nearer East under the opprobrious name of Kizzilbash they harbour a sullen hatred of the Turkish Government, whose attempts to convert them to orthodoxy they resent; while towards the Christians they are drawn by the impulse of a common antagonism to the existing order, and by the respect in which they hold the Christian religion, in the person of whose Founder they recognise an incarnation of God. Their religion, so far as we know it, bears the impress of the Aryan mind, which seeks for a human embodiment of the Deity: they invest with divine attributes Moses and Jesus, Mohammed and Ali. Their language, although a branch of the Kurdish, contains an admixture both of Persian and Armenian words, and is said to differ so greatly from the prevailing dialect of the Kurdish tongue that those who are familiar with the one are unable to understand the other. While they practise the rite of circumcision and have adopted certain of the observances of Islam, the contempt in which their religion is held by their Mussulman neighbours of the Sunni sect disposes them against the dominant creed in which they recognise the most dangerous enemy of their own peculiar faith. In brief, they constitute a separate element in the Kurdish population of the plateau, and the numerical value of this element may be placed at a third of the total figure which I have given for the Turkish Kurds. Their geographical position between and about the two branches of the Euphrates invests them with some contemporary importance from a military point of view; and they hold the wild and mountainous country on the south of the headquarters of the Turkish Army Corps at the town of Erzingan. In this district, which is known under the name of the Deyrsim, they have long resisted and continue to resist the imposition of the Turkish yoke. They are here in the tribal and pastoral state, but they have been obliged, by the rigour of the climate, to build houses, and they cultivate small strips of land. In the country on the west and east of the Deyrsim the Kizzilbashes are

peaceful and industrious peasants, of whom most travellers have spoken with respect.

If we draw on the map an imaginary line from Mush through Erzerum towards the sea, the Mussulman population of the Turkish provinces are distributed in the following manner over the area of the plateau. On the north of Erzerum, and on either side of this line, the Turkish population extend from the Russian border on the east, along the banks of the Western Euphrates on the west, to its junction with the eastern branch. The country south of Erzerum, and on the west of this line is the seat of the Kizzilbash Kurds, while on the east are situated the Kurds who profess the orthodox religion, and speak the prevailing dialect of Kurdistan. The territorial extension of the Kurdish people varies as the forces of order are strengthened or decline, but their original home and natural habitation are the mountains of the terrace land. From the Euphrates on the west to the Persian Gulf upon the south the zone of buttress ranges which support the plateau of Armenia and Persia, and which we know at first under the name of Taurus and then under that of Zagros, is inhabited by tribes of Aryan origin, who are distinguished by considerable variations in dialect and in religion, but who present the common characteristic of an inveterate aversion to settled life and to the imposition of the yoke of law. Their manner of living is directly determined by their geographical position. As spring develops into summer and the yellow drought creeps higher and higher up the slopes of the mountain sides, they ascend from one to another step, from a lower to a higher chain, and arrive, perhaps at the approach of autumn, on the fringe of the table-land. When at length the season is verging upon winter the migration southwards begins. A continuous throng of sheep and goats and horses and weather-worn people of either sex and every age flows slowly down the blighted country, filing by tortuous tracks between the boulders or pausing, about the noonday hour, by the bed of a shaded stream. At the foot of the range, on the verge of the vast alluvial plains through which the Tigris winds, is placed their winter encampment: their tents are sufficient shelter against the climate of the low country, which even through the colder months is temperate and mild. These yearly migrations of the Kurdish tribes are not conducted without great suffering on the part of the settled population; their granaries are plundered by the shepherd army, and the land which they might have cultivated is occupied by the nomads during winter as pasture for their flocks. But this is a problem which belongs to the land of terrace, and which applies in a less essential manner to the population of the plateau. On the plateau, these Kurds are an alien element; the great distance of their pastures from the plains of the Tigris makes it difficult for them, if not

impossible, to pursue their usual migration; the rigorous winter obliges them to discard their tents and inhabit villages, and to take the first step towards a more settled order where further development may justly appear to them incompatible with their tribal organisation and their independent life.

We may place at the kernel of the Armenian Question in Turkey the difficulties which arise from the presence of this Kurdish population upon the plateau. It is true that a considerable number among them have become industrious cultivators and subsist on the fruits of their own toil. According as the period which separates them from their former life is long or short, or the name of their more lawless kinsmen is despised or respected, these peasants will answer the traveller who inquires to what people they belong either by replying that they are Osmanli or by owning to their being Kurds. In the first case they rank themselves with the settled Turkish population; in the second they acknowledge the bond which attaches them to the free life of the tribe. But the weight of this agricultural element lies in the scale of peace; it is otherwise with those Kurds who retain to the full their tribal organisation and who pasture their flocks on the lofty highlands which extend to the plain of Erzerum. It is possible that from a remote period the nomads of the terrace land may have advanced the limit of their summer journey beyond the plain of Mush to return at the approach of winter to the neighbourhood of Diarbekr. How far their migration should be extended would be determined by the distance which separated them from their winter quarters and by the degree of resistance which the settled peoples might be able to offer to their unwelcome approach. The fall of the feudal system in Turkey and the decline of the power of the Turkish Beys may no doubt have contributed in a sensible manner to open a breach to the Kurds; but it appears that a powerful colony of this people were brought to their present seats through a definite act of public policy on the part of the Turkish Power. After the defeat of the Persians in the plain of Chalderan in 1514 it became necessary to arrive at a permanent settlement of the Kurdish provinces; and it formed part of the plan pursued by Edrisi, the distinguished Minister of Selim the First, and himself a Kurd of Bitlis, to remove a portion of this turbulent people from the country of their home and to settle them along the new frontier of Turkey in the districts bordering upon Persia and Georgia which had been acquired from the Shah. It is said that they were granted a perpetual immunity from taxation on the condition that they would act as a permanent militia upon the border which had been given them to guard. Neither the evidence of subsequent history nor the contemporary political situation upon the plateau can be taken to have established the wisdom of a policy which appears to have over-

rated the capacity of the Kurds whether for benefit or for harm. On the one hand, by adding to the area inhabited by them, the Turkish Government seems rather to have increased the difficulties which have always beset their efforts to hold this people in check ; and, on the other, their experience of the value of this militia can scarcely be so pleasant a memory as their persistent continuance in a worn-out ideal might lead us to expect. During the two campaigns against Russia of 1829 and 1854 the Kurdish chiefs played off one Power against another, and are even said to have assisted the invading armies by affording a passage through their country and by providing them with supplies. In the campaign of 1877 they were the most dangerous element in the Turkish Army, and are described by an eye-witness of the several actions in Asia as a grotesque corps of irregular cavalry breaking into groups when resisted and altogether unfitted for the serious operations of war. Their atrocious cruelty towards the wounded and their mutilation of the dead was visited upon the heads of their afflicted protectors in a general execration of the Turkish name. Yet even the bitterness of this disappointment and the scarcely doubtful lesson of several minor wars, which within the course of the present century they have been obliged to conduct against the Kurds, seem not to have convinced the Turkish Government of the folly of endeavouring to humour a people who will only then be of assistance to them when they have lost for ever the power of resistance, and ranged themselves on the side of law. The reigning Sultan in his dealings with them has inclined to the old policy ; he has sought at once to civilise them and to render them more efficient from a military point of view. In the wild and seldom visited country between the plain of Alashkert and the Lake of Van I was able to gain a practical acquaintance with the methods which are being pursued. In the village of Patnotz, the principal seat of the notorious tribe of Haideranli, a solid stone structure, which has been designed to serve the several purposes of a mosque, a school, and a residence for the chief, stands out from the usual cluster of mud hovels, a palace among ant-hills. In every larger Kurdish village I found a petty officer of the Turkish army bewailing the sad fate which had brought him to this exile and his own impotence to control the slippery people and constrain them to attend his drills. A new name, that of Hamidieh, has been given to this irregular cavalry, and they have been liberally supplied with uniforms from the Turkish magazines. The headquarters of the corps are at Melazgerd on the Eastern Euphrates or Murad Su, and over thirty regiments have already been registered upon the area of the plateau. Each regiment has a nominal strength of about 600 men. But they have never yet manœuvred together, and when in 1892 a detachment from each regiment paraded at Erzerum, I am informed that the whole

number did not amount to 2000, and that the sorry spectacle was presented to the general of a motley company of aged men and half-grown youths mounted on horses which wanted muscle and had perhaps never tasted corn. It is pleasant to acknowledge the good intentions of the Sultan in endeavouring to educate the Kurds and to organise them in a more efficient manner for the purposes of serious war: the ideal which has no doubt been present to the mind of his military advisers is the example of the Russian corps of Cossacks. But the mild measures at present in favour will never attain this result; it is not under such a policy that the Kurds will be subjected to the regular discipline of a camp. Either the young men must be taken from their native province and trained in the armies of the empire at a distance from their homes, or the entire people must be made to bend to the yoke of an equal civil law, whose provisions they at present evade and whose ministers they successfully defy.

While the Turkish Government have little reason to be satisfied with the results of their experiments with the Kurds, the effects which derive from their presence on the plateau are disastrous in the extreme. Yet it is not the Mussulmans so much as the Armenians who are afflicted by this scourge. Let us pursue a little further our original analysis. Transplanted from their natural camping grounds, and obliged through the long months of an arctic winter to provide themselves and their animals with shelter and with food, this pastoral people were quartered on the Armenian villages, but were required by Government to pay an annual tax in return for the accommodation which during winter they received.* But an arrangement which was based on the just principle of insuring to the Armenian a fair remuneration for the lodging which he furnished, and the fodder which he supplied, was put into practice by the local authorities in a characteristic manner: the proceeds of the tax were committed to their own coffers and their proper destination was ignored. In 1842, after the promulgation of the celebrated charter of reforms which is known under the name of the Hatti-Sherif of Gulkhane, a beginning was made towards the abolition of the system; the Kurds in the neighbourhood of Mush were allotted certain villages which had been vacated by the Armenian emigrants, and the Armenians of the district were relieved of the heavy burden which they had previously been obliged to bear. At the present day, the pastoral Kurds of the plateau have all their own villages, and the old system, except in isolated instances, may be said to have disappeared. Yet even now they justify their raids upon the Armenians on the ingenious plea of the ancient right of quarter which they consider they are entitled to enforce. Policy also dictates a course which their tender conscience has approved. The Armenians are at once the most immediate and

* This tax is known in the country under the name of *Kishlak*, or winter quarters.

the least redoubtable among their neighbours. The courageous Kurd equips himself for the foray with a rifle of modern Russian pattern and belts bristling with cartridges; his victims, by a cruel and cynical provision, have been deprived by Government of all arms. If the Kurd is caught red-handed and is arraigned before the civil authority, he will scornfully defy the civil jurisdiction and claim to be tried by his military superiors as a trooper in the Hamidieh Corps. When the civil branch has been successfully thwarted, the military authorities are cajoled, while the injured party is rewarded by the visitation of a fresh injury, which he endures without complaint. I can understand that in the land of terrace the Kurdish problem presents some difficulty: it must always be a task of some magnitude to control a people whose migrations extend over so wide an area and whose country hides within its recesses such inaccessible retreats. On the plateau, the case is quite elementary: the pastoral Kurd belongs to a village, and that village is situated in the neighbourhood of the pastures from which he is driven by the winter snows. It is not a matter of great difficulty to follow up the robbers to their homes. It is well within the capacity of the existing authorities to enforce against them the necessary measures of police. But the tribal chiefs are well aware of the consequences which would flow from such a change in Turkish policy towards them, and they exert all the means at their disposal to avert it. Upon the plateau, they enjoy a parasitical prosperity. Once prevented from levying their grain supplies upon the Armenians, and restricted to the legitimate operations of barter with the peasantry or reciprocal trade, their tribes would gradually melt away, and, while a large number would join the ranks of the agricultural population, a remnant only would remain to continue the shepherd calling and the tribal life.

The Armenians are distributed in the following manner over the political area of the Turkish provinces. Compared with the number of the Mussulman inhabitants they are in greater strength in the Government of Van than in any other Government: taking that Government as a whole, but of course excluding the Hakkari, they exceed by about one-third the total of the Mussulman population. In the town of Van the proportion of Armenians to Mussulmans is about as two to one. In the Government of Bitlis they are in a majority in the neighbourhood of Mush, and in the fertile district of Bulanik, north-west of the Lake of Van. On the other hand, they are outnumbered by the Mussulmans in the populous Sandjak of Kharput, and in the Caza or governmental sub-division of Palu. In the Government of Erzerum there is scarcely a district in which they are not less numerous than their Mussulman neighbours. Yet when estimating the relative strength of the Armenian element, we deceive ourselves if we dwell with complacent insistence on the fact

of its numerical inferiority. Several factors essential to such an analysis deserve and require attention. In the first place, the most fertile portion of the country is held by the Armenians : the beautiful region about Lake Van, the vast plains of Balanik, of Mush, and of Kharpout are the principal seats of the Armenian peasantry, a peasantry as sturdy as the Mussulman settlers, and far more industrious and progressive than they. Another advantage possessed by the Armenians is their favourable geographical situation in relation to the Turks and the Kurds : the Armenian population compose a mass of varying compactness, which extends from the east to the west of the plateau, and may be said, in a general manner, to divide as with a wedge the two branches of the Mussulman inhabitants. Or the Armenian may be compared to the middle bedfellow of three. Again, the solidarity of the Armenian element, both from a political and a social point of view, is a fact which must not be ignored. Nowhere in a more conspicuous manner than upon the plateau has the Gregorian Church resisted the advances of Rome. According to the statistics supplied by the Roman Catholic patriarch to Mr. Goschen, the number of the Roman Catholics within the limits of our political boundary can not amount to 20,000 souls. Of these the great majority inhabit the northern districts of the Government of Erzerum, while in the country of Van and Mush, which is essentially Armenian, there are scarcely any adherents of Rome. It is true that the Protestant community is growing : if we include the mission of Mardin outside the plateau they are over 16,000 strong. But the ultimate object which is present to the Protestant missionaries is not to subvert the national Church or to attach it to their own denomination, but rather to raise the standard of the national religion and to improve the social condition of the people among whom they have come to live. Finally, we must not overlook the high place which the Armenians already occupy in the economical order of the country, and the fact that the Armenian population is capable of very rapid expansion under kinder circumstances. I have already spoken of the Armenian peasantry : yet while agriculture suffers from the disappearance of the Armenian from the soil, the place which he now occupies in the less rudimentary grades of civilised life can never be supplied. The worn and crippled machine of industry functions through him alone. His advancement means the progress of the country ; his removal is the cause of its decay. Yet the stream of emigration continues, and is gathering fresh volume every year. The general exodus of the Armenian population, which ensued upon the retirement into Russian territory of General Paskiewitch in 1839, has been followed by a gradual process of depletion, which varies in intensity according as harvests are good or disastrous and the Kurds are encouraged or restrained. During my stay in the country the Armenian peasantry

of considerable districts were exerting themselves to pay off their debts, and to obtain permission to leave. Many were flying to the Russian frontier to seek an asylum from the Kurds. A change in policy is alone needed to transform a country which is rapidly becoming a desert into a prosperous and progressive province. Behind the Armenian population of the plateau stand their kinsmen who inhabit the less distracted districts of Asia Minor. At the first approach of a better era many of these would seek with eagerness the ancient home of their race. Many of the emigrants into Russia would return to their old seats. The tide now setting to America, whence the Armenians, like the Irish, transmit large sums of money to their less prosperous relations at home, would slacken if it did not cease. A country which even in its wildest regions still retains the traditions of Armenian civilisation, and is adorned with the remains of Armenian architecture, would resume the old order in a spirit essentially new.*

Hitherto our study of the Armenian Question has been confined to a definite political area corresponding in a general manner with the area of the Armenian plateau. It remains to connect the analysis which has here been presented with the wider subject to which it belongs, and to resume with a view to a practical solution the results at which we have arrived. A treatment in outline of this portion of the inquiry is all that the space at my disposal will permit.

1. I have already alluded to the vagueness of idea which underlies the language of the clause in the Berlin Treaty, under which the Porte engages to introduce reforms in *the provinces inhabited by the Armenians*. The literal application of that clause would extend over so wide an area, and would be encountered by such a variety of local conditions that any attempt to enforce it in the letter is doomed, under present circumstances, to a barrenness of result. The total number of the Armenians in Turkey was given by the delegates at the Berlin Congress as amounting to 3,000,000 souls. This figure is certainly too high. An Armenian clerical writer, who appears not to err on the side of exaggeration,† has placed the total of Armenians in Turkey belonging to the Gregorian faith, that is, of the great bulk

* The emigration of the Armenians into Russia is conducted under considerable difficulties; it is no easy matter for the Russian Government to find a provision for the more needy refugees, and, unless they are provided with passports, they are always liable to be turned back at the frontier. It is only a very desperate situation at home that drives the Armenian peasantry into Russian territory. During 1893 upwards of 3500 of such passports were registered by the Russian Consulate in Erzerum, and, in addition to these emigrants who were able to comply with the proper formalities, a large number, chiefly from the district of Khinis, contrived to find a refuge upon Russian soil. The country was suffering from the effects of the disastrous harvest of 1892, and, owing to the scarcity of all grain and to the raids of the Kurds, who were carrying off what yet remained, the Armenian peasantry of some districts were face to face with starvation.

† Vahan Vartabed, in an Armenian newspaper published at Constantinople, the *Djeridei Sharkié*, under date the 3^d December, 1886.

of the Armenian population, at 1,263,900 souls. It is reasonable to suppose that the Armenian subjects of the Sultan number upwards of one and a half millions, of whom some half million may be taken to inhabit the political area with which we have been dealing, after considerable but somewhat arbitrary additions have been made to supply the shortcomings of the statistical lists. The remainder are distributed over the provinces of Asia Minor, or collected in Constantinople and the large towns. It is true that the recent recrudescence of the Armenian Question has occurred on ground outside the plateau; the towns of Asia Minor in the neighbourhood of the port of Samsun have been the scene of several dangerous collisions between Armenians and the Turkish authorities. But I have not been able to learn that the condition of those districts presents any cause for permanent disaffection, and I do not believe that this recent revolutionary movement was either spontaneous in its nature or indigenous in its growth. The extreme severity with which the outbreaks upon the plateau during 1890 and in former years have been quelled has cowed the spirit of the Armenians in the country of their home; and however great and real are the wrongs which they there endure they have learnt to bear them in silence, and without attempting to obtain redress. The movement, suppressed in the place of its origin, has broken out on new ground. The revolutionary party, disappointed of support in Van, and Mush, and Erzerum, have transferred their efforts to the peaceful towns of Asia Minor, where they work on virgin soil. They appeal to the patriotic instincts of the Armenians, to their sympathies with their more afflicted kinsmen, to the sense of their own inequality with the Mussulmans, and to the hopes which the example of Eastern Europe has fed. But it is not the condition of the Armenians in Asia Minor which invests the Armenian cause with reality, and provides it with a reasonable aim. It is rather the aggravated political situation in the country with which we have been concerned, and the definite political problems which that situation presents, that constitute at once the justification of the cause, and its solid foundation on fact. The Armenian Question in Turkey, considered as a practical issue in the politics of the present day, is a question of the proper government of the provinces inhabited by the Armenians and the tribal Kurds. Thus we are brought back to the field of the foregoing analysis, and to the subjects to which it has been addressed.

2. It is true that in another and much more general sense the Armenian Question is only part of a larger issue arising out of the inequality which exists in Turkey between the Christians and the Mussulmans. Just as within some stagnant pool the folded life of Nature is revived by the returning tide, so our Western civilisation, recoiling upon Asia, arouses the hopes which have slept for centuries

in the breasts of the Christians of the East. It is not that they are denied religious freedom, as some of their partisans are bold enough to assert. The tolerance of the Sultan is active throughout his empire. The traveller who has marvelled in the streets of the capital at the liberty, almost amounting to license, which is allowed to the votaries of the several creeds, fermenting human material controlled by an invisible force, will only be confirmed in his original impression by the wider experience of a provincial tour. In the country the sound of Christian bells falls upon the silence of the landscape as he ascends to the lonely cloister nestling in a lap of the hills. In the towns the observance of Sunday effects a change in city life which is almost as marked as in the West: trades are suspended, shops are closed, chimes ring from the churches. It is political equality which is denied to the Christians, and it is most often their efforts to snap the yoke of their subservience that embitter their relations with the dominant race. The edicts which have pronounced in favour of equality are in abeyance. Were these edicts enforced the empire of the Sultan would enter upon a fresh lease of life. His Armenian subjects, in common with the other Christians, would find in the empire a wider field for their activity than could be furnished by an autonomous Armenian State. The sentiment of a larger nationality would arise as advantages and apprehensions were shared by all in an equal measure and without distinction of creed.

3. These are the hopes or prospects of the future which individuals, according to their temper or experience, will be inclined to cherish or reject. The practical necessities of the present situation are far from raising an issue at once so momentous and so large. Apart from the Kurdish question, grave vices beset the conduct of government in Armenia. Judged even by the standard of Turkish administration in other parts of the empire, the methods pursued by the provincial governors can only be described in the blackest terms. In spite of the numerical inferiority of the Armenians, and of the fact that they are without arms, a reign of terror has been established in the country which poisons the lives of the unfortunate people and drives them to treachery or despair. An elaborate system of espionage follows their footsteps, even into the privacy of their homes. Their national literature, the works of their classical authors, have been confiscated and placed under a ban. Our own great writers who have found their way into these distant regions, Shakespeare and Milton, are proscribed. Their printing presses, the legitimate pride of their cloisters, have been seized. The most innocent poem, the most trivial song, is sufficient evidence to support a charge against their young men, which brings them to the prison cell. I am inclined to believe that a large number of the so-called rebellions are instigated or even invented by the governors themselves in order to establish a reputation

for zeal. Were it not for the suffering which is caused, the ridiculous aspect of such actions would be likely to impress us most. They would appear to resemble the clumsy gyrations of the blind Cyclops afflicted with panic by a pigmy hand. Yet the blame and the ridicule which attach to such a policy can not with justice be visited upon the heads of the governors alone. It is a policy which receives the approval of the Porte. In the capital itself the sittings of the Armenian National Assemblies, which are guaranteed by the Constitution of 1863, and which were designed to control both their religious and their secular affairs, have been suspended. The Patriarch of Constantinople, who directs the affairs of the national Church in Turkey, but whose powers are limited and defined by that constitution, is reduced to impotence by the action of the opposing forces of the Government on the one side and the people on the other. In adopting these methods the Turkish Government are digging the grave of their empire in Asia. On the one hand they are engaged in maintaining a situation which, when once the opportunity offers, will call for solution at the hands of Russia. On the other, they are recklessly discarding those very advantages, the habitual mildness of their secular rule and the tolerance of their religious policy, which, in face of a dogmatic and censorious rival, are at once the safeguard of their dominion and its strongest justification as a contemporary fact.

4. It is necessary to notice two schemes for the government of the Armenian provinces which have been put forward, the one by Nubar Pasha,* himself an Armenian by birth, the other by the Armenian delegates to the Congress of Berlin. It would be presumptuous in me to criticise the various provisions, dealing with the local government of the country, which men so familiar with the local conditions have framed. It is probable that whatever be the form of government a great part of their recommendations will be adopted in time. But I believe that both these plans, regarded as a whole, are open to two serious objections, the one fundamental, the other arising out of an important omission in the adequate presentation of their case. In the first place, both authorities postulate a preponderance over others of the Armenian element which subsequent investigation has not confirmed, and they recommend the appointment of an Armenian Governor-General whose tenure of office shall be guaranteed. Secondly, although the Armenian delegates accompanied their proposals with a map upon which they delimited the geographical area to which they should apply, still neither Nubar Pasha, who speaks in general terms of an Armenian province, nor even the delegates themselves have presented us with any definite conception of the principle upon which delimitation should proceed. It has been my object during

* See the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* for September, 1878.

the course of this paper to throw light upon both these points. If ever an Armenian province should be created the limits which have been drawn in these pages will, I think, be found to correspond in a general manner with the practical necessities of the case. The area which we have been considering, while it answers most nearly to the geographical extension of the Armenian plateau in Turkey, comprises a country in which the relative strength of the Armenian element is greater than it is within the larger limits which it has been usual to assign. Yet the proportion which the number of the Armenians within that area bears to that of the other races is very different from the proportion which the Armenian projects assume. Having regard to the constitution of the population of the province, and to the prejudices and animosities which exist, I cannot help thinking that his Christian religion and his Armenian nationality would be a serious disadvantage to a governor in the inauguration of a new *régime*. I may add that, while I was in the country, I gathered from several influential Armenians that this opinion was shared by them. It is possible to name several Mohammedan officials, high in the Turkish service, who have proved themselves capable governors, and who would be well fitted to administer the new province should it ever become a fact. There is little doubt that the country could be governed more efficiently from a single centre than under the present system of several different governments, of which each is independent of the other. That centre should be chosen in the country south of Erzerum, and north of the Lake of Van. The position of the town or village of Akhlath on the north-western shore of that lake has already in this connection attracted the attention of the Turkish authorities : in the year 1818 the plan which was framed by Osman Pasha of providing that place with the requirements of a capital came near to being carried into effect. A governor acting from Akhlath would conduct at the greatest advantage the administration of the plateau ; while the different conditions which obtain in the southern land of terrace, the home of the nomads, the proper Kurdistan, could best be dealt with by military officials provided with a suitable force. However, when once peace had been established on the plateau the Armenians who inhabit these inaccessible districts would emigrate into the protected sphere. But, even if it be impossible to convince the Porte of the advantages of such an administrative reform, it is at least reasonable, having regard to the pledges which have been given by Turkey to Europe in general, and to the moral responsibility which lies upon Great Britain in particular in respect of the Armenians, that we should seriously exert ourselves with the Turkish Government to secure the appointment of suitable officials to the governorships of Erzerum, Bitlis, and Van, and that we should require of them, at least within the area of the

plateau, to secure to the Armenians complete immunity from the depredations of the Kurds. On the other hand, the Armenians who inhabit the wilder districts of the neighbouring regions might reasonably be expected to draw more closely to the centres of government. Should such and similar measures, conceived in a kindred spirit, be taken by the Porte, neither they nor we are likely to be disturbed by the exigencies of an Armenian Question ; the Armenians, as loyal subjects of the Sultan, would find in the wide extent of his empire a more appropriate field for their enterprise than within the narrower limits of the country of their original home. In the contrary case it is probable that a solution for the present difficulties will ultimately be found in the constitution of a separate province under definite guarantees.

H. F. B. LYNCH.

THE EIGHT-HOURS BILL FOR MINERS- ITS ECONOMIC EFFECT.

IT must not be assumed from the fact that the Eight-Hours Miners Bill was discharged in the House of Commons on the 13th August last that the question is dismissed, for there is every likelihood that the legislative principle will be pressed by the Miners' Federation at the first opportunity. It will be useful, however, to weigh the arguments for and against the proposed Bill with a view of coming to a conclusion, in the light of the most recent information bearing on the question, as to whether one of the most hazardous measures that has ever been proposed in this or any other country should, or should not, be condemned by public opinion.

Up to the beginning of the present reign it may be admitted that legislation in Great Britain had been shaped and promoted for the benefit, for the most part, of what is sometimes referred to as the privileged class, now better known by the comprehensive term "capitalists." Formerly, the wants and rights of labour were persistently ignored, but within the past thirty years these wants and rights have had faithful and pertinacious exponents, with the result that the working men of this country, both as regards their earnings, their hours of working, their power of purchasing cheap commodities, and their educational advantages, are without doubt on a higher level than those of any other country in the world.

This applies with special force to the workmen engaged in and about coal mines, whose interests have been specially and vigilantly watched by both friends and representatives in Parliament, and whose hours of labour, wages, safety of employment, and general conditions of working and living, are now widely different from what they were thirty years ago. Every man "who loves his fellow-man" rejoices that this is so, but it is well to recognise the dangers which may arise

by over-legislation and by pressing forward the claims of labour to an extent which may frustrate the wishes and hopes of those who, in all good faith, aim at raising the position of the miners, or of any other members of the community who earn their livelihood by manual labour.

The writer's present object is to submit a brief, plain, and unbiased estimate of the effect of such a Bill as that proposed upon the commercial interests of Great Britain, in which, of course, every one is directly concerned, with the belief that, when the facts and figures bearing on the question are carefully considered, the possibility of the Bill going forward, in any shape, will be regarded with some consternation.

The question of restricting the hours of labour is, of course, no new thing, and so long ago as 1887 an Eight-Hours Bill for Miners was brought forward in the House of Commons, but this was rejected by 159 votes against 105. When, in 1890, another Eight-Hours Bill was submitted, a conference took place between the coal-owners and the miners, and in February, 1891, the miners stated their case in favour of an Eight-Hours Bill, alleging the reasons given below. Opposite to these statements are placed the rejoinders given by the coal-owners at a subsequent meeting :

MINERS' STATEMENTS.

1. That "the hours coal-miners work are longer, on the average, than those in any other trade in the country."

2. That "the only pure air they possess during the day is what they take down with them."

3. That "there are more permanently disabled men among miners than in any other employment."

4. That "accidents in mines occur chiefly in the later hours of the working shift."

5. That there is no fear of any diminution of output.

COAL-OWNERS' REPLIES.

The miners state their extreme time is 9½ to 10 hours, 'whereas nearly all other trades necessitate an absence from home of at least 12 hours.

With the modern means of ventilation, the air in most coal mines is quite as pure and healthy as in manufactories such as mills, workshops, cutlery, file, clothing, and boot and shoe works.

A Parliamentary return published in 1890 showed that, the number of employes injured on railways was 272·2 per 10,000, in coal mines 73·6 per 10,000.

A return asked for by Mr. Fenwick, M.P., shows that (so far as explosives are concerned) the total explosions (in ten years) in the first four hours were 125, and after the fourth hour, 80.

The owners state that the reduction of output, with the hours shortened as proposed, would amount to from 20 to 25 per cent.

On the general question under consideration, some misapprehensions exist, to which attention may be drawn :

1st. As to the number of hours that a collier now spends at his work.

2nd. As to the proportion of men at work in and about mines, whose work is so arduous and severe as to make it desirable to reduce the number of hours in which such work is carried on.

3rd. As to the distinction between the result of reducing the number of hours for a miner's work, and the alteration of hours in engineering works like those in which Mr. Mather's experiment was tried.

4th. As to the effect upon the general trade of the country of the colliers' curtailing not only their own productiveness but that of all other men engaged in and about mines.

The third and fourth points raised above are dealt with hereafter, but with regard to the first and second, it is probable that the public believe that the working collier is, at the present day, obliged to work a much longer period than eight hours per day. The best comment on this supposition, which, of course, would be a strong argument in favour of a limitation of hours, is the fact that most colliery owners in the kingdom would be prepared to agree at once, if the question were pressed, that no collier should be required to work more than eight hours, but in the interests of the men themselves it would be very wrong to prevent thrifty and diligent men from having the power to increase their earnings by an extra half-hour or hour's work, if they choose to do so.

As a general statement, it may be taken as a fact that *very few colliers are now working as much as eight hours per day*, and over the present year, it is very improbable that any collier has worked so much as forty-eight hours in any one week !

Mr. Chamberlain, in the recent debate, remarked on this point : "I have taken the trouble to look at the returns prepared some time ago, and I find there is hardly a district in which, at the present time, the average time of work at the face exceeds eight hours. Where eight hours is exceeded, it is only by a decimal point." In further confirmation of this, it may be mentioned that, in a return presented to Parliament in July 1890, out of 450,000 persons working underground, only 25,000 were returned as working more than nine hours per day ! Practically, out of the 680,000 workmen and boys employed in and about mines, it may be safely asserted that not more than 400,000 are working at the coal face, and of these only a small proportion are working more than eight hours per day, and a smaller proportion still work so much as forty-eight hours per week.

From this it will be seen that it is somewhat difficult to say for whose benefit the intended legislation would be. When several of

the above facts came out in the debate in Committee, the supporters of the Bill fell back upon the hours worked by the boys in the county of Durham ; but if any injustice existed as to them, there is little doubt that the miners' representatives from that county would have brought it forward.

Legislation intended for the supposed benefit of a certain community is generally promoted for one of two reasons :

1st. Because the needs of a certain class demand a change in the laws affecting them.

2nd. Because a community, or the parties who represent it, in or out of Parliament, ask for a change of legislation with more or less unanimity, without, however, being called upon to prove the necessity for such legislation.

The Factory Acts, passed for the benefit of women and children, belong to the first category, and the Eight-Hours Bill under consideration belongs to the second, and it is interesting to note that the Bill escaped passing chiefly because of the want of unanimity among those whom it was intended to benefit.

Now that the Bill has passed out of sight for a time, the question may be asked : How far did the 212 members who voted on the Local Option Amendment, and how far did the 450 absentees from the House, realise what the object of this Bill was, what its provisions really meant, and what the effect of the Bill would have been had it unfortunately passed into law ? As a large employer of mining labour, and as one who is making an endeavour to improve the conditions of life amongst the miners he employs, the writer is glad to have an opportunity of attempting to answer these questions, and in arriving at the conclusions enumerated the point of view of the best permanent interests of the miners themselves has been constantly and chiefly borne in mind.

At the outset, brief reference may be made to the probable consequences to the mine-owner and the miner if this Bill, in its present form, were to become law. As will be proved from indisputable and abundant evidence, which will be submitted later, the probable effect upon the annual production of coal in the United Kingdom would be to reduce it by at least 20 per cent., and, taking the normal output at, say, 180,000,000 tons, this would mean a decrease of 36,000,000 tons per annum. At present, the demand for coal is much less than the supply, but the moment the supply falls slightly below the demand, the selling price springs up with a bound, as was the case in the year 1872, and also during the strike of last year, when the prices, in the districts not on strike, experienced swift and considerable advances. The effect of the restriction of output which would be caused by an Eight-Hours Bill for miners, would promote,

even in the present depressed state of trade, a material advance in the selling price of coal, an advance which can be safely put at several shillings per ton. This would affect every consumer in the country. For months, perhaps for a year, this extra price would be obtained, and for such period colliery owners would probably realise and enjoy higher profits than they have known since the year 1873. The colliers, whose wages would be reduced by the shortened day, would claim, and would fairly claim, a share in this ephemeral prosperity, but both owners and workmen would be enjoying a fool's paradise. Within very few weeks or months from the time the change in prices took place, two of the most important outlets for coal would suffer severe shrinkage—namely, the proportion sold for export, amounting to nearly 40,000,000 tons a year, and the quantity used in the iron and steel trade, amounting to about 30,000,000 tons per annum. We have already had serious warnings as to the competition which exists in relation to our export trade, and it is well known that the prices ruling in the iron trade are already so low that that industry cannot be carried on if the cost of production is increased. What will follow? The increase in the price of coal will cause an increased number of furnaces to go out of blast, and will probably cause many iron and steel firms to close their works! The increase in the value of exported coal, at a time when foreign producers are permitted to carry on their collieries *under the same conditions as at present*, would cause a most serious falling off in our export trade. The general demand for coal would therefore fall off, pits would work short time again, prices would go down, and wages would be again reduced.

This forecast of what would happen as the result of the proposed Bill will be endorsed by all who have carefully studied the conditions on which the prosperity of the coal trade depends.

The first name on the back of the Eight-Hours Bill is that of Mr. Roby, who is a strong advocate of the measure, and one remark made by him in the recent debate is pregnant with warning, if applied to the broad principle of the Bill. He stated that "if they had eight hours enacted by the Legislature in one part of the country only, they so far tied the hands of the masters and workmen in that part as against the other part of the country." If, in place of the words "the country," the word "Europe" is used, Mr. Roby's statement conveys an accurate idea of the strangling which English trade would suffer by restricted output, whilst German, Belgian, and French competitors in the coal, iron, and steel trade would reap the benefit of such unwise legislation.

In dealing with this and every other question which affects the cost of production, it would be a grave mistake to ignore the important

question of foreign competition, but the tendency is to close one's eyes to the certain effects of this on English labour until such effects absolutely stare us in the face.

Below are given several interesting illustrations of the power of foreign countries to compete with England, and several of these cases were submitted by Sir Joseph Pease when a deputation of coal-owners met Lord Salisbury a few weeks ago :

1st. 7000 tons of iron sleepers for Bechuanaland (where the capital is all found by England) were sent by Germany.

2nd. The roof of the United Service building opposite the Horse Guards is of Belgian iron.

3rd. The girders for Leith Quay were brought from Belgium, and not from the Scotch ironworks.

4th. The large asylum roof in Glasgow was built in Belgium with Belgian iron.

5th. A large buyer of plates and angles in the Middlesborough district states that he had a great deal of work in hand, and that it was all being done with Belgian iron.

6th. Thousands of tons of castings have recently been sent from Liège to England owing to the moulders' strike.

7th. One German firm alone delivered 30,000 tons of steel joists into England last year.

This condition of things is aided by the fact that the freight, for iron, from Dusseldorf to Antwerp is 3*s.* 6*d.* a ton f. o. b., and from Antwerp to London hardly as much ; whilst the rate from the Welsh iron district to London is 7*s.* 6*d.* a ton.

The development of foreign coalfields is further evidenced by the following important figures :

1st. In 1883 the output of coal in the United Kingdom was 45 per cent. more than the combined output of France, Belgium, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Japan, Russia, and the United States. Ten years afterwards (in 1893), with 20,000,000 tons more of output, the production of England is 69 *per cent.* below the combined output of the above countries.

2nd. *Pig Iron.* The output of the world was 17,000,000 tons in 1884 and 21,000,000 in 1893. In this period the output of Great Britain has decreased 13 per cent. The output of the United States, Germany, and France has increased nearly 50 per cent.

Further evidence on the question of European competition is furnished by a statement made by Mr. Joseph Adamson, of Manchester, to an important weekly paper, as the result of his recent visit (with the Iron and Steel Institute) to Belgium. He said

" that the average rate of wages in several of the works they visited was 2*s.* 11½*d.* per day, as compared with 6*s.* per day which was being paid for similar work in England. The men were also, taking them all through,

steadier and more industrious than English workmen. There were no 'St. Mondays,' as in this country, and operations went on regularly from week-end to week-end. This was one of the chief causes of the success of the Belgian competition which we had now to meet. As a result, all the establishments they went through seemed to be well supplied with work. In fact, they heard no grumbling whatever about the state of trade, such as was so prevalent in England, and it was not a very pleasing thing to see the quantity of work which was going away for the Japan railways, to Russia, to Java, and elsewhere, which, not so long ago, would have been entirely supplied from England."

It would be worse than foolish to ignore the serious import of these facts and figures, and one painfully significant effect of the competition referred to has been the falling off in the orders received during the past few months by the largest makers of girders in this country. What does the loss of such girder orders mean to the British workman? It is probably not generally understood that, taking £5 per ton as the cost of iron or steel girders, not less than £4 is paid in wages to the workmen who mine the iron-stone and coal, and who are engaged (from the blast-furnace to the rolling-mill) in producing the girders. Thus every thousand tons of girders imported into this country means a loss of at least £4000 to English labour; another £1000 representing royalty, rates, superintendence, &c. The statistics giving the imports of girders and finished iron to Great Britain for the first half-year of 1894, indicate that the loss in wages to British workmen is at the rate of not less than £800,000 per annum.

This aspect of the case is only referred to for the purpose of showing that, at a time when English industries have the utmost difficulty in holding their own, it is unstatesmanlike and unpatriotic to press upon the country a measure, which, even to a slight degree, would be likely to increase the cost of important productions like coal and iron. As far as can be judged by the illustrations given hereafter, such increase would not be slight, it would be most serious, and it is obvious that if the shortening of hours increases the cost of labour, this tells most seriously with regard to productions like coal and iron, in which wages form so large a proportion of the total cost of production.

The stoppage of English works is of course a stimulant to the foreign producer, who widens his connection, and this makes it all the more difficult for the English manufacturer to regain lost trade when better times recur.

Whilst referring to the question of foreign competition, it is interesting to consider how the English miner stands in relation to his brethren in the other coalfields of Europe, and the statement on this point which the writer submits, will doubtless be as startling to others as it was to himself. The statement is an abstract of a Report, dated June 6, 1894, which was presented to the Northumber-

land Miners' Mutual Confident Association by its representatives at the recent Conference at Berlin, and is as follows:

	Average wages paid per day.		Remarks made by Delegates at the Conference.
	To Colliers.	To Fillers, &c.	
England . .	6s. to 6s. 4d.	4s. 9d. to 5s.	Leaves no room for reduction.
Austria . .	2s. 8d.	2s. 8d.	Out of which they pay 20s. per month for house rent.
France . .	3s. 6d.	2s. 7d.	Work 10 to 11 hours per day.
Belgium . .	2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.	...	Workmen are not looked upon or treated like human beings, and work 12 hours per day.
Germany . .	3s. to 3s. 6d.	...	

With regard to this statement, it should be noted :

1st. That it is a record of comparative conditions of work presented as an accurate record of *facts by the miners themselves to their co-workers.*

2nd. That the average earnings of the four countries mentioned, indicate that the miners in those countries are receiving, not 10 or 20 per cent. less than the miners of Great Britain, but actually a day's wage which is less *than one half of the wage paid in this country!*

This statement speaks for itself, but bearing in mind that the cost of living in England is less (under similar conditions) than in any other part of the world, it is clear that the English collier is better off, both as regards earnings and hours of labour, than the miners in any other country in Europe.

Another comparison which may be useful to make is that of the position of the collier in contrast with other British workmen, and it is perhaps not generally understood that there are no workmen in this country who receive, on the average, such a high rate of pay per hour, and who work so few hours per day, as the average English collier. This statement, of course, refers to the hewer, who gets the coal at the working face, and it is his admittedly hard work which is used as the chief argument for the limitation of hours.

A number of experiments have been made in various parts of the country with a view of testing the effect of shortening the hours of labour in engine works and machine shops, and to those who take a superficial view of the question the apparent success of these experiments is allowed to be an argument in favour of the Miners Bill. A much-quoted case is the experiment tried by Mr. Mather, M.P., at the works of Messrs. Mather & Platt in Manchester. Mr. Mather

tried an eight-hours day for twelve months, and found it practically a success. It is, however, scarcely a fair and typical case to judge from. Mr. Mather has been in close touch with his workmen for twenty-five years, and during that period has shown his interest in all matters concerning the welfare of working men and his own workmen in particular, and it is fair to assume that the skilled workmen who, in conjunction with their employers, made this experiment were a somewhat superior class, willing and wishful loyally to do their best to make the experiment succeed.

Beyond this, however, it is well to remember that, in Mr. Mather's case, a larger proportion of the work done is piece-work than in other manufactories of the same character, and further, that the workmen who tried the experiment were on their mettle to prove to their own union the successful result of the test.

Note, however, the great difference between the object aimed at by Mr. Mather and that in the minds of the promoters of the Eight-Hours Bill. Mr. Mather said, "I want to prove that my workmen can give out the best daily results of their energy by working eight hours per day instead of nine, and that they can yield the same amount of good work (at the same cost) per man, in eight hours as they can in nine." The promoters of the Miners' Eight-Hours Bill, on the contrary, anticipate that the effect of the Bill will be *to reduce the output per man*, and, as a result, to raise the cost of the commodity he produces.

It will be useful at this point to arrive at the truth with respect to one very important point with regard to which there appears to be a very remarkable divergence of opinion—namely, as to whether the passing of the Bill, as brought before Parliament, would seriously affect the output of coal, and, if so, what would be the effect of such reduction upon the cost of production?

Mr. Asquith has taken an active interest in the Eight-Hours Bill, and any expression of opinion from him was entitled to have weight with the House of Commons, but on this question he has, unfortunately, been led into error. On the second reading on the 25th April he practically wound up the debate by the statement that he "did not fear that the introduction of this principle would lead to a decline in the production." In the same debate, a member mentioned that Mr. S. Woods, M.P., had, in 1888, urged the acceptance of such a measure as this, because it would reduce the annual output of coal by 20,000,000 tons, and great weight must be attached to a statement (unchallenged at the time) from such a source, such statement being an entire contradiction of the opinion expressed by Mr. Asquith.

Mr. Asquith, and those who advise him, could not have understood:

1st. That 99 per cent. of the collieries in the kingdom are worked by contract—that is, at so much per ton on the coal worked.

2nd. That at least 90 per cent. have for a long period worked short time, the average time worked over the federated district during the present year not having amounted to more than $4\frac{3}{4}$ days per week.

3rd. That, having employment for so short a period, the men work at their full capacity during the whole time they are at the working face.

4th. That it is, therefore, obviously certain that a man who works seven hours per day instead of eight will only be able to earn seven-eighths of the wages he earned prior to his working time being reduced, and it is equally obvious that a collier who produces one-eighth less coal must take home one-eighth less wages!

Noting the diversity of opinion as to what might be the effect of the Bill, it occurred to the writer that it would be interesting to try the result of a practical experiment, and he therefore arranged at several of the collieries with which he is connected to test the question by working *exactly the same number of hours as such collieries would have to work if the Bill were adopted.* This experiment was made at four different collieries under entirely different management, and in each case the workmen were told that a short day would be worked.

The following statement gives the result of this experiment :

		Present system.	Eight-hours day.	Difference.	Increased cost if co.l-getters received the same wages for the shortened day as for the present hours worked.
		Tons per day.	Tons per day.		
No. 1 Colliery	{ Output	560	390		
	{ Per cent. of decrease	...		22 %	
	{ Increased cost per ton	...		6 4d.	1s. 0 6d.
No. 2 Colliery	{ Output	313	208		
	{ Per cent. of decrease	...		32 6 %	
	{ Increased cost per ton	...		11 8d.	2s. 5 3d.
No. 3 Colliery	{ Output	1,417	1,084		
	{ Per cent. of decrease	...		23 1/2 %	
	{ Increased cost per ton	...		4 2d.	9 96d.

The conclusions which may be drawn from the above figures are as follows: (1) The reduction of output varies from 22 per cent. to 32 per cent. as the result of the shortened day. (2) The increase in cost, due to the same cause, varies from 4d. to about 1s. per ton. (3) Assuming that the day's wages are maintained at the same rate the miner earns in the present working hours, the increase in cost

would then vary from 10*d.* to 2*s.* 5*d.* (4) It is only fair to point out that, had the experiment been prolonged for some time, the loss of output and increase of cost would probably be slightly less.

It may be urged that these experiments should not be considered of value, as they were not made for a lengthened period, but they are confirmed by the test referred to in the speech made by Mr. D. Thomas, M.P., when the Bill was being considered in Committee. In that case, the eight-hours system was tried for a period of no less than thirteen months, the output per collier per day, when working the shorter hours, being 1·67 tons per day. When working the usual hours, the output was 2·06 or a difference of 23 per cent., being almost exactly proportionate to the variation in the hours worked.

Beyond this, it may be pointed out that every colliery in the kingdom, once or twice a fortnight, makes a practical test of the effect of a shortened day, in the short hours worked on Saturdays, when it is found that the tonnage produced is, as compared with an ordinary day's work, nearly proportionate to the hours worked.

A further point of special importance, as indicating the injustice of the measure, is that relating to the inequalities of employment to which the Bill would apply. The following are a few instances :

1st. One man may work at a distance of 100 yards from the pit's mouth, whilst another may have to travel 3000 or 4000 yards.

2nd. One man may feel that he has strength and energy to work long hours in order to get such wages as would enable him to put something by for a rainy day. Another may be weak in body, or disinclined to work long hours for the sake of improved wages.

3rd. One man may have a large family that he is bound to, and wishes to, support. Another may be a single man with no such obligations.

4th. One man, or set of men, may have a perfectly safe working place which they can leave immediately they have finished hewing coal. The working place of another set of men may daily require special repairs and maintenance to insure its safety on the following day.

5th. One pit may be so favourably placed with regard to markets as to be enabled to work full time nearly all the year round. Another, with limited markets, or a different class of coal, may be able to get orders for only two or three days a week, during which short period (judging from existing pits) every workman would wish to earn every penny he can.

How can it appear otherwise than folly to attempt to force upon intelligent grown-up men an obligation to restrict their hours of work under the extraordinarily different conditions enumerated above, bringing down the aspirations of worthy ambition to the level of the

idlest and most careless workman ? What a millstone in early life such a regulation would have been round the necks of such men as George Stephenson, Sir George Elliot, and others !

Perhaps the most extraordinary thing in connection with the subject under discussion is the fact that, in both debates on the Bill, so little has been said to protest against the whole principle involved ! It seems almost inconceivable that 281 of the chosen legislators of Great Britain should give their vote in favour of an enactment, the effect of which, ignoring its economic result, would be absolutely to take away freedom of action from a large body of workmen, who, over the last few years, have given clear evidence of their ability and power to protect what they consider to be their own interests !

The silence of the Government in the recent debate may, perhaps, be explained by the following quotation from Lord Rosebery's reply to the deputation of coal-owners who waited upon him on this question some months ago :

" If all the gloomy prognostications were to be realised which I have heard expressed, any Government and any Legislature would incur grave responsibility which entered on any course of legislation such as that which you oppose to-day ! "

One of the most significant features in the debate was that several members, who were supposed to be supporters of a legislative eight-hours day for miners, made speeches which, for the most part, were distinctly condemnatory of the principle under consideration, and on this very question of taking away the free will of capable and independent workmen, Mr. Storey, M.P., spoke as follows :

" Here was a Bill which said to all the coal-miners in all England, wherever they might be, under whatever limitations they might work, whether they were in hot or in cool pits, whether they were in hard or in soft coal, whether they had to walk two miles to the face of the coal and find it broken down, or whether they could go down the pit and find fresh coal there to work ; which said to every one, strong or weak, old or young, under all the conditions of getting into the pit, whether they wanted to work a longer or shorter time according to their local circumstances, ' You must all work the same time. You must work not more than eight hours whether you will or no, whether you are a man with twelve children, or whether you are a bachelor. You are only to remain underground eight hours and no more ! ' "

Mr. Storey added that he would never support such a restrictive policy as this, unless it could be proved: (1) That it was for the general interest of the country that such a legal limitation of hours should be adopted ; (2) That there would be general unanimity with regard to the question in the case of those for whose benefit the Bill was proposed. As to the first question, it is submitted that, instead of such a Bill being for the general advantage of the country, it would

be exactly the reverse ; and as to the question of general concurrence, it is more than clear that the antagonists to the Bill in South Wales and the northern counties proved the existence of a great want of unanimity. Assuming, however, that there *was* absolute unanimity on the part of the miners of the United Kingdom, it is surely an extremely grave matter for Parliament to yield to a demand of, say, 680,000 workpeople, who might ask for what they consider is a privilege and benefit to themselves, whilst the granting of such benefit might place a burden, in increased cost of fuel, upon over 12,000,000 workpeople other than miners, who will have to pay more for their coal, and a similar burden upon the general population of the country, who, as householders or manufacturers, are large consumers of coal.

In fact, the action of this Bill would be neither more nor less than the protection of a certain class of labour, with the effect of raising the cost of the product of that labour, to the disadvantage of the whole population of the country, of which the number of workmen in and about mines amounts to *less than 2 per cent.* If this protection were of permanent benefit to this particular trade, it might be open to support on that ground, but if the effect of the Bill is, as suggested, to raise the cost of the product of labour to such an extent as to cause that product to have a diminished market, the parties protected for a time will seriously suffer in the long run.

More important than the statements of pledged politicians, and the views held by the leaders of the Miners' Federation, is the feeling on this question of the miners themselves in the Federation districts. What is this feeling ? In the whole of the collieries in which the writer is concerned, and which employ about 15,000 hands, he has never heard the question of a reduction of working hours mooted by the workmen, and the general impression conveyed by the attitude of the miners themselves is that they are entirely indifferent to the whole matter !

The possibility of reducing the length of the working day, without causing damage to the trades directly or indirectly affected, must depend on the ability of the workmen to produce, during a shorter time, the same amount and value of work as during a longer time. It is, of course, obvious that any man who is now down the pit for, say, 8½ hours would prefer being down for 8 hours only, and the true state of the colliers' mind was probably fairly reflected in an interview the writer had with one of his men a few weeks ago. The miner was asked, "Are you a believer in the Eight-Hours Bill ?"—"I am." "Would you not produce less coal in eight hours than you do now in the longer period which you work ?"—"I expect I should." "Then would not your earnings be also reduced ?" the answer being, "Ah, but I don't want any change that will bring down my wages !" There is little doubt that, if the miners only

understood that the effect of the shortened hours must be either to reduce their wages or to cause a temporary advance in prices which would stagnate trade, they would give a different mandate to their representatives on this question.

A member of Parliament, who voted for the second reading of the Eight-Hours Bill, gave the writer the following suggestive personal experience as an illustration of the anomalies that sometimes occur in carrying out the provisions of such Bills as this. Seventeen years ago, a law was passed altering the working hours for women and children, and reducing them by about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours per week. In compliance with the spirit in which this Act was passed, this employer altered the starting hours of his mill hands from 6 A.M. to 6.30 A.M. Some of the hands who had been on by the piece had, prior to the alteration of hours, been working to their full capacity, and when they found the hours of work shortened, they found their own productiveness and their weekly wage reduced, and they came to the employer to ask if they might either have a corresponding advance in wages or revert to the original working hours!

He would not break the law; he could not advance the wages!

The agitation on this question has been mainly brought about by the Miners' Federation and its leaders. The leaders of the Federation are able men, who work with sincerity and devotion for what they consider to be the best interests of the miners; but they have not yet appreciated, as have leaders of the men like Messrs. Burt, Fenwick, and Wilson, the dangers which may arise from foreign competition, and from endeavouring to artificially maintain selling prices. Their general view of the Eight-Hours question was reflected by a recent remark by one of them to the writer. He is an earnest worker for the Federation, and, in talking over this question, he remarked that the present state of trade would be put right when we have the Eight-Hours Bill, as this will reduce the quantity of coal produced, and raise its value, and also maintain or raise the wages of the men.*

The principles of the Federation, however, will probably be best appreciated by reference to a statement by one of its leaders in Newcastle on July 13 last, when he said that "the policy of the Miners' Federation is based on the principle that wages should regulate prices and not prices wages." It is hoped that the time

* At the colliery where this remark was made the owners have endeavoured to maintain selling prices, in view of the strong position taken up by the men in contending for a minimum wage for a time. With what result? During the week before these words were written the colliery worked two days only, and the colliers earned an average wage of rather more than 8s. per day. Would it not have been better for the men to have worked four days at 6s. per day, thus enabling the coal buyer to purchase his coal at a somewhat less price, stimulating industries which depend, and probably always will depend, on cheap fuel, rather than work for two days and be idle for the rest of the week?

will come when these gentlemen will understand that this principle is unsound and erroneous, and that there is no chance, in these days of cheap transport, of altering the law of supply and demand, unless the employers who sell their goods, and the workmen who sell their labour, arrive at an international understanding for raising the value of both, and there does not appear to be the remotest likelihood of this ever coming to pass.

The only reasonable ground for making a change in the working hours of miners by legislation or otherwise, would be, that the working hours of those engaged in producing coal are unreasonably long to the extent of damaging the health of the workmen, and, on this question of health, it is impossible to ignore the importance of the evidence as given before the Royal Commission, and as quoted in the recent debate by Mr. Gerald Balfour, M.P. who said :

“There was only one justification in any degree plausible which he could imagine for legislation of this kind, and it was that such legislation was urgently demanded for the health or the safety of those who were employed in the mines. As a matter of fact, in the former history of this question, this plea was frequently put forward, but it had been fairly examined by the Royal Commission on Labour, and he did not hesitate to say that it had been completely upset. The conclusions at which the Commission arrived were that the miners were not in an exceptional position as regarded the unhealthiness of their employment, but on the contrary, that their employment was, on the whole, more healthy than the average of employments, and that, as regarded safety, the Eight-Hours Bill would not promote safety nor diminish the risk of accidents, but would be likely to have the effect of increasing them. These conclusions arrived at by the Royal Commission were not disputed in the Minority Report.”

Confirming this, another member, in the same debate, stated that statistics proved that out of one hundred occupations, 70 per cent. were more deleterious to health than the occupation of a coal-miner.

In conclusion, the facts bearing on the Eight-Hours question and the effects of the Bill, if passed, may be briefly summarised as follows :

1st. The Bill (had it been passed) would have affected directly about 680,000 workmen and boys. Of these, 230,000 belong to districts which are opposed to the Bill. Of the 450,000 which remain, probably not more than 250,000 are working at the “coal face,” where the hardest work takes place, and these are not working, and (as a rule) are not required to work, more than forty-eight hours per week. Over the past four months they have probably not averaged forty hours per week. If legislation is needed for any one, therefore, it is required for the remaining 200,000 men and boys who work in and about coal mines. But their work (and this should be very carefully noted) is no more arduous than that of hundreds of thousands of workmen in other trades who now work longer hours.

2nd. Whatever hours (at present shortened by bad trade) the miners *now* work would have been still further limited by this Bill, as a miner now working six hours at the "coal face" would not have had his coal taken out by the other workmen and boys in the mine whose hours would be reduced, and as most miners now produce the best output they can per hour (working as they do "by the piece") their wages would be reduced, and the coal-getter would have to pay lower wages to the "filler."

3rd. With a reduced output, and the same "day wages" and standing expenses chargeable thereon, the working cost of collieries would be increased. There are hundreds of collieries now working at a loss, and they cannot bear an increased cost. If extra men, as the result of shortened hours, have to be employed to keep up the output, it is obvious that this must be done at an increased cost.

4th. The certainty of a reduced output as the effect of this Bill—spoken of by reliable witnesses before the Labour Commission—was anticipated by Mr. S. Woods in 1888, and is proved by the typical experiments particulars of which have been given above.

5th. If the reduced output causes, as it surely must, an increase for a time in the selling price of coal, this advance, artificially obtained, will quickly be lost, as the demand for exported fuel, and for coal used in the iron and steel and some other trades, will shrink immediately it is found that an advance in price takes place. These outlets for coal cannot command a higher selling price than that which prevails at present until a material advance in the value of goods produced in such industries takes place.

6th. The only ground on which a reduction in the hours of colliers can be contended for at the present day is the suggestion that the occupation is more unhealthy than that of other workmen engaged in manual labour, and it is submitted that there is no evidence forthcoming proving that this is the case. As to accidents, it is proved that these are more numerous (in relation to the number of men employed) on railways than in mines.

7th. The most astounding fact of all, however, is that the House of Commons in the debate on the second reading, lasting but a few hours, stamped its general approval of the principle of a Bill which :

1. Would have raised the price of fuel to all manufacturers, and to 13,000,000 of the working classes, for the temporary benefit of the mining population, numbering under 700,000, or only about 5 per cent. of the total number of people engaged in manual labour in this country, and taking the increased cost at only 6*d.* per ton, this would amount to a tax upon the consumer of *no less than £4,500,000 per annum.*

2. Which would have stagnated numerous industries like the manufacture of iron and steel.

3. Which would have prevented industrious workmen, anxious to support and to elevate their families, from exercising their manual powers to fair and proper advantage, by working an extra hour or half-hour occasionally for the benefit of the families dependent upon them.

4. Which would raise the price of fuel to every consumer in the country, whilst other European countries, in which, as has been shown, wages are much less and working hours much longer, are enabled to go on as before, and to take away from England much of its export trade.

8th. It is submitted that the present is certainly a wrong time to raise the question of shortening hours legally or otherwise. Nine-tenths of the collieries in this country are now working short time; the whole are probably not averaging more than four days per week, and it would be folly to do anything which would tend to check still further the productiveness of labour.

9th. If any change whatever is needed, it can be effected without legislation, and in support of this statement the writer ventures to assert that coal-owners, with very few exceptions, will probably be quite prepared to open their pits at any time to the workmen, on the condition that no coal-getter need work more than eight hours per day unless he chooses. They would do this with the conviction that the coal-getter, were this privilege accorded, would prefer going on as at present rather than face the reduced earnings which would follow shortened hours. As regards other workmen in and about mines, their hours, compared with those worked by other workmen in other trades, are not unduly long. Until some international demand for shortened hours for all labour is made, it would be unwise to make any change (except in special cases where specially long hours may be worked) in the hours of such workmen. As so much has been done to improve the status of the English miner, it is a grave question whether any further step should be taken in this direction until the men who produce coal for our foreign competitors have been lifted up to a level nearer to that of the English miner.

10th. The object of Mr. Mather, M.P., in making the experiments as to shortening the hours of his workmen was to ascertain whether, in his particular business, the men could produce about as much work in eight hours as in a longer period. The case for miners is entirely different. A perusal of the facts submitted indicates that the primary object of this suggested Eight-Hours Bill could not have been to give relief to the men employed in and about coal mines. At a time when the demand for coal is much less than the supply, the effect of such a Bill as that proposed must have been to reduce the production of coal, to raise its value, and thus to present an argument for maintaining the present satisfactory daily wage of colliers, or for raising it

to a higher point. This was the real object of the Bill. If there were anything in the state of trade of the country to justify an artificial increase in the value of labour—temporary though it might be—it might be a fair experiment to make, but the most casual observer of the present state of the commerce of the country will admit that this is not the time to attempt this policy.

“What the House of Commons has decided by so large a majority is likely, sooner or later, in some shape or another, to find representation in legislation.”*

This endeavour to define the serious objections to restricting the hours of adult labour in coal mines is brought to a conclusion by the above quotation from Mr. Chamberlain, not because the writer agrees with the opinion therein expressed, but for the purpose of strongly dissenting from it.

How many of the majority who voted for the second reading had really carefully considered the probable effects of such a Bill? How many of those who *did* grasp its great dangers realised that neither the present working hours nor the risk to health justified any compulsory alteration in the working hours? How many recorded their votes knowing the dangerous character of the Bill but knowing that its dangers might be abolished in Committee, such Members getting credit in the meantime from their constituencies for supporting the Bill? How many of the voters in such constituencies realised or considered the damage such a Bill would cause to English trade, and ultimately to their own personal interests?

At the meeting above referred to, the Duke of Devonshire, whose constituency is the whole country, said, “There is no doubt in my mind that the measure would be of a very injurious character,” and if the House of Commons realises, should the Bill again come forward, that its real effect would be to tax the whole country for the sake of a very small percentage of the community, and that coal-owners are quite prepared to agree to shorten hours where long hours are at present a hardship, and would willingly agree (without legislation) that arduous work in mines should be restricted to forty-eight hours per week, there is little doubt that the Duke of Devonshire’s conviction will be acted upon, leaving the question of the hours of mining labour to be dealt with and settled outside the House of Commons.

EMERSON BAINBRIDGE.

* Mr. Chamberlain, to deputation of coal-owners, June 20, 1894.

EAST AND WEST.

ON the surface of this round earth the cardinal points have no precise meaning except in relation to particular places. The Greenwich observer may point to his north and his south, his east and his west; but the astronomers of Paris, of Washington, of Santiago, and direction-seeking mankind generally, will look for theirs in other directions. The lines traced by the meridians and the equator are purely artificial. Nevertheless the attempt has been made to give to the geographical terms of orientation a common meaning that should be accepted by all. Thus Carl Ritter, taking into account the idea of heat and of blinding light which Europeans associate with the "South," reserved the name of "South" for the Sahara and the other deserts of the torrid zone which lie between the northern and the southern hemisphere. In the same way the expressions "East" and "West" have been used for thousands of years as synonymous with "Asia" and "Europe"; and indeed the very names of the two continents, in their original tongues, meant precisely "the Rising Sun" and "the Setting Sun." To the Assyrians the land of Assú—*i.e.* Asia—was the region lit by the earliest morning rays, and the land of Ereb, or Europe, included all the countries lying west of them, towards the evening purple. The Arabs took up the word again, and applied it to the western extremity of their conquests in Mauritania and the Iberian peninsula—"El Gharb," "Maghreb," "the Algarves."

In current speech the expressions East and West must necessarily apply to regions whose boundary shifts from age to age with the march of civilisation. Thus Asia Minor, the "West" *par excellence* to the Assyrians, became to the Byzantines the land of the sun-rising (Anatolia, Natolie, Anadoli); and later, along the shores of the

Mediterranean, the word "Levant," applied by the mariners of the "Ponent" to all the ports of the seas that bathe the coasts of Asia, came to mean more particularly Smyrna and the other ports of the Asiatic peninsula. So, again, the "Eastern Empire," embracing fully half the Roman world, included in its vast domain the territory of the Ravennate, belonging to that Italian peninsula which was the ancient Hesperia, "the going down of the sun." Thus the phrases "East" and "West" were bound to change their meaning, even in the popular acceptance, and it became necessary to gain precision by introducing subdivisions—"Eastern Europe," "Eastern Asia," the "Far East,"* just as, in the United States, they distinguish between "East," "West," and "Far West."

From an historical point of view, however, it may be useful to try and determine approximately the normal line of separation between the two halves of the ancient world which best deserve the names of East and West. Just as every surface has its diagonal, and every body its axis, so the total mass of the continents has its median line, where the contrasts of soil, climate and history poise themselves over against each other. Taking as a whole the regions in which mankind has spent its life, and reached at last the consciousness of its collective personality, what is this median line, this watershed of human history? Africa may be left out, for its development appears to have taken place almost independently; and that massive continent, four-fifths of whose surface lies within the southern temperate or the torrid zone—the "South" *par excellence*—belongs to our common world of early history only by its Mediterranean littoral—Egypt, Cyrenaica, Mauritania. But, on the other hand, we must restore to the ancient world the isles of the Indian Ocean which form the retinue of the Gangetic peninsulas, and all the island groups that people the immense stretch of sea eastward towards America, for, by the migrations and counter-migrations of their inhabitants, by their legends and traditions, and by the whole testimony of historic evolution, these ocean territories do indeed form part of the same circle as Farther Asia.

It might seem, at first sight, as if the true and natural partition between East and West must be indicated by the watershed which separates the eastward slope towards the Indian and Chinese seas from the slope that drains into the Atlantic through the Mediterranean and other European waters. But this boundary, purely artificial after all, as it winds from the Taurus to the Caucasus, crosses populations subject to the same influences of soil and climate, participants in the same historical movements, and composed to a great extent of elements of the same ethnological origin. The true frontier between the Eastern and Western world must be so shifted

* "Orient Slave," "Orient Grec," "Orient Chinois," "Extrême Orient."

as to throw off upon the Western side the whole watershed of the great twin streams, Tigris and Euphrates, as well as the chief summits of Iran. This whole region of Persia and Media, of Assyria and Chaldæa, is intimately associated in its history with the countries of the Mediterranean, while its relations with the Eastern world were always less active and more frequently interrupted.

The line of separation, then, is to be found farther East, and it is well marked, not by the outlines of the continent of Asia, but by a space of territory distinguished at once by the high relief of the soil and the comparative sparseness of the population. Between Mesopotamia, where the swarming human race reared its tower of Babel, and the Western plains of Hindostan, with their teeming populations—in some parts two thousand or more to the square mile—a transverse zone, containing less than two inhabitants to the same surface, runs from north to south between the Gulf of Oman and the icy Arctic Sea. This almost uninhabited zone begins just west of the plains of the lower Indus and its frontier mountains, in the desert tracts of southern Beloochistan, scattered with rare oases. Between India and Afghanistan it stretches north and north-east along the rugged escarpments of the Suleiman Dagħ and other ranges, whose hidden basins and narrow gorges give shelter to mountain tribes living far from the haunts of other men, except when the martial fury seizes them and brings them to blows with their neighbours of the lower tableland or the plains. To the north-west of Hindostan the folds of the soil become deeper and more numerous, sharply dividing the world with their countless walls. The high summits of the Hindoo-Koosh, inferior only to those of the Himalaya of Nepaul, tower above these ridges and spread their glaciers to enormous distances. Beyond these, again, the immense mass of almost impassable highlands which have been called the “Roof of the World” continue the line of demarcation very effectually between Hindoo-Koosh and Thian-Shan, and the ill-watered adjacent plains broaden at many points the median zone of separation between East and West. Finally, farther north, in the great Siberian depression, the salt borders of Lake Balkash and the barren reaches of Semipalatinsk and the “Hungry Steppe” stretch between the Obi and the Yenisei along a band of thinly inhabited country which loses itself in the frozen tundras. The researches of Gmelin and other naturalists have established the fact that the true separation between Europe and Asia lies here, in these low and arid regions, and not along the green heights of the Ural mountains.

The ancient world, then, is clearly divided into two distinct halves, their continental masses being of nearly equal size. The broad zone of separation is formed, along half its length, of a chain of eminences which includes the central knot of the mountain system of Eurasia, and is broken only at rare intervals by passes which have

served as roadways for war and merchandise. Narrow exceedingly and difficult of access were these few highways, which afforded the only means of communication between the populations on either side, the only junction between the different civilisations of the eastern and western slopes! Just as a fall of earth may suddenly choke the current of a stream, so an incursion of mountain tribes might suddenly close the transit between East and West, and the world be thus sharply cut in two again. This, as a matter of fact, has happened many times. To open the passage and to keep it open has needed from age to age the marshalling of enormous forces, such as those of the great conquerors, Alexander, Mahmoud the Ghaznavid, Akbar the Great. In our own day, the mountainous part of the dividing line still opposes serious obstacles to the march of man, in spite of roads and railways, caravanserais and forts of refuge; but how much more dangerous was the mountain barrier in historic times, when it rose before him bare and formidable, without roads or cities!

In that sense, the general meaning of the expressions East and West is clearly determined for the rest of the earth's circuit. On the one side lies all that part of Asia which leans toward the Indian Ocean and the Pacific—India, Ceylon, the Malay peninsula, and the great islands and island groups which stud the vast stretch of waters almost to the American coast. On the other hand lies the Asiatic peninsula which reaches out into the Mediterranean world—Egypt and Morocco, Europe, and, beyond the Atlantic, the whole American continent. For that double continent, facing eastward by its estuaries, by the valleys of its great rivers and the spread of its fertile plains, belongs incontestably, by its history no less than by its geographical orientation, to the European cosmos.

II.

Thus delimited, the two halves of the world, East and West—including their inland seas and the oceans that bathe them—occupy a surface of such extent that, up to a few centuries ago, their boundaries were unknown to their own inhabitants. At the far ends of the earth, the isolation and unconsciousness of the populations which had been left outside the cycle of universal history prevented their concerning themselves with the great contrast between the separated halves of humanity; but in the ancient world, from the very beginnings of national life in the historic nations, as they are preserved to us in legends and annals, the distinction between East and West already existed in full force. The evolution of humanity was worked out differently on the two sides of the line, and every century increased the original divergence of the separate civilisations. Which of these two evolutions—taking place, the one around the shores of the great

ocean, the other chiefly on the Mediterranean seaboard—was destined to produce the mightier results, to contribute the larger share to the common education of humanity? There can be no hesitation as to the answer. In the struggle for existence the championship remains with the West. It is the peoples of the West who have shown that they possess both the initiative to advance and the power of recovery.

And yet it seemed at first as if the East were the privileged half of the planet. History indeed proves to demonstration that, taken as a whole, the nations of the East had their period of real superiority. Without entering on a problem which it would now be impossible to solve, that of assigning a priority of civilisation to one country or another, without inquiring whether the ground was first tilled on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates or on those of the Indus and the Yang-tse-kiang, or whether ships were sailing the Mediterranean Sea before the Indian Ocean was known to the mariner, we may assuredly say that, 3000 years ago, the races sufficiently advanced to be aware of their own place in history occupied a far wider region east of the diaphragm of Asia than west of it. The ravines and tablelands occupied by the Medes and Persians, the plains of Assyria and Chaldæa, the countries of the Hittites, of the children of Israel and the children of Ishmael, the coasts of the Phœnicians and the mountains of the Himyarites, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, and finally the frontier lands of Asia where germinated the civilisation which was to blossom in Greece, on the other side of the Ægean Sea—all these countries form but a small domain compared with the vast tract of south-eastern Asia, from the Indus to the Yellow River. And to this great Asiatic territory, together perhaps with Southern Siberia, so rich in inscriptions of a vanished age, we must add a great part of the Malay archipelago, whose civilisation is certainly of very ancient date. And finally, the lands of Oceania, scattered eastward over a liquid expanse not less in extent than the whole continental mass of the ancient world, appear to have formed part of an area whose historical development was superior to that of the European populations at the time of the Pelasgians.

As far back as history goes towards the origin of the Eastern world, we find traces of the very considerable share of influence exercised by the group of nations which has been included under the general name of Malay, taken from a district of Sumatra, one of the large islands partly populated by them. No region in the world was better furnished than this with the facilities for transit and exchange; if the word “predestined” could be applied to any part of the earth’s surface, it might justly be applied to these islands and peninsulas of Malaysia. They abound in products of every sort and kind, minerals and precious gems, bark and gums, plants and fruits; every island

has its riches ; nowhere is there a greater diversity of living forms, vegetable or animal ; two floras, two faunas, men of different nationality and race, confront each other across a narrow arm of sea. Great trunks of floating trees supply the riverside populations with ready-made rafts, only needing to be disbranched and solidly lashed together with liana ropes ; while the forests of the seashore offer their choicest woods to the boat-builder. Wide roadsteads and sheltered havens break the outline of the islands ; innumerable ports of call present themselves on every side, directing the voyage of the navigator. Gradually, the Malays became the natural intermediaries between the various countries of Eastern Asia, from India to Japan ; and, favoured by the trade winds which carried them across the Indian Ocean from shore to shore, succeeded in turning the flank of the great barrier that separated the two worlds, and even gained the coast of Africa. Madagascar was included within their area of navigation and of conquest, and their civilisation radiated almost to the opposite extremity of the earth's surface, within a little distance of the American continent. The system of numeration which obtains in all the Polynesian languages is proof sufficient of the wide spread of this Malay civilisation. Even in our own day, notwithstanding the great superiority that science and industry have given to the European navigator, a great part of the carrying trade of the Far East is still conducted by the Malays with their fleets of *praus*. No literature is richer than theirs in stories of the sea ; and it was the Malay seaman who gave to the Arab the *Thousand and One Nights* that still charm our children.

The Polynesians, again, like the Malays—scattered over their hundred islands, their ocean rocks and coral banks—took to the sea by natural compulsion, and thus contributed to the spread of geographical knowledge in the ancient East. The great diversity of types to be met with in a single group, or even on a single island, the innumerable legends of native migrations, and, finally, indisputable historical documents, prove that the Pacific Ocean was traversed from the earliest times, not only from East to West, in the direction of the trade winds, but also in the opposite direction, with the set of the counter-currents. All this was long ago understood. It is well known that the equatorial zone strictly so called, embracing a space of about five hundred miles north and south of the Equator, escapes the domination of the trade winds, and the west wind alternates with calms, during which the mariner may row his boat where he will, while the normal set of swells and currents is from west to east.* Moreover, even in the zone of the trade winds proper, there are storm winds that sometimes blow in a contrary direction to the prevailing

* La Pérouse ; Kerhallet ; Dunmore Lang ; Ellis, &c.

atmospheric currents—as if, according to the Tongan legend,* a god had separated families of brothers by blowing an obstinate east wind between them, but now and then stopped blowing to let the relatives renew their acquaintance. The islanders were not slow to profit by the respite. Skilful in the management of their boats, they knew how to seize the opportunity afforded by the very slightest deviation of the regular winds to modify their course, reefing their sails as close as possible and pointing in the eye of the wind. When the Spaniards first visited the Marianne islands, of which they were afterwards almost to exterminate the inhabitants, they were astonished at the sight of the flying barques, far swifter than any boat of European construction. Most of the Polynesian vessels were, moreover, provided with outriggers, which made it almost impossible to upset them; and many of them were large enough to convey the whole fighting strength of a tribe. Coppinger† saw a canoe built to carry 250 men.

Thus fortified by their nautical industry, the Polynesians were in a position to contribute largely, and did in fact contribute, to the discovery and exploration of the world. Some of their navigators, carried away by the storm and lost upon the waste of waters, would be guided in their search for a place of refuge by the indications afforded by the waves, by birds and fishes. Others might be driven from their native isle by force of war or civil dissension, and launched upon the sea at the mercy of wind and wave; while others, again, young and adventurous, would set out of their own accord in search of some region more vast or more fortunate than their own. Myths and legends, the vague reminiscences, perhaps, of earlier migrations, would stimulate this exodus of islanders across the infinite expanse of sea. Thus the natives of Eastern Polynesia, looking towards the West as towards a region of divine repose, concealing somewhere in its bosom the Islands of the Blest, might seek again and again to discover the happy land. Who can tell? The unconscious impulse may have been a true nostalgia, an hereditary instinct, a re-awakened yearning for the home of their ancestors. Or perhaps it was the mirage of the clouds that lured them, as it reared fantastic mountains toward the zenith, or stretched away in golden plains under the purple light of evening. Perhaps they really imagined that they saw with their own eyes that land of desire rising out of the sea, its outline appearing dimly on the horizon, then lost again—a promise not yet fulfilled, but never to be forgotten. Polynesian history tells us that these island families had a natural tendency to multiply westward—just as our modern towns, encroaching constantly on the surrounding districts, stretch out their suburbs towards the setting

* Mariner, "Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands." London. 1817.

† "Cruise of the *Alert*."

sun. Again and again, Polynesian voyagers, impelled by the thirst for the unknown, attempted the discovery of these lands of promise, like nomads of the steppes moving forward in search of fresh pastures. Even so lately as the beginning of this century, the people of Nouka Hiva—now more than decimated by war, oppression, and disease—sent out, from time to time, their surplus population of young men in the supposed direction of the traditional Isle of Utupu, whence the god Tao was said to have brought the cocoa-nut tree.* Happy couples, full of hope, would put out on the transparent evening tide, rowing towards the distant land; they rowed away and never came back: no one knew whether the sea had sucked them in, or the grim Hunger had devoured them, or whether they had indeed made at last the shore of Perpetual Youth.

III.

Doubtless the savage tribes of Europe in the Age of Stone had also their migrations and counter-migrations, overrunning, from this point or from that, countries widely remote from one another; but the political and social condition of these tribes did not afford sufficient cohesion for the preservation of any record of their comings and goings. In a world itself unknown, their journeyings remained unknown, as if they had never been; while the equally unrecorded migrations of the Pacific islanders were at any rate connected, by the network of Malay navigation, with the great world of insular and continental India, thus enabling the Orientals to form some vague idea of that vast sea, studded with a milky way of islands, which spread outwards from the coast of Asia into the immeasurable distance. It was not on that side of the world that the ocean could have been conceived—as the Greeks did conceive it—as a winding stream, embracing in its narrow arms the countries of the continent. To the Indian and Malay it must rather have seemed a limitless expanse, losing itself in the immensity of heaven.

In those early times, the East was thus far in advance of the West, both in point of its known extent and the greater cohesion of its races. But for thirty centuries, and without any retrogression of its own—for, speaking generally, evolution has everywhere been in the direction of the better, or at any rate of the vaster and more comprehensive—the East has found itself strangely distanced by the West. It has even been suggested that the precocity of its civilisation was itself the cause of this arrest of development; that the Asiatic and Polynesian races had attained a too early and therefore inferior civilisation.† Some writers, giving themselves up to

* Rienzi; Fornander, "Account of the Polynesian Races."

† Guétan Delaunay, "Mémoire sur l'Infériorité des Civilisations Précoces."

mystical fancies, and arguing from a supposed Providential predestination, have tried to explain the contrast between West and East by an original and irreducible racial difference. In the beginning, according to them, the Eastern and Western races were created different, the Eastern mind cloudy and chimerical, its perceptions warped beforehand, its ideas subtle and twisted to self-contradiction; while the Western was gifted with the very genius of observation, a natural rectitude of thought, a true comprehension of life. The myth of the Serpent in the Garden, symbolising, as it were, the dangerous influence of the East, seems to dominate history. But such a conception evidently rests on no better basis than the recollection of conflicts which took place at a time when the populations thrown across each other's path by war or rivalry encountered one another at different stages of their political and social development. Between a decadent civilisation and a society in full process of growth the conditions are not equal; to judge fairly between them, they must be viewed at the corresponding periods of their collective life; it is no use making comparisons between the triumphant youth of Greece and the senility of Persia. Setting aside, therefore, this assumed essential difference of the races, we must turn to the geographical conditions of the Eastern world, and there seek the causes of its retarded development as compared with the progress of the West.

In the first place, the great ocean, with its thousands and thousands of islands, has, for all its immense expanse of waters, but a very meagre allowance of dry land, over and above the arid Australian continent; and the centres of civilisation, such as Samoa, Tahiti, and the Tongan and Fijian groups, separated by long distances from each other, and each inhabited by but a scanty population, could have no chance of exerting any considerable influence. There was no room within such narrow bounds for the creation of any nucleus radiating an active intellectual propaganda. New Zealand, with a superficies large enough to make the home of a powerful nation, lies altogether apart, in the solitary southern seas, far from the track of the Polynesian islands. It was colonised later; and perhaps has not been inhabited at all for more than some thirty generations. As for the equatorial islands, from Papua to Borneo, they are large and very favourably situated at the south-eastern angle of the continent of Asia, in the very axis of the general movement of civilisation; but the very richness of their forest vegetation, and the ease of living, enabled the aboriginal tribes to maintain themselves in their primitive isolation; and thus the greater part of these magnificent archipelagoes was left outside the march of progress; the Malay adventurers, as well as the colonists of other races, contented themselves with occupying the seashores. The interior was unexplored, and was, indeed, in some

islands effectually closed to visitors by the "Head-hunters." Only two large islands, those lying nearest to the Asiatic continent, Sumatra and Java, were attached to the civilised world of Eastern Asia; and even there the inland forests and plateaux of the former country were still occupied by barbarians averse to all commerce with the foreigner. Java, again, if she enjoys the privilege of being associated with the regions of Hindoo civilisation, undoubtedly owes it to her geographical conformation. Very long, very narrow, with no continuous mountain chain to serve as a backbone, cut through at intervals by passages which are practically so many straits, she has been, from the earliest days of colonisation, as easy of access as if she had been a row of islands strung together like a necklace. Come whence they would, from the northern or the southern coast, the immigrants penetrated with ease into the open country between the giant volcanoes, which themselves contributed—unlikely as it might seem—to render access to the island comparatively convenient, by burning down the once impenetrable forests of the intermediate valleys, and thus opening the way from coast to coast.

Nevertheless, Java, and some districts of Sumatra, and a few little neighbouring islands which participate in the same civilisation, do not together form a sufficient extent of territory, in comparison with the immensity of the ocean spaces, to afford a basis and centre of illumination for the whole island world of the extreme East. Nay, more; the group of great islands, as a whole, has rather contributed to break the historic unity of the insular regions. Borneo, Celebes, the greater part of the Philippine Islands, New Guinea (itself almost continental), and the arid coast of the neighbouring continent of Australia, were so many countries in which the stranger, whether shipwrecked mariner or adventurous colonist, ran every chance of a hostile, if not a hungry, welcome. And, furthermore, the principal waterway between Polynesia and the islands of the Indian archipelago is almost barred by coral reefs.

Nor was it possible to find a common centre for the civilisation of the Eastern world on the shores of the continent. Remarkable as was the progress of thought in the communities which sprang up on the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, in Ceylon, on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, in the basins of the Indo-Chinese rivers, among the plains watered by the Yang-tse-kiang, and in the Yellow Country of the Hundred Families, these different civilisations never grouped themselves into any sort of political union, and such union as they did form, lax as it was, lasted but for a short time under the influence of religious proselytism. The communication that took place between the various countries was always rare and uncertain. Tribes which no one had been able to reduce to subjection, inhabiting in independent groups nearly all the mountain regions, broke into separate fragments the territory of the civilised nations. Taken as a

whole, that territory presents itself pretty much in the form of a spread fan. The axis of the basin of the Indus, where the first Vedas were first uttered, points toward the south-west ; the united streams of the Ganges and the Brahmapootra bend their common delta directly toward the south ; the water-courses of Indo-China flow in a south-easterly direction ; while the rivers of China—and the progress of culture, which tends the same way—set due east. Thus the various civilisations of these countries have a natural centrifugal tendency ; they never meet in a common geographical centre ; and even the Indo-Chinese peninsula, situated at the very heart of the Eastern world, serves at many points rather as a barrier of separation, with its parallel mountain ranges inhabited by savage tribes. On the other hand, the table-land of Thibet, the region of the forced pass between China and India—which, from a geometrical point of view, is the true focus in the semicircle of the south-eastern countries of Asia—stretches its snowy ridges at such a height and under such a climate that its scanty populations live, as it were, for shelter, enclosed between the fissures of the soil.

To the north-west, the Oriental world is, as we have seen, sharply defined by mountain ranges, and, to some extent, by arid and almost uninhabitable wastes. Its mode of communication with the Western world, always precarious and often interrupted, was by way of dangerous mountain passes, or else by sea, either skirting the deserts of Gedrosia (south-east Beloochistan), towards the Persian Gulf, or doubling the Arabian peninsula to the narrow outlet of the Red Sea. It was thus by slender dribblets, almost drop by drop, that the quintessence of Oriental thought had to be distilled before it could join the flowing torrent of the culture of the West. But, by a striking contrast, the roads by which this transmission from world to world necessarily took place are disposed in a diametrically different manner from that which characterises the axes of civilisation at the opposite extremity of Asia. Instead of diverging at a very obtuse angle, they tend towards one another, converging uniformly, all of them, upon the basin of the Hellenic Mediterranean. The long fissure of the Red Sea, which united the land of the Himyarites and Ethiopia to Lower Egypt, points directly towards the Eastern Mediterranean, from which it is separated only by a narrow strip of shore ; the winding valley of the Nile opens out in the same direction ; the Persian Gulf, continued to the north-west by the course of the Euphrates, runs in a straight line towards that angle of the Mediterranean which is occupied by the Isle of Cyprus ; while, further north, all the rivers, all the highways of commerce which descend from Asia Minor, from the continent of Asia, and from the Sarmatian plains, to the Black Sea, become tributaries of the Greek waters through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont. Even the Anatolian peninsula divides into a number of little secondary peninsulas, enclosing basins that

face towards Greece. Thus the marvellous cosmos of the Greek islands and capes was indicated, by the convergence of the ways, as the necessary meeting-point of all the Asiatic civilisations, and the focus of elaboration of all these ancient elements into new forms.

It is needless here to describe in detail the march of culture in the West. The story has been told by innumerable writers, and the knowledge of it forms a part of the ordinary classical education. Every one knows how the beacons of civilisation sprang up in succession from the south-east to the north-west, under a climate sharper and less equable than that of India or the Pacific, and consequently under conditions which imposed on man a sterner struggle of adaptation and efforts more vigorous and more sustained. Every one knows how Rome, situated in the midst of a semicircle of extinct volcanoes, enclosed in their turn by the grander semicircle of the Apennines, gradually consolidated herself within this double rampart, then made herself mistress of the whole of Italy on the hither side of the Alpine wall, and, firmly established in the centre of the Mediterranean and of the whole known world, ended by annexing all the countries which pour their waters into that inland sea, and many that border on the open sea besides. When the political power of Rome had passed away, her juridical power still remained; and then the ancient Rome was replaced by a new and mightier religious Rome, which bound to itself by the subtler tie of spiritual influence the peoples which heretofore had been the mere conquest of the sword. After Italian Rome, other centres of intense vitality sprang up north of the Alps, on the outer slope of Europe; but, even in shifting its centre of gravity towards the north and west, the world of western civilisation lost nothing, or at any rate it regained all it had lost, of the lands which had formed part of the world known to the Greeks.

The ever-increasing domain of European ascendancy has ended by embracing the whole world. Enlarged, to begin with, by the addition of the two Americas, it is now assuming to itself the continent of Africa, while its perpetual encroachments are slowly sucking in the vast territories of the rival civilisation. Either directly, by force of conquest, or indirectly, under the continuous pressure of commerce and of moral influences, the whole world is being Europeanised. Of the two halves of the world struggling for existence, the Western half has won: the preponderance is hers for the future; but she has won to a great extent by the use of weapons which the East had forged for her, since the religions of the West had been elaborated in India before they came to be remodelled and transformed in Persia, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome. Besides, this very triumph of the West subserves the progress of the nations it has overcome. From Western Europe, as the centre of equilibrium between the forces of the human race, radiate not only all the roadways of

commerce, but also the ideas and influences of social life, in its collective solidarity.

Thanks to mutual interpenetration, the contrast between East and West is gradually diminishing. Nevertheless, it is still sharp enough; and at many points—notably in China and India—it presents itself in such a form that reconciliation seems an almost impossible task. It is now at the two extremities of the earth that the opposing forces meet in all the intensity of their antagonism; but, sometimes at one point, sometimes at another, the conflict has always been going on. The oldest historical legends—the expedition of the Argonauts, the Tale of Troy—recall the state of permanent tension in which the ancient populations lived and clashed against each other—representatives in miniature of the two worlds, and, like them, seeking, in spite of their very hostility, to find some way of union. The Greeks were well aware of the profound meaning of those hereditary instincts which drove them into conflict with the peoples of the East, and which, struggle after struggle, brought them at last, with Alexander, to the banks of the Hydaspes.

It is in this same region that we must look for the end—not now, perhaps, very far distant—of the conflict between the two worlds. Travel and commerce, passing to and fro on the sea highway, are slowly contributing to bring about a mutual understanding between the races of men which points towards their unification, intellectual and moral. England, now dominant in India, labours persistently, even against her will, to reduce the contrasts that divide the populations of the peninsula, and to give them a moral unity corresponding to that of their geographical position; but the barrier of mountains and of solitudes which, to the north-west of India, marks the natural limit between East and West, is still almost as difficult to cross as it was two thousand years ago. The mountain passes are open only to the privileged—privileged by fortune or by political power; there are no great highways, even yet, to facilitate freedom of movement to and fro. And indeed, before any such highways can be opened to the free ingress of the nations, a great question of political equilibrium—the greatest and most pressing of modern times—must be settled once for all, and settled at the foot of those very mountains of Hindostan which have stood through all times barring the corner passage between the two worlds. England and Russia are the two countries specially involved in the dispute; it is for them to solve—by peaceful means if possible—this problem of the levelling of the mountains of Central Asia. It was said once—but in a purely dynastic sense, and history has not yet ratified the saying—"The Pyrenees are no more!" It rests with the civilisation of the West to say, more truly, and from a human, not a dynastic point of view, "We have done away with the Himalaya!"

ELISÉE RECLUS.

CABINET COUNSELS AND CANDID FRIENDS.

NOW that the first parliamentary term of Lord Rosebery's premiership is over, and that the political forces likely for some time to be most actively felt seem definitely to have shaped themselves, it may be convenient, as a preliminary step, briefly to review and examine the position and political affinities of the Government and their supporters, as well as the prospects, in the possibly remote future, of the actual consummation of political and party changes that have of late been the subject both of popular speculation and parliamentary rumour. That at the beginning of the long vacation the leader of the popular House has improved materially his position, extended and deepened his political influence, has been generally admitted; under considerable provocation he has shown consistently qualities of patience, geniality, forbearance, as well as a knowledge of human nature, in a larger degree than some had credited him with possessing these qualities. So competent an authority on such a subject as Lord Farrer has admitted Sir William Harcourt's claim to be regarded a great finance minister. There is also a moral distinction not at all less valuable to a party leader which has been fairly earned by Sir William Harcourt. He has shown that, while managing others, he is not unequal to the task of ruling himself. In some quarters, the postponement of his claims to those of the actual Premier in the sequence to Mr. Gladstone, has been rather extravagantly ascribed to an intrigue. This, in its political application, is a cant word covering general ignorance, but signifying no special knowledge on the part of those who use it.

It will, therefore, not be amiss to give a true version of the facts, so often misrepresented, as they affect Lord Rosebery on the one hand, and Sir William Harcourt on the other. Whatever may be urged in

favour of the head of a Government being, as Sir Robert Peel declared was becoming a necessity, in the House of Lords, the disadvantages of such an arrangement are so obvious as to cause no surprise at the assertion, upon the late Premier's retirement, of an extensive feeling that his successor should be found in the same Chamber to which he himself had belonged. Mr. Gladstone's retirement had been so repeatedly forecast by rumour, that at last the abdication itself came with a certain sense of suddenness; it was a State secret, and it was kept better than some such confidences are. Unquestionably the Chancellor of the Exchequer's reversionary interest in Mr. Gladstone's office suffered from the circumstances attending the resignation of his chief. If the leading members of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons had last spring realised fully that their historic generalissimo was actually going—had, indeed, practically gone; and if his "second in command" had taken the opportunity of insisting upon this fact with his political friends; if, moreover, he had used the official machinery, undoubtedly at his disposal, to summon conferences of the Liberal party throughout the country, there is some reason to believe that the popular choice might have fallen upon Sir William Harcourt, and that the Queen might have thought it her constitutional duty to send for him. As it was, Sir William Harcourt's real difficulty was caused mainly by motives of political delicacy. Had he, as some of his more zealous and less responsible friends desired, taken any of the steps just indicated, he would probably have been widely accused of an indecent and disloyal desire prematurely to supersede the veteran statesman. The mere circumstance of his being so manifestly in the "running" for the premiership was only an additional obstacle in his path; and it thus became out of the question for him to venture upon any definitive action before the ex-Premier's withdrawal was an accomplished fact.

Meanwhile events of great importance, and of pronounced hostility to Sir William Harcourt, were taking place. Apart, it may be said, from any pressure of popular opinion, two organisations, those of Labour and of Journalism, were co-operating strenuously to secure the succession for Lord Rosebery; in both these respects the Harcourtians were ill-supplied and ill-served; they were equally without a newspaper particularly affected to their interest, and a common rallying centre. As the readers of Mr. Disraeli's novels know, strange beings come to the surface during a political crisis; for some days or weeks Mr. John Burns and his prime journalistic ally were in their way a power in the State; these gentlemen, loyal as ever to their own conceptions of industrial welfare, persistently proclaimed their conviction that the democratic earl, with Mr. Asquith ultimately as his lieutenant, would in the long run maintain the cause of toil more devotedly than the Whig knight. In this way the final choice fell upon the now actually

reigning Premier, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so far as absolute supremacy is concerned, still remains only a great potentiality ; Sir William Harcourt, in fact, occupies to-day among Ministerialists a position analogous to that filled in 1874 by the late Mr. W. E. Forster, after Lord Hartington had been chosen to succeed Mr. Gladstone. Then, as now, the coronet has carried the day against the commoner ; then, as now, also, it would have implied a virtue above humanity on the part of the unsuccessful candidate not to recall, with something of chagrin, how narrowly he had missed the prize. Eventually Sir William Harcourt's career will not suffer, perhaps, from his occupancy of the second place in the Administration, where some would have wished to see him first, while probably even at this moment the leader of the House of Commons is, and has for some time been, enjoying many compensations for his postponement. In the long run, the representative assemblage of the nation never fails to do justice, or more than justice, to those of its members whose merits it may have been slow to recognise. By sterling gifts persistently and equably displayed the present manager of the House has lived down certain prejudices against him, and has begun to inspire his brother senators with something of that pride and interest which "the People's House" so often ends by feeling, as it felt in the historic case of Mr. Disraeli, in men whose beginnings it may have eyed askance. The general parliamentary impression, that if within the Cabinet Sir William Harcourt's pretensions had found advocates as strenuous as Mr. John Burns and the editor of the *Daily Chronicle* outside the Cabinet, his position might be different to-day, has been serviceable to the leader of the House of Commons in intensifying the loyalty of his followers within its walls, and has often made the task of leading it easier than otherwise might have been the case, while Sir William Harcourt himself would be the first to admit that his burden has at some points been appreciably lightened by the loyal and tactful support which, as in the case of the Finance Bill, he has received from his chief and colleague in the House of Lords.

At the close, therefore, of the first session of his control of the Commons, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer presents himself to his countrymen as a statesman endowed with an influence, and by general consent clothed with attributes which are likely to be instrumental to no less an extent than the tact and the geniality of the Prime Minister himself in any negotiations going forward now, or likely to be instituted hereafter, for the partial reconstruction of the Liberal party. If that enterprise is ever to be achieved, it must be on the floor and in the atmosphere of the representative House, rather than by the agency of any cliques or individuals, whatever their popular sympathies, in the gilded chamber ; there is, indeed, no reason for thinking that the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Rose-

bery are less distant from a mutually harmonious understanding to-day than they have been any time during the last half-dozen years, that their fundamental differences are likely to grow less, or that it can be anything more than a question of time when both Mr. Chamberlain and his Grace will join titularly, as they long have done practically, the political connection presided over by the Marquis of Salisbury.

After Mr. Chamberlain, the most able and weighty member of the Liberal-Unionist party in the House of Commons is undoubtedly Mr. Courtney, and, under Sir William Harcourt's leadership, both the Finance Bill and the Evicted Tenants' Bill have been the occasion for a noticeable *rapprochement* on the part of that gentleman and his friends towards the representatives of the Government; and the mediatorial offices of Sir George Trevelyan and others in the Lower House, as well as of a very limited number of gentlemen outside that House, during the present recess, are not likely to be wanting with a view of bridging over the gulf and minimising the differences that hold the two divisions of the Liberal party mutually aloof.

When so clear-sighted, hard-headed, and experienced a parliamentarian, one so entirely without personal passion or prejudices, as the member for Liskeard adopts the attitude and tactics indicated by his recent speeches in the House of Commons, one may be sure that his conduct is prompted by substantial and far-reaching motives. Mr. John Bright not infrequently made common cause with Mr. Disraeli in the earlier part of their career as against Lord Palmerston; but because the sturdy father of English Radicalism found it consonant with his purposes during several parliamentary sessions to enter the same lobby and to employ the same arguments as the future chief of the Conservative party, no one ever imagined that a durable alliance between the two had been formed. In the same way it is difficult seriously to believe that the coalition provoked by Irish exigencies between Liberals like Mr. Courtney and Conservatives like Mr. Chaplin can prove indissoluble, or even indefinitely permanent. It is too often assumed that the only settlement of the Irish question which Liberals can adopt must be exclusively on the lines of the two Gladstonian Home Rule Bills. The truth, however, is, that so long as a fair guarantee against its future re-opening is provided, what sensible Liberals, inside and outside the House of Commons, ask as a first condition of Irish legislation, is simply that the measure of autonomy conceded by England to Ireland should satisfy in perpetuity the real demands and wants of the Irish people, as opposed to the requisitions of the Anglo-American wirepullers. Home Rule may not be dead, but when it is more actively revived the question of Home Rule in all its bearings and with an eye to all its possible solutions will have to be considered *de novo*. Neither

Lord Rosebery's Cabinet nor any alternative Liberal Administration that may be formed, can hope to make any real headway with party reorganisation or with Irish government, apart from the support and approval of men so ready apparently to follow the example of Sir George Trevelyan as Mr. Courtney and those with him. Few competent persons have ever seriously contended that, subject to certain conditions, any concessions to Ireland in the direction indicated by Mr. Gladstone must necessarily lead to the final disruption of the Union. The practical, or at least the chief, objection to the Gladstonian scheme appears to be that, whatever it may do theoretically, it will not secure operatively the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament. As for the future of Mr. Gladstone's inceptive legislation, nothing more is likely to be attempted before the next appeal to the constituencies is made, but ere Lord Rosebery or any of his colleagues can expect to win the consent of the "predominant partner" to an extension of Irish liberties, they are well aware that it is imperative for them to show how something in the nature of Home Rule can be granted without imperilling unity, and even how it can be made to strengthen the central executive for imperial purposes. The crux of the whole question, the sum and essence of the entire difficulty, are the necessity to be faced of defining, on the lines of the American constitution, what are imperial and what local concerns. That difficulty, however, is surmounted successfully by the French, by the Belgian, and by the Dutch constitution, laws; why should a similar feat be impossible here with all the wisdom, the experience, and the shrewdness of the "mother of parliaments" to help us in its performance? The supreme and most complex obstacle, of course, is land; but even this might be dealt with by the institution of an imperial civil law—that is, by a civil code with chapters on real and personal property, to be applicable, of course, as the essential provisions of an Imperial Federal Home Rule scheme must be, to every part of the United Kingdom. The task indeed is difficult, but problems exist to test the skill of statesmen in their solution. Nor would the enterprise be unworthy of that rare intellectual power in virtue of which Mr. Courtney, after having been the first mathematician of his day at Cambridge, became one of the most powerful journalists who ever wrote a leading article in *Printing House Square*, and which more recently has won for him the reputation of the clearest-visioned and most impartial Chairman of Committees in the House of Commons. Here, too, there would be a congenial field open for the display of their special aptitudes and knowledge, by Mr. James Bryce as well as by Sir G. O. Trevelyan, and even by the new Lord Chief Justice himself; nor, one may believe, would the legislation now sketched in outline be wholly abhorrent to the present leader of the Opposition of the House of Commons, and some at least of his more moderate followers. The great

danger to be avoided and one that now besets all legislation is lest the scheme thus indicated should degenerate into a series of fragmentary and patchwork efforts, without accuracy, *esprit de corps*, or system. In safeguarding against these perils, the peculiar qualifications of the politicians just named would be invaluable, and might also be successful. Although the time may be approaching when it will not be premature for responsible Liberal statesmen to acquaint the public with the outlines of a policy of Imperial Home Rule, not perhaps dissimilar in some respects to that which we have ventured to adumbrate, it is not to be supposed that even for this the Unionist and the non-Unionist Liberals should co-operate successfully without much and long preliminary training in concerted action about other matters. The relation of the colonies to the mother country, the position of the Established Church in Wales, and possibly elsewhere; the struggle between secular and ecclesiastical parties, daily becoming more accentuated in the department of education; the relations of the House of Lords to the majority of the House of Commons on the one hand, to the voting strength of the constituencies on the other; all these, and the innumerable other instances of the chronic struggle between the champions and opponents of privilege, will sufficiently furnish forth the harmonising and unifying discipline that may be expected by slow and often imperceptible degrees to unite the Liberals under Mr. Courtney with their brethren under Sir William Harcourt and Lord Rosebery. An absolute reunion of all professing the name of Liberalism could not, at this time of the political day, be accomplished even by Mr. Gladstone himself; and as yet we probably do not realise sufficiently the full consequences to our party system of his retirement; but it is scarcely premature to venture the opinion that where he failed, none of those who follow him is likely to succeed. While due attention to the facts and arguments now advanced does seem to warrant the conclusion that a partial and very gradual reconstitution of the Liberal party in the fashion here suggested may be among the eventualities to be counted with in the political future, the prospect of the Liberal party, as a whole, being restored to the condition in which it was before 1886 is as distant as ever from coming within the purview of practical politics.

It may accord with political traditions for the members of the Whig families, after a long sojourn in the Tory camp, to return, in the fulness of time, to their ancestral allegiance. This is what happened in the last century, when the Portland and Fitzwilliam Whigs, who had left Fox because of his revolutionary sympathies, rallied subsequently under Grey, and carried the Reform Bill of 1832 through Parliament. In the same way it may be argued that during the present century, in 1846, the separation of a formidable contingent of his Whig troops from the motley parliamentary army of Sir Robert Peel did not prevent

the eventual advent to power of a majority indoctrinated with that statesman's principles under Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone. But to this interesting argument from experience there is a twofold reply which may aptly be offered. First, the underlying assumption, that one fixed hereditary type of party sympathies is the settled estate of all well-born people, and that it is reckoned in polite society not less discreditable to change the family politics than it would be to pawn the family plate, may seem plausible, but is really altogether wide of the fact; secondly, the analogy between the situation of the Whig party, either in 1794 or in 1846, and the condition of the Liberal party to-day is one of words and not of things. With reference to the former of these points, it is enough to remark that the representatives of great houses have ever been in the habit of altering their politics at the call of events from generation to generation. During the parliamentary war the Harleys were Roundheads; in the days of Queen Anne they gave us the great Tory Minister. The last Lord Derby but one, a member of Earl Grey's first Reform Administration and Sir Robert Peel's Colonial Secretary in 1841, had been previously a semi-detached or absolutely independent Whig, and together with Mr. Disraeli became subsequently the founder of the Conservative party as we know it to-day. Similarly, in the case of the political family of Herbert, Royalist and Conservative to the heart's core as it is popularly credited with being; the father of that Lord Carnarvon who was Lord Derby's Colonial Secretary, who resigned his position in the Derby-Disraeli Cabinet rather than accept household suffrage, was at one time as zealous a propagator of "plain Whig principles" as Grey himself, and had he, like the head of the Stanleys, been included in the first Reform Government, his son, in all probability, would, after the fashion of his sire, have started in life as a Whig. In reference to the second of the two points now under consideration, while it is perfectly true that the Whig capacity for corporate action in 1830 was not impaired materially by the secessions of 1794, the party, as a whole, had never been rent asunder by political differences at all resembling those which mark the line of cleavage in the Liberal ranks to-day. There was then no question of the Whig deserters to Pitt's statesmanship seizing every opportunity of going into the Tory lobby, still less of employing their energies and eloquence to assail, in principle and detail, upon subjects wholly unconnected with the revolutionary war, the entire policy of Fox and his adherents. In like manner, when the Conservative section of the Peelites, under Lord Derby, left their chief they did not transform themselves into his persistent and embittered assailants; they simply withdrew from their former allegiance, and bided their time decisively to range themselves in other political ranks. That which then it took several years to effect has now been

accomplished in about as many months. When, in 1886, the Duke of Devonshire and Mr. Chamberlain went one way while Mr. Gladstone and Lord Rosebery went another, the former were not content, as their Whig predecessors in 1794, or again in 1846, had been, with assuming what might almost be called a benevolent neutrality towards their erewhile allies; they became immediately, and by the very circumstance of quitting Gladstonian Liberalism on a vital point, the most dangerous, the most decisive, the most unintermittent enemies of that Liberalism and of all its works. As they began so they have continued, and the utmost that can be said for the possibility of the reunion of the whole Liberal party, is that it is not in the known nature of things a physical impossibility; the partial reunion which is here contended for, is a very different matter, has not only begun already, but even advanced some way, and, under the auspices of the distinguished politicians mentioned by name above, may conceivably be carried a good deal further. Considerable masses of the Liberal rank and file, who eight years ago voted Unionist, or abstained from voting at all, have now returned to their old party, but the more prominent of the Liberal Unionists, the local, and still more the imperial, leaders, have become more, rather than less, irreconcilably alienated from their former associations, and as each successive speech of the Duke of Devonshire or Mr. Chamberlain proves with increasing clearness, have for all practical purposes definitely cast in their lot with the Tories. It is possible that the recognition of Toryism as the only practical or indeed rational alternative to the newest Liberalism may cause the more timid spirits to postpone to the last moment their identification with a political style and title regarded with traditional dislike, but in the long run the unwelcome step will no doubt be taken by all who are not of Mr. Courtney's way of thinking. Although that is probably a small minority both at Westminster and in the constituencies, the Ministerialists would be sensibly strengthened by its adhesion, and so far Liberal reunion may become an accomplished fact. Whether the limitations on this process, imposed, as it seems to us, by the essential nature of the case, will affect materially the verdict of the country at the next general election when it comes, say, in the spring of 1895, is a matter that need not be forecast now.

T. H. S. ESCOTT.

POETS OF PROVENCE.

IN fair Provence, the land of flowers and sunshine, there dwells a race as yet untainted by any touch of what, for want of a better name, we may call the spirit of our *fin de siècle*; a race not morbid, not pessimistic, nor tired of this weary world, but genial, joyous and full of fire and vigorous life. By them the question, "Is life worth living?" would hardly be asked; it answers itself, for who would choose but live in a world so full of warmth and light and beauty as theirs? Among the children of the sun, poetry springs up as naturally as the flowers grow—their life is a poem; they sing of love, of the nature around them, of sowing and of reaping and of the legends of the countryside, and through all their songs the sunlight glows. They are the lineal descendants of the Troubadours who brought into the courts of uncultured kings and the halls of a rude nobility the leavening breath of art. It is not of these Troubadours of the olden time that it is my intention to speak in this paper, except in so far as it is necessary, in order to understand the great poetic movement of the latter half of the present century in Southern France and Eastern Spain. For the movement is a revival rather than a new birth. The Provençal poets of to-day, or *félibres* as they call themselves, not only derive their inspiration from mediæval times, they write in tongues which have a common origin with those of the Troubadours. We all know the story of how Rome made herself the mistress not solely of the material destinies of the countries she conquered, but of their speech also; of how in the course of centuries this imposed unity of tongue again became diversity, and the popular idiom of the Romans developed into the group of languages which we call Romance, and which includes Italian, French, Provençal, Spanish, Portuguese, Roumanian and a number of minor languages or dialects.

Even from the first, peculiarities were to be found in the Latin spoken in different provinces, and that which prevailed in Gaul was called Gallo-Roman, just as that which was spoken in Spain was called Hispano-Roman. With the slackening of Roman authority, Gallo-Roman again became divided into dialects which form two principal groups—the *langues d'oïl* of Northern France, and the *langues d'oc* of the Southern provinces extending landwards from the shores of the Mediterranean.* The *langues d'oc* are divided again into three groups—Gascon, Catalanian, and Provençal. The chief dialect of the last-named group is Provençal, properly so called.

In the tenth century there already existed a Provençal literature, of which some fragments still remain. The twelfth century brought with it a brilliant expansion, chiefly lyrical in character, and due to the wandering minstrels or Troubadours. In mediæval England, as in France and Germany, the Troubadour or Minnesinger, whether of noble or of peasant birth, was everywhere a favoured and welcome guest. The gift of song levelled all barriers of rank, fortune and race. And this universal welcome is well illustrated by the story of Alfred, who, wishing to visit the Danish camp, adopted the secure disguise of a wandering singer. The name Troubadour or Trouvère is derived from *trober*—*trouver*, to find; and in French the expression is still used, “C'est vraiment trouvé.” “It is a real inspiration!”

Although the tradition of song never wholly died out in Provence, there is unhappily no continuous chain linking the poets of the Middle Ages to the Provençal poets of to-day. For the chain was rudely broken, and many of the links were lost in the religious wars against the Albigenses at the end of the twelfth and in the beginning of the thirteenth century. At this moment the Troubadours were at the zenith of their fame, and it seemed possible that a separate nationality and kingdom might be formed from the independent provinces of the South, in which the *langue d'oc* was spoken. It may well be that it was jealousy of this contingency that prompted the French king to encourage the Crusades. And, indeed, in the ruin which followed on the path of the Crusaders, all hope of a Provençal kingdom was lost. Villages were burnt and plundered, and the inhabitants massacred without mercy. At the sacking of Béziers under Simon de Montfort, there were 60,000 victims; Albigenses and Catholics were slaughtered indiscriminately. Before the assault, the Abbé Arnaut Amalric said, “Slay *all*, God will know His own!”

The separate provinces were united with France in the thirteenth century. The peaceful singers had been driven out, and forced to find a refuge elsewhere, some in the seclusion of the cloister, and

* These distinguishing names, *langue d'oïl* and *langue d'oc*, derived from the “yes” of the respective languages, became general about the tenth century. Dante calls Italian the “lingua di sì.” The *oïl* of the North is, of course, the *oui* of modern French.

some in foreign lands. Most of their manuscripts were lost or destroyed, and from this time the southern dialects degenerated from a language of song and poetry to a mere *patois*, the half contemptuous name given to the speech of a people without a literature.

We owe much to the Troubadours of Provence. They had something of the modern spirit; it is from them that the two great poets of the Middle Ages, Dante and Petrarch, learnt the discipline of form and style; it was the Troubadours who raised the ideal of womanhood, and who founded the tradition of tender and chivalrous love.

From the thirteenth century to our own, there was a long interval of unproductiveness in Provençal literature, the silence being broken only now and then by a few isolated singers. When the works of Jasmin became known about the middle of the present century, they were greeted as the last flashes of a fire that had long been thought extinct.

Jacques Jasmin, though not properly speaking the founder of the *Félibrige*, was in fact the first of the modern troubadours. He was born at Agen in 1798, and was of very humble origin; the son of a tailor, whose customers were few and whose earnings were sadly insufficient. The tradition of his family was that they must all die *à l'hôpital*, that is to say, in the workhouse, and it was predicted of Jacques that he would be no exception to the rule. The little fellow used to gather sticks in the wood, and sell them for a trifle, or earn a stray *sou* by carrying parcels at the village fairs, and so added his mite to the family resources. His father, though he could neither read nor write, composed comic songs and verses which he would recite at the weddings, and fairs, and village festivals of the neighbourhood. He took his little son about with him almost as soon as he could walk. For a long time his parents could not afford to send Jacques to school, but finally a scholarship was obtained for him. On leaving school he was apprenticed to a hair-dresser at Agen, where he afterwards set up in business for himself. He continued meanwhile to study alone, spending his few hours of leisure in devouring the works of Florian, Goudouli, and other poets. Then he began himself to compose poems and songs, and to recite them to his customers, who came in crowds to his shop, as the barber-poet grew to be the fashion.

Among his chief works are "*Les Papillotes*," "*Mes Souvenirs*," and "*L'Aveugle de Castel-Cuilló*," which last was translated by Longfellow. In 1852, the Académie Française awarded Jasmin a prize of 5000*fr.*, "*pour ses poésies écrites en dialecte provençal*." He went to Paris, and was received everywhere with the greatest enthusiasm. Jasmin died in 1864. The success which came to him rather late in life seems to have left his native simplicity not altogether unspoilt, if

we may judge from the following extract from a letter, written by Roumanille to M. Paul Mariéton.

Roumanille, of whom I shall have more to say later, is known as the father of the *Félibres*, and it is chiefly to his initiative that the Provençal renaissance owes its widespread influence. He writes, in speaking of the Congress of Provençal poets which met at Arles in 1852 :

"I was, as it were, harnessed to this congress, as a donkey to a cart full of corn, and there was no need of a whip to urge me on and make me stretch my legs. 'Zuze un peu, mon bon !' I was in the prime of life, in the full flower of my thirty-fourth year. I could have dragged my cart-load to the very top of Mont Ventoux ! I sent out summonses to the right, to the left, above, below, to all those who would, I thought, look kindly on my congress ; to the young and the old (and especially the young) of every dialect. Never had I been so profitable to the post-office, never had I buckled my belt so tight (poor ill-paid printer's reader that I was) as I did then, in order to have in readiness the stamps needed to frank all those letters of invitation, and the correspondence to which they gave rise in most cases. Among other stamps wasted, I reckon, first of all, those which I persistently threw into the well of Agen and the celebrated shop of its immortal barber Jasmin. I wanted to have him. I wanted him to be there as well as in 'les Provençales.' " (*Les Provençales* is a collection of poems, &c., by different authors, published by Roumanille, to which I shall refer later on.) "And as I have never been afraid of the glory of others, but, on the contrary, have always rejoiced in it, I cared a great deal about having Jasmin ; I needed him, I felt he must come. 'Sa tête bien coiffée de coiffeur' would have done very well in the landscape. I rejoiced beforehand to think of the splendour which this living sun would shed on our *fête* . . . alas, poor Rouma ! What an illusion ! He came not to the meeting, and I was left feeling small, and disappointed, and downcast. 'Twas a drop of gall in my cup of honey. If even the Gascon divinity had deigned to answer a single one of my letters, and to tell me how and why it was he would not come and join us at Arles. But not a line not a word ! And all my wasted stamps ! It was Frédol of Maguelonne who gave me the key to the Jasmin enigma.

"Well, did you see Jasmin ? Have you spoken to him ? What did he say ?"

"My friend, I have seen Jasmin, I have spoken to him, and he said . . ."

"What did he say ?"

"That he would not come to Arles ; it would be the last thing he would think of doing."

"And then ?"

"That we might meet together 30, 50, 80, 100 of us, but that between us all we should never make as much noise in the world as he had done, and would do, all by himself !' This is an historic fact ! What can one do with such a man ? I said to myself, 'Rouma, you are no better than a fool ! You ought to have foreseen this, and avoided the snub---and economised the postage stamps !'

"And truly, the barber of Agen, one day at Avignon, showed himself to me in his real colours. It was in 1848 ; he was on a *pilgrimage*, as he loved to call it, through Provence and Languedoc with Mlle. Rouldez, a remarkably gifted harpist. The young lady drew sweet melodies from the instrument of King David, and Jasmin alternated with her, reciting admirably his Gascon pieces—'La Semaine d'un Fils,' 'Marthe la Folle,' &c.—like the

finished actor that he was. The audience was carried away, and storms of applause followed on one another. That evening I saw tears in the brightest eyes of Avignon. (At that time I was by no means indifferent to bright eyes, and I might say the same even now!)

"At the end of the poetic concert the great actor-poet came down from the platform to receive the congratulations and hand-shakes of the ladies and gentlemen in the front seats. I, Rouma, deeply moved and in a fever of excitement, forced my way from the very back of the hall to the hero of the *fête*.

"'Monsieur Jasmin,' I said, 'I am indeed happy to press the hand of a great master.'

"'I thank you, young man,' said he, taking off his gloves. 'To whom have I the honour of speaking?'

"'To Roumanille, a humble flute-player.'

"Here I must explain that I had just published 'Li Margarideto,' and had dedicated to Jasmin the piece I thought the least unworthy of his acceptance. I had sent him, the year before, my first volume (the page with *Madaleno* marked), together with a respectful letter. This was in October 1847. And so I said my name distinctly, *Roumanille*, hoping that if the poet of Agen had not thought it worth while to send me a line of thanks for my dedication and the present of my book, he might profit by the opportunity to show me this courtesy by word of mouth.

"'Roumanille? . . . Indeed, *monsieur*, the name is not altogether unknown to me. . . . Roumanille . . . I thought it was the name of a dead poet.'

"This reception took away my breath. However, I only answered, 'Pardon, Monsieur Jasmin! I am not dead yet, thank Heaven! As you see, I am much younger than you are; as you see also, I am in perfect health, and I have reason to hope that you will die before I do, and—who knows? Heaven may decree that I shall write your epitaph!'

I have quoted at length from this letter because it gives a vivid picture of the two men. Paul Mariéton, to whom it was written, and who is the editor of the monthly *Revue Félibréenne* and a poet of no little fame, says of Roumanille, that his letters even more than his published works show all his verve and his good sense. All his life a man of the people, Roumanille was yet very refined. His university training, while it enabled him to express in literary form his genuine feelings, had in no wise destroyed their savour nor taken aught from the frank and joyous humour of the peasant of Saint Rémy. I may here quote a few lines from an article by Thomas Janvier, himself a Félibre, which was published in the *Century Magazine* :

"Most gentle is the business carried on by the people of St. Rémy: the raising of flowers and the sale of their seed. All around the town are fields of flowers, and the flowers are suffered to grow to full maturity, that their seed may be garnered and sent abroad. Everywhere delicate odours floated in the air, and though it was August bright colours still mingled everywhere with the green of leaves and grass. Insensibly their gracious manner of earning a livelihood has reacted upon the people themselves; the folk of St. Rémy are noted for their gentleness and kindness even among their gentle and kindly fellow-countrymen of Provence. We understood better Roumanille's beautiful nature when we came to know the town of

gardens wherein he was born, and we also appreciated more keenly the verse—in his exquisite little poem to his mother—in which he chronicles his birth :—

“ ‘ In a farmhouse hidden in the midst of apple-trees,
On a beautiful morning in harvest time,
I was born to a gardener and a gardener's wife,
In the gardens of St. Rémy.’ ”

Roumanille was born in 1818 and was sent to school and to college. At the age of twenty he wrote some verses to his mother, but when he came to read them to her he found she had long since forgotten the little French she had learnt at school, and understood no word of the tender poem. The youth, sad and disappointed, thus expressed his feelings :

“ So my mother is deprived of all the intellectual pleasures which delight me. When her day's work is done she cannot listen to beautiful thoughts and melodious words. In the centre and the north of France the words of our poets penetrate into the workshop of the mechanic and into the hut of the labourer. By song, verse, or psalm a joyous or a noble thought may be engraven in their memories. But here, what is the poetry of the poor? Our Provençal language has been dishonoured for centuries past by coarse and flippant writers who use it as the medium for their vulgar jokes fit only for the ears of drunkards. And this is all our popular literature! Well, since our mothers do not know French enough to understand the songs inspired by the tenderness of their children, let us sing in the language of our mothers, and place within their reach a literature at once healthy, free and pure, yet joyous and gay and truly of the people.”

This ambition he fulfilled.

From 1835 to 1838 his first poems were published in *L'Echo du Rhône*, and afterwards, in 1847, republished in a collection, “*Li Margaridetò*” (*Les Marguerites*). In 1847 he gathered together the works of several Provençal poets in a volume, which was published under the title of “*Les Provençales*.” In 1852 was held the Congress of Arles mentioned in the letter quoted above; and from that time the Provençal poets met together regularly in a kind of informal academy. For a long while they hesitated as to what name they should take. “*Trouvère*” seemed commonplace, and “*Troubadour*” grotesque. Often the peasants of the neighbourhood would come at the conclusion of their feasts and sing the local songs during the dessert. One day an old woman stood out from the ranks of her companions, and sang a strange song which contained the names of the twelve apostles. She proclaimed them one by one, and thus ended her song: “*Grands apôtres, grands félibres!*” (“*Great apostles, great félibres!*”). Mistral, Roumanille, and others sought in vain for this word in their memories. The woman was told she must be mistaken, but she insisted that the word *félibre* really formed part of the song. All philological research proved useless. And then the Provençal poets agreed to adopt the poor lost word, “*a true*

waif of language." It has been conjectured that its real etymology is "homme de foi libre." Another suggestion is "faiseur de livres," but this seems less probable.

On May 21, 1854, was held the first formal meeting of the Association of *Félibres* or *Félibrige* at the Castle of Fontségugne, near Avignon. The poets were seven in number: Roumanille, Anselme Mathieu, Aubanel, Tavan, Giéra, Brunet, and Frédéric Mistral—all these sharing with Roumanille the enthusiastic desire to take up again the lute of the Troubadours, and by their singing to give fresh life to their native idiom.

At this meeting Roumanille was chosen to be *Capoulié*, or head of the *Félibres*, and it was decided to begin the publication of the *Almanach Provençal*, which should contain verses and stories in dialect.

Roumanille and his friends were truly *apostles*, and the good news of the Provençal renaissance spread rapidly through the South of France and the Catalan provinces.

"Et la mer aux flots bleus, la mer harmonieuse,
Sur le rivage d'or, où depuis cinq cents ans
L'âme de la Provence était silencieuse,
Se tut, pour écouter un chœur de paysans."

"And the blue-bellowed sea hushed its melody sweet,
On the fair golden shore where five centuries long
A silence of death held the soul of Provence,
To list to a chorus of peasants in song."

Since the first meeting at Arles, there have been over 1500 poets writing in Provençal and more than 3000 works published in that language. Among these poets was Bonaparte Wyse, an Irishman who was warmly welcomed as a *Félibre*, and who died last year. Elizabeth (Queen of Roumania) was for some time the Queen of the *Félibres*, and has taken a vivid interest in the movement. She has herself contributed, under her *nom de guerre* of Carmen Sylva, many charming poems and stories to the Provençal literature. The movement now flourishes in four provinces (Provence, Catalonia, Aquitaine and Languedoc) where the *Félibrige* has taken the form of a large academy. Each province has a *maintenance* presided over by a syndicate. The number of the *mainteneurs* is over 2000. The more distinguished among the poets obtain the title of *félibre majoral*. Every year fêtes are held in each of the provinces, when the poets gather together in brotherly union from all parts, and the loving cup is passed from hand to hand—the celebrated cup which was given by the Catalonians to their brother poets of Provence. The cup is of graceful and antique form, the stem imitating that of a palm tree; on either side stands the figure of a young girl, tall, slender and smiling. The one represents Provence, the other Catalonia. It is

this cup that Mistral celebrates in his well-known song "La Coupe," which is now, as it were, the Marseillaise of the South, and of which the following is a translation :

"Provençaux, this is the cup that we have from the Catalonians. Let us drink, each in turn, the pure wine of our vintage. Holy cup, filled to overflowing, pour out from thy fulness, pour out in a flowing stream the enthusiasm and the energy of the brave !

"Of an ancient people, proud and free, we are perhaps the last, and if the Félibres fall, then will fall our nation. Holy &c.

"Of a new springing race we are perhaps the first shoots, of our country we are the pillars and the chiefs. Holy &c.

"Pour out to us the hopes and the dreams of youth, the memories of the past, and faith in the year to come. Holy &c.

"Pour out for us the knowledge of truth and beauty, and those lofty delights which defy the tomb. Holy &c.

"Pour out for us sweet poesy, to sing all that has life ; for poetry is the nectar which renders man divine. Holy &c.

"For the glory of our country, you our helpers, O Catalonians, from afar, O brothers, let us take counsel together. Holy cup, filled to overflowing, pour out from thy fulness, pour out in a flowing stream the enthusiasm and the energy of the brave."

Frédéric Mistral, the author of this stirring song, is the greatest of the Provençal poets. He has written a charming autobiographical sketch as a preface to his volume of poems entitled "Les Iles d'Or," from which I translate some passages.

"I was born at Maillane in September 1830. Maillane is a village near Arles, numbering about 1500 souls, and situated in the centre of a vast plain bounded on the south by the blue Alps. My parents lived in the country and managed their own family estate. My father lost his first wife and was fifty-five years old when he married for the second time. This is how he made the acquaintance of my mother. One year at midsummer, Maître François Mistral was in the midst of his fields of corn, which a band of reapers were cutting down with the sickle. A crowd of gleaners followed the men, and picked up the stray ears which had escaped the rake. Maître François, my father, noticed a beautiful young girl who remained behind the others, seeming ashamed to glean as they did. He went up to her and said : 'Mignonne, whose child are you ? What is your name ?'

"The young girl answered, 'I am the daughter of Etienne Poulinet, the Mayor of Maillane. They call me Délaïde.'

"What !' cried my father, 'the daughter of Poulinet, Mayor of Maillane, goes a-gleaning !'

"'Master,' replied she, 'we are a large family, six girls and two boys, and though our father is fairly well-to-do, as you know, when we ask him for money to buy ribbons, he answers, "My children, if you want pretty things to wear, earn them." And that is why I have come a-gleaning.'

"Six months after this meeting, which recalls the scene between Ruth and Boaz, Maître François asked Maître Poulinet for the hand of his daughter Délaïde, and I am their child."

Mistral goes on to describe his free and happy childhood, spent on his father's farm, which seemed to him an earthly Paradise. At the age of nine or ten he was put to school in the neighbourhood, but he

so often played truant, that his parents thought it best to send him away to a small boarding-school in Avignon. At first, the change from the freedom of the fields to the constraint of a *lycée*, and the necessity, under pain of ridicule, of speaking French instead of his native Provençal, made the boy very unhappy; but gradually the love of study grew stronger, and in the descriptions of Virgil and Homer he recognised a vivid picture of the peasant life of his beloved home. His first literary attempt was a translation of Virgil's "First Eclogue."

In 1845 Roumanille came as a master to the school where Mistral had been placed. A warm friendship sprang up between teacher and pupil—a friendship which proved a lasting one, and which had a great influence on Mistral's career, and also on the future of the Provençal renaissance. In 1847, Frédéric left school, and the following year went to Aix to study law. He took his degree in 1851; but when his father told him to choose a career, he threw aside his lawyer's gown and decided to live a life of contemplation amid the country scenes he loved, writing his beautiful poems at leisure and "far from the madding crowd." His first great work (perhaps his greatest) was "*Mirèio*," which was dedicated to Lamartine in the following words:

"I offer thee *Mirèio*, it is my heart and my soul,
And the blossom of my years,
A cluster of Crau grapes with all its green leaves
To thee a peasant bears." *

Lamartine wrote of "*Mirèio*,"

"The literature of village life is found—thanks be to Heaven! A great epic poet is born—the nations of the West can produce such no more, but nature in the South continues to give them to mankind—there is virtue in the sun! A true Homeric poet in these times, a primitive poet in our age of decadence, a Greek poet at Avignon, a poet who creates a language from a dialect even as Petrarch created Italian, who transforms a vulgar *patois* into a classic tongue full of imagery and harmony, delighting the ear and the imagination—a poet who plays on his village harp a symphony of Mozart or of Beethoven—a poet of twenty-five who, at the first outpouring of his genius, gives to the world, in a flood of pure melody, a rustic epic where the descriptive scenes of the *Odyssey* and the innocently passionate scenes of the *Daphnis and Chloë* of Longus, mingled with the holiness and sadness of Christianity, are sung with the grace of Longus and the majestic simplicity of the blind Bard of Chio."

Mirèio is the daughter of a rich farmer of the valley of La Crau; Vincent, a poor travelling basket-maker, a supple and sturdy youth, with whom the girl falls in love one day when he comes to work for her father. The picking of the mulberry leaves—*la cueillette*—to feed the silkworms, brings the youth and maiden into closer acquaintance.

* Slightly altered from the translation by Miss Harriet Waters Preston.

The first delicious love scene can only be compared to the meeting by the river in "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel." The happiness of the lovers is soon interrupted by rival suitors for Mirèio's hand, one of whom, mad with jealousy, challenges Vincent to a duel and wounds him treacherously. Vincent however recovers, but only to find an insurmountable obstacle to his marriage with Mirèio in the unyielding pride of her father. She, in her sorrow, remembers that Vincent had once advised her, in any danger or trouble, to go to the Église des Saintes Maries, at some distance beyond La Crau, and there to ask the help of the Saints, who would never fail her. Trusting to Vincent's words of counsel, she starts on her pilgrimage. But the poor child has overrated her strength. The fatigue of a long journey on foot across the arid and stony plain, the hot sun pouring down on her unprotected head (for in her haste she had forgotten her sun-bonnet) are all too much for her, and close within reach of her goal she is stricken down. She just manages to creep into the chapel of the Saints, and her father and mother, who have spent two nights and days in agonised search for her, find Mirèio unconscious at the foot of the altar. Full of grief and remorse, they consent to her marriage with Vincent. But it is too late! The story of Mirèio's death is full of exquisite touches. In her delirium she sees visions of angels and hears heavenly music, and she fancies that a boat has come to fetch her to another world, "where two may love in peace." The poem of Mirèio was awarded a prize by the French Academy in 1861, and forms the subject of one of Gounod's most beautiful operas.* Mistral himself translated the poem into French, following the original very closely, but he has been accused of having purposely made the French somewhat poor (though the reproach does not seem to us a just one), in order the better to show the richness and sonority of the Provençal. Besides Mirèio, Mistral has written "Calendau," "Nerto," and a volume of poems entitled, "Les Iles d'Or." But he himself considers that the great work of his life is the "Trésor du Félibrige," a dictionary of the Provençal dialects. Writing of "Les Iles d'Or," he says:

"The title may seem ambitious, I own; but I may be forgiven when it is known that it is the name of that small group of rocky islands, golden in the sunlight, which are seen from the shore at Hyères. And then, those divine moments in which love, enthusiasm, or sorrow makes poets of us all, are they not in truth the oases, the *golden islands* of our existence?"

It is my good fortune to have the honour of a personal acquaintance with this great poet, and to have witnessed one of the annual *fêtes des Félibres*, or *maintenances*, as they are called. The celebration

Best known by its French name, "Mireille."

was held at Montpellier, a university town, and one of the most beautiful cities of Provence.

My brother-in-law, Arsène Darmesteter, who had given many years to the study of old French and the Romance languages, had been asked to be one of the vice-presidents on this occasion, and my sister and I went with him. It was in May: the weather was perfect, and everything was in the first freshness of spring. The singing of birds, the profusion of lovely flowers, the beauty of the scenery, and the strong impression produced on me by the enthusiasm of the poets of Provence, all combined to make the memory of this time ineffaceable. We passed through Avignon, the city of the Popes, where we had our first sight of the rapid Rhône; Arles, where, in the silvery moonlight, we first saw the Roman arena, rising white and stately like a ghost from the past—Arles, with its beautiful old Cathedral of St. Trophime and its smiling, peaceful Aliscamps, or Champs Elysées, where so many of the old Romans lie at rest. Then through Nîmes, with its striking contrast between the bright bustling modern town and the remains of the old Roman life—the gardens with their marble baths, the Arena, and the Maison Carrée; and thence to Montpellier, which was the goal of our pilgrimage. On the first evening we met Frédéric Mistral, the chief of the *Félibres* (Roumanille having some time before his death resigned this honour in his favour), and the hero of the hour. His appearance is most impressive: he is tall, broad, and manly looking, with a face singularly handsome and intellectual, and still youthful in its fire and vigour; dark eyes, keen yet kindly and regular features, the habitual expression of which is a bright and genial gaiety. Add to this the most musical of voices, a chivalrous courtesy of manner, and you have, perhaps, some slight idea of his personality. Mistral told us much about the movement, and the evening passed all too quickly.

On the following day we drove to the Villa Louise—a few miles from the town. Passing through a large garden, we came to an oval space surrounded by magnificent elms. In this space seats were arranged in a semicircle for the guests, some five hundred in number; and facing them was the *Cour d'Amour*. This consisted of seven *Félibres* and seven ladies (of whom my sister was one) and was presided over by M. Laforgue. After Mistral's "Hymn to the Sun" had been sung, all present joining in the chorus, the President gave an account of the year's literary work and announced the names of the prize-winners. One of these was a young girl of twenty, Mlle. Brémoud, a farmer's daughter, who had written a beautiful poem. She was unable to be present to receive her prize, because she had literally to "make hay while the sun shone," and help in her father's fields. The successful competitors were crowned with wreaths of laurel which had been gathered near the tomb of Virgil at Naples

and conveyed to France as *Laurus Virgilii*, *plantes médicinales*, in order to avoid their confiscation through fear of the phylloxera, by which the French vineyards were at that time being devastated. Songs, speeches and recitations completed the proceedings, and we drove back to Montpellier in time to dress for the banquet in the evening.

There were about a hundred guests present, of whom only seven were ladies; and after the necessary but less interesting business of dinner was over, there were several speeches. Mistral proposed to drink to the women of France, the living and the dead; to those who had inspired men with faith and courage to serve their country, and to those other noble women who had themselves given their lives for their native land. With this toast he coupled the name of the Lady Giralda of Laval, who during her husband's absence conducted the defence of her castle against the Crusaders. When at last, after a long and hard struggle, she was forced to surrender, the besiegers were so furious at having been held at bay by a woman, that they seized the unfortunate Giralda, and threw her down a dry well which they covered with a heap of stones. "I was walking near this spot," said Mistral, "with my friend the Comte de Toulouse, and he pointed out to me that no plant grows in its neighbourhood but *absinthe* (wormwood), the plant of bitterness. It seems as though Nature herself still mourns the cruel death of her heroic child, and cries aloud for vengeance." This speech was followed by one from Arsène Darmesteter. "In poetry and song all men are brothers. But the idiom which is natural to a land is the one in which the thoughts of its people are best expressed; in another language they would lose their character and individuality," so he drank to the prosperity of the *Félibriges* and the poetry of the people. The speeches were followed by songs—Mistral singing his own "Magali" (from "Mirèio"), after which a young Marseillais poet sang a fine patriotic song of his own composition, and became so excited and moved that he jumped up on his chair, as it were to dominate the audience. The enthusiasm was intense and really thrilling. One felt it was no mere affectation or fashion, but a deep and real emotion.

There has been a strong opposition in France to the whole movement, on the ground that it is separatist and anti-patriotic in its tendency, but this is, I think, well answered in the words of Félix Gras: "J'aime mon village plus que ton village; j'aime ma Provence plus que ta province. J'aime la France plus que tout."

CÉCILE HARTOG.

THE WORK OF THE BEER-MONEY.

IN the Budget of 1890 Mr. Goschen put an additional sixpence of duty on the gallon of spirits, and set it apart, along with three-pence a barrel of the existing duty on beer, as a subvention to local authorities, to be devoted, one-third, or nearly so, to providing pensions for the police, another third, or nearly so, to compensating publicans for the extinction of their licences, and the residue to the reduction of their own local rates. But the fund was no sooner created than the greater part of it was snatched from its original objects by a sudden gust of opinion and diverted to a more liberal destination. When the President of the Local Government Board brought in a Bill to give effect to the Chancellor's plans, the idea of compensating publicans raised such a storm of opposition that it was dropped overboard altogether, and the representatives of the new technical education movement, headed by Mr. Arthur Acland, contrived to secure for County Councils the option of applying the residue, if they so chose, to the promotion of technical education instead of the reduction of rates. Out of that option, originating in this almost accidental way, and conceded with probably little expectation of such a self-denying ordinance being actually exercised to any general extent, there has sprung up a movement of remarkable interest and activity in every county and borough of Great Britain ; and the result is that more than four-fifths of the residue of the beer-money (as this fund is popularly called, though much more of it comes from spirits than from beer), instead of going to the relief of the ratepayers, is now being spent by the representatives of the ratepayers themselves in furnishing the people with every variety of technical instruction. And after all there is no better way of relieving rates than to enlarge the volume of wealth rated, and no

better way of enlarging the volume of wealth rated, than to increase the efficiency of every class of its producers. The fund has now been three years at work, and it is time to see what has been done with it.

The amount of the fund will of course vary with the annual consumption of spirits and beer, but it has averaged about £1,350,000 during the three years it has existed, and it is distributed in the proportion of 80 per cent. to England, 11 per cent. to Scotland, and 9 per cent. to Ireland, in accordance with the amount of their local taxation, although it is probably drawn from these countries, according to their consumption of drink, in the proportion of 60 per cent. from England, 25 per cent. from Scotland, and 15 per cent. from Ireland. This new injustice to the poorer countries, however, has, for a wonder, excited little remark, though it taxes them by so considerable a sum as £270,000 a year for the good of England alone. As the money has been actually distributed the English share has averaged £1,080,000, the Scotch £148,000, and the Irish £121,000. The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890, which deals with this fund, prescribes for it a different application in each of these countries. In England and Wales a fixed sum of £300,000 must first be deducted for police pensions, and the whole of the remaining £780,000 is to be devoted either to reducing local rates, or to promoting technical education, or in Wales to the third alternative of intermediate education, at the option of the local authorities. In Scotland the first £40,000 must go to police pensions, the next £40,000 to free education in the elementary schools, then a further sum of £15,000 goes to pay the salaries of county medical officers of health; and then, finally, the residue—the comparative trifle of £53,000—is left to the discretion of County Councils to apply to the reduction of county rates, or to the promotion of technical instruction, as they think best.

There being in Ireland neither county police nor County Council, no part of the Irish share of the money is devoted to police pensions, and no part of it is left to local discretion to fix its destination. The whole money is devoted to educational purposes by the statute; first, a sum of £78,000 is to be distributed among the national elementary schools according to the number of their pupils, and then the residue is to go to the aid of intermediate schools for payment of fees dependent on the results of public examinations of students, and for payment of prizes and exhibitions, and giving of certificates to students.

As there is little to be said of the application of the money in Ireland, it may be conveniently said at once, and be done with. First, as to the application of the £78,000 for primary education, a distinction is made between contributory unions—in which the

guardians give a contribution from the rates to the support of the national schools in their jurisdiction, and non-contributory unions, in which the guardians give no such contribution from the rates; and the Act prescribes that the money falling to the schools of the contributory unions be paid to the guardians, and used by them as a complete or partial reimbursement of the contribution from the poor rates, but that in the non-contributory unions it shall go to the benefit of the school funds, as an addition to any local contribution these funds may be receiving from private sources. Practically, therefore, it is applied to reduce rates in the contributory unions and to increase schoolmasters' salaries in the non-contributory ones; and as the great majority of the unions are non-contributory, more than three-fourths of the £78,000 goes to them, and is devoted to increasing the schoolmasters' salaries and the general efficiency of the schools. Last year only £15,000 went to the contributory unions, and that sum was the only part of the whole Irish share of the fund which passed to the extinction of rates. The effect of the increase of the school funds in the non-contributory unions has made itself apparent in the fact that, whereas in 1889-90 the teachers of 576 national schools failed to get the full amount of the results fees they had earned, for want of the equivalent local contribution which Government requires as a condition of their payment, there were only fourteen schools whose teachers failed to get these fees in 1890-91.

Then as to the residue, £30,000 or £40,000, which is available for secondary education, that has almost doubled the funds at the disposal of the Commissioners of Intermediate Education, and therefore greatly enlarged their power of forwarding secondary schools, and they state that in consequence of this increase of income they have undertaken two fresh developments which they had been contemplating for some time—one in connection with a commercial school in the senior grade, and the other in connection with the establishment of a preparatory grade. The money is not available for technical education except in so far as that is already introduced into either the elementary or the intermediate schools, and in some branches Ireland is ahead of England and Scotland here. Agriculture, for example, is a general subject in all Irish rural schools; eighty thousand pupils are examined in agriculture every year, and school-farms and school-gardens are not uncommon. But the observation of what the beer-money is doing for technical education on this side of the Channel has given rise to a strong and influential movement for the purpose of obtaining for Ireland a Government endowment for technical education equivalent to the beer-money fund, which is available in England; and the £120,000 which is taken from the pockets of Irish spirit drinkers to pay for the technical education of English labourers will be sure to be claimed back.

In England and Wales, according to a special official return published in 1892, the residue the first year was £740,376 8s. 3d., and of this sum £236,242 18s. 10d. was applied to the extinction of local rates. No similar return exists for the following year; but from the information contained in a Science and Art Department return of 1893, supplemented by facts published in the "Record of the National Association for Technical Education," it would appear that not more than £150,000 is now applied to that purpose. And in considering these figures, it must be remembered that in 1891, £162,572 1s. 7d., and last year £115,000, of the total sum given for the diminution of rates were given in London alone. The rest of England and Wales received last year more than £600,000 of beer-money, and applied only £35,000 to ratepayers' relief. When we think that there are more than one hundred and twenty counties and county-boroughs in England and Wales, the unanimity with which they denied themselves the relief a benevolent Chancellor devised for them, and spent the money instead upon the new excitement of technical education, is really surprising. No county or county-borough in England and Wales now applies the whole of the beer-money, and only eleven apply any part of it, to the reduction of their local burdens. These eleven are: Herefordshire, Middlesex, East Sussex, West Sussex, Shropshire, Rutland, Gloucester, North Riding of Yorkshire, London, Wolverhampton, and Middlesbrough. Staffordshire, while voting the money to technical education, reserves the right to use nearly half of it for the next two years for other local purposes. West Sussex and Shropshire are backsliders; both counties have for the last three years given the whole fund to technical education purposes; but for the coming year, West Sussex Council has by a majority resolved to give none of it to that purpose, and Shropshire has resolved to apply half of it to the relief of rates.

Scotland has comparatively only a very small sum to divide—about the same that falls to the single English county of Lancaster; and the first year it divided the money in nearly equal parts between technical education and rate reduction. In that year the Scotch residue was £48,051, of which £26,566 was given to technical education, and £21,484 to reduction of rates. But in the following year, out of a residue of £58,243, £40,258 was voted to technical education and £17,985 to relief of rates. The progress of the technical education movement was obstructed in Scotland by certain limitations imposed by Scotch law upon Councils in their application of this fund; but these limitations were removed by the Technical Schools (Scotland) Amendment Act of 1892, and it seems likely therefore that we are in Scotland, as in England, within measurable distance of the total conversion of this rate-relief fund into a technical education fund.

This result is partly due to the fact that the public mind had been

long awakening to our serious national deficiencies in the matter of industrial education, insomuch that many of the larger boroughs had already in 1887 devoted their Jubilee Memorial funds to the erection of technical schools. But it must be largely ascribed to the happy intervention of the National Association for Technical and Secondary Education, who instituted an active propaganda for their cause among councillors and other local notabilities, as soon as the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act passed, and supplied the Councils with every information and guidance they required on the subject at that important moment.

The Councils, on their part, took up the task with great spirit. They had, of course, many difficulties, for they found themselves set to a work for which the very machinery required first to be created. Outside the larger cities a few science and art classes, under the Department, here and there, were the only means of technical instruction that existed. There were neither technical schools nor technical teachers; there was a complex variety of subjects claiming to be taught; there was a clamour of applications for grants from schools aspiring to a technical wing, from farmers' clubs, mechanics' institutes, university extension societies, associations for this and associations for that, all eager to draw a little of the stream to turn their own particular wheel. The Councils called in the aid of educational and industrial experts in their vicinity for preparing their plans, and they in many cases delegated the permanent management of their educational work to a mixed Board, with a large proportion of outside members, chosen for special qualifications. Besides this Technical Education Board, or the Technical Education Committee of the Council, many counties have organised local committees, in the several districts of the county, for making local arrangements; and sixty counties and county-boroughs have appointed an organising secretary with a fair salary. They will, it is needless to say, have made many mistakes; but they have gone about matters in a practical way, and when they have made mistakes they have shown themselves quick to repair them. Much of the work was necessarily tentative, and that indeed is part of its value. Each local authority has started the work in its own way, according to its own circumstances, industries, and resources; so that the country has for two years been one great experimental station, with some hundreds of separate plots of educational varieties.

Much of the money has naturally gone during these years to meet expenses connected with the first establishment of the scheme, and which are therefore not recurrent. The boroughs, for example, have very generally sunk most of it in stone and lime. Thirty-five of the sixty-one county-boroughs of England have devoted at least three-fourths of their drink-money to the erection of a new municipal technical school, or to the extinction of the debt of such a school

already erected or in course of erection, and to the maintenance of the lectures, classes, and apparatus in it, if the building was free of debt; and they have given the residue to evening continuation schools, or to science and art classes, or to both.

The general public has probably little idea of the number of important technical schools which the English boroughs have built during the last six or seven years, or of the expense they have incurred for the purpose. Bolton, for example, has built a technical school at a cost of £15,000; Bury at a cost of £16,000; Blackburn, of £40,000. Oldham and Rochdale are now spending £12,000 each in building one; Halifax and Derby are spending £20,000 each; Bath, £21,000; Worcester and West Ham, £40,000; Birmingham, £48,000; and Manchester, on a site worth £100,000, is erecting a technical school estimated to cost £130,000 more, the most elaborate and magnificent product as yet of the whole movement. Glasgow is thinking of laying out £100,000 on the same object; and Barrow, Boston, Burnley, Stockport, Salford, Preston, Wigan, Leicester, Lincoln, Norwich, Nottingham, Reading, Exeter, Plymouth, Devonport, Brighton, York, St. Helens, Hull, Bradford, West Bromwich, all have technical schools of the same expensive character, either already erected or in course of erection. The non-county boroughs are following suit, and we continually read of one or another of them spending £6000 or £8000 or £10,000 on a new technical school, and scores of them have placed themselves under the Technical Instruction Act and imposed a rate for the purpose. Eighty-seven local authorities in England and Wales have now done so, including 20 counties and only eight county-boroughs; and there are now as many as 190 organised technical schools already at work in Great Britain, and 30 more in course of construction. Nor has expense been spared in furnishing the schools any more than in building them. Cardiff has voted £2000 to buy a single machine—a 100-ton testing machine—for the laboratory, because a smaller one would be useless for practical instruction.

Now in meeting all this heavy cost it is no occasion for surprise if the boroughs have drawn to some extent upon their beer-money fund; but this step, like every other that has been taken in expending that money, has provoked much hostile criticism. Instead of wasting the money on extravagant buildings, it is said, they could have made it go further by grants to grammar schools and other local institutions. The soundness of this criticism cannot perhaps be properly tested except, for each locality, by a knowledge of the circumstances of the locality; but, as a matter of general policy, the boroughs can only be commended for determining that, if technical instruction is to be supplied at all, it must be supplied in an efficient way, even though efficiency might be expensive. And it ought to be remem-

bered that if they have drawn part of the expense from the beer-money fund, they have drawn much the greater part of it from their own pockets, either by subscriptions or by a rate. Manchester pays none of it out of the beer-money, but all from a loan on the security of the rates.

In towns which have built no central technical school, and in most of the counties, large building grants have been made to extend or adapt existing institutions for the purposes of technical instruction. Bristol has given quite a third of its total receipts during the two years to provide and equip new buildings in connection with institutions like its University College and its Grammar School. Surrey has spent nearly a third of its receipts in building new schools, and is said to have saved £20,000 for the same purpose. Most other counties have also spent considerable sums in building and equipment grants, and many of them have accumulated unexpended balances of varying amounts, which will probably go to the same destination, though they may have not been purposely saved for it.

Then another expense which has been very heavy everywhere at the beginning of the scheme is the expense of training technical teachers, but after a staff is formed the Councils will obviously not need to train one teacher for every ten they are training now, and even this one may obtain most of his technical training where he receives the rest of his professional education, without being a burden on County Council funds at all. Drawing, for example, was one of the most common subjects for which the Councils found it necessary to have teachers trained, and the ordinary elementary schoolmasters being the readiest material to lay hands on for the purpose, large sums were spent in teaching these schoolmasters drawing. But as drawing is one of the regular subjects at all training colleges, the students at these colleges may be expected in future to make themselves sufficiently masters of that subject, while attending their training college, to be able to earn County Council grants for its encouragement. At present, however, the Councils have opened for them Saturday classes or vacation courses on technical subjects, or sent them to technical colleges at a distance, paying the fees and expenses, sometimes of all, sometimes of those with the smaller salaries. In 1892 Hampshire had 638 school teachers under training, at a cost of £2100; Somerset had 630 learning drawing alone; Nottingham had 101 learning drawing, 30 agricultural chemistry, and 32 cookery. Gloucester had 230 learning drawing, and Essex 100 learning cookery; Lincoln (Lindsay Division) had 130 learning agricultural chemistry. Lancashire spent £4000 last year on teachers' classes; while Norfolk, at an expense of £500, had trained 50 teachers in agricultural chemistry, and unhappily could only, after all, find classes for fifteen. In many cases they were even sent abroad for instruction. Stafford-

shire had last year as many as 35 teachers under training at Dr. Gütze's Institute for Manual Instruction at Leipsic. The subjects teachers have been chiefly taught are drawing, carpentry, wood-carving, chemistry, botany, and agriculture. In some counties as much as one-sixth of the whole available money has been spent in training the future instructors, but possibly a sixtieth may suffice by-and-by.

The expenditure in training school teachers may be taken, generally speaking, as incurred for the supply of the more elementary technical instruction, the expenditure on school buildings for the supply of the higher and more advanced. Most counties have done much for the supply of both, though a few have done very little for the one, and a few have done very little for the other. The more elementary instruction has been generally furnished by opening evening classes in connection with the Science and Art Department, or under the new Continuation School Code of the Education Department, equipping them with suitable apparatus, and giving for the remuneration of the teachers either a lump sum, or more usually a capitation grant for every pupil completing a certain percentage or number of attendances, in addition to the like grant earned from either of the departments mentioned. For the higher instruction, besides erecting or helping to erect buildings, and making grants to approved secondary schools for equipment and for maintenance of teaching staff, the Councils have made a liberal provision of scholarships, both for enabling pupils of the more elementary classes to attend the secondary schools, and for enabling pupils of the secondary schools to continue their education at some college of university rank; and they have frequently made substantial grants to such colleges on condition of their opening certain technical classes and training a certain number of county nominees free of charge. Then outside all these means of instruction, a large part of the educational work of almost all counties has consisted in the supply of itinerant lecturers on special industrial subjects.

The base of the whole fabric is obviously the evening class, for though technical education may begin, and does begin, in the day school—where, indeed, drawing is now compulsory—the County Councils are not concerned with it practically till the pupils have left the day school, for they are expressly forbidden to aid the technical training of those who are still in the standard or obligatory subjects. But the vast majority leave school altogether when they pass these subjects, and being then at work all day, can only obtain the further technical education they are desired to receive at an evening school. The system will not be complete till every working lad is found attending his technical evening classes for a few years after leaving day school; but it is far from that goal yet, though it is making considerable progress under the liberal encouragement of the Councils.

The continuation school class being taken to be less advanced than the Science and Art Department class, Councils usually make a lower capitation grant to the former than to the latter, but it is in both cases higher than the corresponding grants given at the same time by the departments with which these classes are respectively associated. Liverpool gives to every continuation school a grant of 2*s.* 6*d.* per head for all who make twenty attendances, and 5*s.* for all who go up for examination; and to the evening science and art classes 10*s.* a head for the first fifteen, and 5*s.* a head for all others, who make twenty attendances; and then 10*s.* a head besides for all who pass the Department's examination. The West Riding grant to evening continuation schools is given for all who make 75 per cent. of the possible attendances and is 3*s.* a head in schools meeting 60 times a year, and 2*s.* a head in schools meeting 45 times; and its grant to science and art classes runs from 5*s.* to 20*s.* a head according to the difficulty of the subject of instruction. Oxford county makes a grant of 7*s.* 6*d.* a head for twenty attendances. Northumberland gives to continuation night schools the high grant of 20*s.* a head for the first ten pupils who make three-fourths of the total possible attendances, 10*s.* a head for the next ten, and 2*s.* 6*d.* a head thereafter. Some County Councils—London for example—attach to their grant the conditions that the class must not be farmed by a teacher, but controlled directly by some responsible public body; that practical teaching must always accompany theoretical, and in certain industrial branches that the pupils be genuine members of the trades concerned. Then some idea of the supplementary assistance given by the Education or Science and Art Departments may be formed from the fact that in 1892 Lancashire, with 15,845 pupils under instruction in its science and art classes, earned as much as £3141 in science and art grants alone.

Under encouragement like that, evening technical classes are multiplying rapidly all over the land, and absorbing every year larger and larger sums of the beer-money grants. Durham, which spent £2000 on them last year, has voted for them this year £4000—a third of its whole grant. The West Riding, which gave £6676 for them in 1891–2, gave £9000 for them in 1892–3—nearly a third of its whole grant. Leicester also gives nearly a third; Cumberland gives more than a quarter; Devon, West Suffolk, and Worcester each gives a quarter; Notts a fifth. The North Riding and Gloucester give only part of their beer-money for technical education, but of that part the North Riding spends a quarter, and Gloucester more than a third on evening classes. Kent and the Isle of Wight both give large sums to minor local authorities to spend, and much of that money will no doubt also go to evening classes; but of the sums which these counties retain for their own spending, Kent spends one-

sixth and the Isle of Wight more than a half on that object. Norfolk, on the other hand, spends only one-nineteenth in capitation grants to such classes; Essex * and Berks spend nothing on them at all; and Oxford and Hereford only one-tenth. If evening technical classes are thus making much slower progress in some counties than in others, the obstacle seems to lie more often in the indifference of the boys or their parents than in the indifference of the Councils. There are one or two cases where it seems to lie plainly enough in the Council's whole interest being usurped in favour of these agencies of instruction, and one or two cases more where, with respect especially to the continuation schools, Councils have conceived the establishment of such schools to be the duty of the School Board, and not of the County Council. But, generally speaking, County Councils have hitherto been ready to spend more money in that way than they could find pupils to take it. And much has been done. Liverpool Council has now 300 evening classes at work under it on the beer-money. Cumberland, which had only one evening continuation school in 1891, has now 134; West Sussex 165, with 3400 pupils; Devon 186; Surrey 45; Shropshire 49, with 1581 pupils; Derby 75, with 6500; in Warwickshire 85 per cent. of the villages with more than 300 inhabitants have their evening continuation schools; and so on. The impetus given by the beer-money to evening schools and classes may be seen on the face of the official statistics of the Science and Art and the Education Departments.

In 1889 there were in England and Wales 7475 science classes, with 131,313 pupils; in 1890, there were still only 7756 classes, and only 133,821 pupils; but in 1892, there were 10,352 classes and 180,410 pupils. In 1889 there were 1111 art classes, with 88,969 pupils; in 1890, there were still only 1182 classes and 88,833 pupils; whereas, in 1892 there were 1631 classes and 115,848 pupils, of whom 109,642 belonged to the industrial class. The pupils of these science and art classes have increased 30 per cent. since 1890, or more than 70,000 in all. The pupils of evening continuation schools in England and Wales have increased from 37,118 in 1889 and 43,347 in 1890, to 65,561 in 1892; and as the New Code has come into operation since then, the figures for 1893 will show a still greater advance.

Larger classes would be secured if class fees were abolished, and some counties have begun to give instruction, at least in some departments, free; but the general rule is to charge a small class fee of a penny, or twopence, or sixpence a lesson, or of a shilling for the course. Complaints are common that even this trifling exaction is

* Essex, however, is a county which hands over a very large proportion of its grant, nearly two-thirds of it, to minor local authorities, and these local authorities have no doubt started evening classes.

too high for the agricultural labourer, and the policy of imposing it is open to great doubt. It is not imposed for revenue purposes, though in that respect it is not to be despised; Lancashire, for example, having earned last year as much as £3166 from class fees alone. But it is imposed for two other reasons: first, to shut out irregular attenders, lads who come from idle curiosity the first two or three nights, and then never return; and second, to secure a better attendance from the rest. But really, why should the former class be excluded? Many a boy may come from idle curiosity, and remain, if the classes are rightly taught, from real interest. Then it is not paying the fee that makes the others more regular in their attendance; it is the value they set on the instruction, of which paying the fee is only an indication. The popular maxim declares that people always value a thing more when they pay for it; but they don't value it because they pay for it; they pay for it because they value it. Some counties make it an additional rule that the fee shall be returned if the pupil makes a certain percentage of attendances; but this affords no consolation to those whom its original exaction has shut out, often perhaps persons out of work, who would then have most time for going to classes.

Another serious obstacle to the evening classes lies in the long working hours still prevailing in many trades, and much may be said for giving apprentices a legal right to get away certain nights a week to attend school.

Coming now to the provision for higher technical instruction: that consists of grants for teaching at secondary schools and colleges, or of grants for scholarships. The blue-book published by the Science and Art Department in 1893 professes to give in separate columns the sums spent on both these purposes; but the returns of the grants for teaching at secondary schools are very imperfect. I have seen the total spent in this particular way estimated at £40,000; but these returns would not carry us to so high a figure. Mr. Redgrave, the inspector for the Science and Art Department, reports that he is "sorry to find that in some parts of the country there appears to be a reluctance on the part of County Councils to assist grammar schools and endowed schools with grants from their funds." On the other hand, some counties would fain assist good secondary schools, but can find few or none to assist within their bounds. Lancashire has only given £200 for this purpose; Durham, out of an income of £13,000, gives only £550; the North Riding complains of the want of secondary schools in its district suitable to help; while, on the contrary, Hertfordshire has granted nearly a third of its whole receipts to such schools; and the West Riding, which gave only £1300 for them in 1891, proposed to give £3000 in 1893. Many counties, however, are waiting to see the result of a Secondary Education Act before adopting any scheme

bearing on secondary education, and some are saving their balances in view of that contingency.

The returns I have just referred to show that 51 counties and county-boroughs give some of their money for scholarships, and that they assign altogether £56,000 a year for that purpose. Norfolk, out of a total grant of £9000, voted £4600 last year for 340 scholarships; but it was only able to spend a small part of the money voted, because it could find no more than 117 suitable holders. The West Riding, which spent only £4731 in scholarships in 1892, voted £10,000 out of its total grant of £30,000 for scholarships last year, and out of 23,000 pupils receiving technical instruction under its scheme, scholarships were held by as many as 2746. The London County Council has established 1000 junior scholarships, securing free technical education at a secondary school, together with £8 the first year and £12 the second; 100 intermediate scholarships, securing free education, together with from £20 to £35 a year; 200 exhibitions of £5 each; 80 scholarships of £20 each (besides free education) for art students at evening classes; and it has in contemplation the establishment of a number of other scholarships and exhibitions for evening students, poor art students, and pupils of special talents and attainments.

Norfolk is the only county that votes as much as 50 per cent. of its available revenue for scholarships; but Northampton gives 40 per cent., Derby 30 per cent., Lancashire and Kent 25 per cent. A very general proportion is 10 per cent., and the lowest is Bedfordshire, which only gives 3 per cent. In Scotland, only a single county and a single burgh have done anything for scholarships, and that has been very trifling.

In most cases these scholarships seem to be thrown open to competition without any condition, except conditions of age or previous residence in the locality on the part of competitors; but some counties restrict them to pupils who have received their education at a local elementary school, or whose parents' income does not exceed a specified figure. London limits its junior scholarships to pupils of public elementary schools under thirteen, who are studying in the fifth or higher standard, and whose parents are in receipt of not more than £150 per annum; and it limits its intermediate scholarships to persons between fifteen and eighteen, resident in its jurisdiction, and whose parents are in receipt of not more than £400 a year—reserving, however, the right to restrict half of the scholarships to candidates whose parents have not more than £250 a year. Lancashire restricts its higher scholarships to children of parents earning less than £300 a year; but places no similar restriction on the lower scholarships. Berks limits its six agricultural

scholarships of £50 to the sons of residents of three years' standing, or of occupiers of land in the county; and its twenty junior scholarships to boys who have for the previous two years been attending rural elementary schools in the county. The income limit is a wise restriction to prevent any of the too moderate technical grant going where it is not really needed, though, curiously enough, the junior scholarships seem to go to the industrial classes quite as largely in counties without the income limit as in counties with it. The occupations of the parents of the 194 holders of junior county scholarships in London last year are stated thus in the Annual Report:

MALES.

Labourers	28
Artisans	41
Locomotion	14
Assistants	5
Other wage-earners	23
Manufacturers	22
Dealers	16
Refreshment	2
Salaried, &c.	26

FEMALES (Heads of Families).

Semi-domestic employment	5
Dress	4
Small trades	2
Employing and professional	1
Other adult women	5
	—
	17

Of the 194, 132 are wage-earners, and probably the greater part of the remaining 60—small dealers and the like—are no better off than wage-earners. In Norfolk, where there is no income restriction, the occupations of the parents of the 90 holders of junior scholarships are given thus:

Artisans	37
Schoolmasters, clerks, and tradesmen	50
Labourers	3

Clerks and schoolmasters have often quite as little income as artisans. Out of 48,000 schoolmasters in England, 29,000 have less than £2 a week.

In Berkshire, where there is no restriction except attendance at an elementary school—a restriction which would not probably exclude any of the Norfolk holders—the occupations of the parents of the twenty junior scholars are:

Gardeners	4	Labourer	1
Coachmen	2	Relieving officer	1
Bricklayers	2	Bailiff	1
Carman	1	Platlayer	1
Smith .	1	Attendant	1
Carpenter	1	Painter	1
Grocer .	1	Boatmaker	1
Butler .	1		

Seventeen of the 20 are wage-earners, and the remaining three are probably little better off. A bailiff or a village grocer might find it quite as hard as an artisan to spend £10 or £20 a year in giving his son a technical education. In Norfolk the sons of schoolmasters, clerks, and tradesmen outnumber the sons of manual workmen, but the main reason of that lies in the indifference of the labouring class of that county. The schoolmasters, clerks, and tradesmen are more intelligent and pushing, and their sons have entered the competitions in much greater numbers than the sons of labourers. There were still 200 scholarships available last year, and only 163 competitors came forward for them, while only 40 of these were found qualified to hold them.

This dearth of competitors for the scholarships and still greater dearth of proficiency in the competitors are very general complaints among the County Councils. Improvement in both respects, however, is noted in some districts; Durham and Essex, for example, both report that the annual competition for scholarships is now very brisk, and shows a marked rise in the attainments of candidates. The deficiency remains, however, in respect of the senior scholarships. The Derby Council decided last year not to award any intermediate scholarships on account of the paucity and inferior qualifications of the competitors. Lancashire offered twenty £60 scholarships last year, and out of its large population found only 55 competitors. Six of the scholarships were agricultural, and no competitors appeared for them at all. The same county offered 32 science scholarships of £15 each, and out of 102 competitors found only six of sufficient merit to receive one; but it reports that parents are interesting themselves more in these scholarships now, and that there will soon be plenty of qualified candidates created by the new County Council classes. Suffolk offered two £60 agricultural scholarships, and could not find a competitor.

Scholarships are of course a most essential agency in the diffusion of efficient technical instruction; but while more than half the local authorities have as yet spent nothing upon them at all, some have obviously begun by spending far too much, and will no doubt be led by their experience to curtail that expenditure. Norfolk, the worst offender, shows no sign as yet; but Derby, spending 30 per

cent. on scholarships, and Wilts, spending only 14 per cent., have begun to reduce the scholarship cost.

The subjects taught under County Council schemes are extremely numerous and varied, especially in the towns, where, in addition to the science and art subjects of the Department's Directory, and commercial subjects like shorthand, bookkeeping, and modern languages, special trade courses, in which the instruction is both scientific and practical, are given, relating to every different industry pursued in the locality. In Birmingham, for example, instruction is given relative to brass work, electro-plating, gold and silver work, mechanical engineering, chemistry, building, glassmaking, iron and steel manufacture, plumbing, metal platework, carpentry, pattern-making. Manchester provides instruction with regard to the cotton industry, textile industries, engineering in all branches, metallurgy, building, &c. Leicester looks after hosiery. Lancashire, which offers a choice of sixty-nine subjects outside the Science and Art Directory list, has established a school of horology to encourage a reviving trade in watches, and has a school of silk under consideration. Derby has begun with mining and agriculture, but proposes to take up lace and pottery. Plumbing is a common subject in most centres. In rural districts the chief care is devoted to agriculture, or gardening, or dairy work, or ditching, or horse-shoeing, or straw-plaiting. The lecturer is abroad, and scarce any town is too mean to go without its County Council course of instruction. Many arts are taught without any eye to the markets. Almost every Council has opened classes for what has been called "home-making"—classes in cookery, dress-making, and laundry work—in order to produce efficient housewives. Many courses have been delivered on health, hygiene, and ambulance. Some Councils give lessons in swimming, others in music and singing. One has given a special course to cabdrivers, to teach them to avoid cruelty to their horses; and another is considering what it can do for deaf mutes.

The expenditure on commercial subjects has been condemned by some working men's friends, first, as taking the people's money and giving it to the middle class; and, second, as misappropriating it to education not properly technical. But shorthand, commercial geography, and the modern languages are most valuable parts of the technical training of the modern clerk and mercantile manager, and as thousands of the sons of working men become clerks and mercantile managers, they ought to have the means of becoming as efficient clerks and mercantile managers as it is possible to make them. If the sons of merchants or lawyers also take advantage of the classes, what harm is done? Besides, the whole sum spent by Councils on commercial subjects is really small, probably not more than £5000 a year in all England and Wales. Half the local authorities do

not teach them at all, and where they do the cost is not high. Northumberland, for example, which has 10,000 technical pupils has only 315 on commercial subjects, and their education costs it only £200.

The subjects which have been most widely taught are drawing and woodwork on the one hand, and cookery and domestic economy on the other. Drawing and woodwork have been pushed so much because they afford useful preparatory discipline for training young people, no matter what trade they may pursue, in general accuracy of hand and eye and in the beginnings of taste and design. Objection has been taken to the expenditure on woodwork. Why waste time and money, it has been asked, in teaching people primitive and obsolete arts for the products of which there is no longer any market? But that objection misconceives the nature and object of the instruction in these simple arts. Its purpose is served in the training. The boy who is taught to cut a piece of wood into a boat or a paper-knife is having his faculties developed. In some places a little rough joinery has been taught as part of an agricultural labourer's training. At Burton Dassett, in Warwickshire, a class of twelve agricultural labourers, of ages varying from sixteen to fifty, went through a course of twenty lessons in woodwork, and made in that time wheelbarrows, ladders, steps, stools, hencoops, dog kennels, and sheep-troughs. They paid £9 for the timber used in their jobs, and kept the articles they made. A little knowledge of joinery is no doubt useful on a farm for executing repairs in an emergency, but the joiners will possibly have something to say about that expenditure, though they need not probably fear very much from the competition of the agricultural labourers in the market. It is teaching a trade, they will say, which is against the Act of Parliament, and it is teaching the trade to outsiders, which is against trade-union principles, for the outsiders will be apt to come inside in a strike. Trade unionists have frequently pressed on County Councils the necessity of making it a rule to confine their technical instruction connected with any particular trade to genuine members of the trade, and some Councils, London among others, have adopted that view. Trade unions may exaggerate the danger to their interests contained in the open class, but if they will not let their members attend it, County Councils must simply conform, or they will have no class at all.

Cookery and domestic economy classes were naturally attended very numerously, because the subject interests not a single trade only, but half the population, and because the attendance was largely composed of women of the more leisurely classes. They have been opened everywhere, both in urban and rural districts, and the attendance at them in some counties was surprisingly large. In 1891-2 the county of Nottingham had 6451 pupils in cookery alone,

and only 6567 in all other subjects put together. Derby in the same year had 5000 in cookery, and only 3445 in all other subjects. Lancashire, out of a total of 45,709 pupils, had 25,000 in cookery, dressmaking, and commercial subjects, and of these probably 20,000 would be in cookery alone. Essex last year had 915 classes, of which 241 were on cookery and dressmaking, and 57 on nursing. Norfolk, on the other hand, out of 308 classes, had only 14 on cookery, 25 on dressmaking, and 60 on nursing. In Northumberland, out of 10,000 persons receiving instruction, only 1186 were receiving it in cookery, 103 in dressmaking, and 508 in nursing. Berkshire gives an eleventh of its available grant to cookery instruction classes, Hampshire a tenth, Dorset about a seventh—the previous year it was about a fifth—Kent an eleventh, the Holland division of Lincoln an eleventh, Notts a twelfth, Southampton county a ninth, Wilts nearly a ninth, Lancashire a twelfth.

In some counties the lectures were specially restricted to cottage cookery suitable for the labourer's wife with limited financial and domestic resources; but there was often difficulty in obtaining lecturers sufficiently well acquainted with cottage ways to answer the purpose, and there was often difficulty in getting the cottage housewives interested enough to attend. To meet the first difficulty the London Board have made arrangements for a training school at the Battersea Polytechnic, where teachers of cookery will be trained specially in the methods applicable to the every-day life of the working classes of London; and in selecting ten ladies last September as migratory lecturers on cookery and dressmaking, they made it an essential qualification that they should have practical acquaintance with the markets frequented by the poor, and with the methods of cooking possible in an artisan's kitchen, and of dressmaking requiring the outlay of only a few pence for appliances. Cheshire has instituted scholarships for enabling cookery students to attend the Midland School of Cookery with a view to becoming teachers; and the Northumberland and Newcastle Councils have jointly founded a school of cookery of their own, but seem to have had in view not so much the requirements of cottage housewives as of four other classes—(1) cooks and domestic servants, (2) young ladies and housewives, (3) teachers in elementary schools, and (4) persons desiring a teaching diploma in cookery. The school is furnished with three lady lecturers on cookery and a French *chef*, two lady lecturers on laundry work, dressmaking, and sick nursing, and a practical laundress; and it was attended last year by 100 cooks and domestic servants, 120 young ladies and housewives, 50 elementary school teachers, and 11 students for a diploma.

The cookery classes are usually conducted by migratory lecturers, who carry their appliances with them from one centre to another, and

give at each place a series both of demonstrations and of practical lessons, extending over from four to eight weeks. They only go where a sufficient number of pupils is guaranteed beforehand to form a class; and in some counties the number of classes would seem to be diminishing, in others increasing. The London Technical Education Board expresses the hope that Councils may be eventually relieved in great part from their present heavy expenditure on this item, through cookery being made a compulsory subject in elementary schools. Special courses have been given for seamen in Liverpool and other maritime towns on nautical cookery—the cookery of ordinary sailors' fare at the galley fire. London gives £100 a year to the Sailors' Home for this purpose.

Probably about a fourth of the whole beer-money goes to the diffusion of one kind or another of agricultural instruction, and though bitter complaints have risen in some quarters of the farmers' apathy, there is plenty of evidence that the money is being spent to some purpose, and will tell presently on the production of the country and the welfare of the rural classes. They have not been indifferent everywhere, and in some branches of farming they have shown the greatest possible zeal for instruction, and are indeed already perceptibly reaping the fruits in their pockets.

The dairy classes and the horticultural classes have been uniformly most successful. The Westmoreland County Council calculated that if it could improve the butter of the county to the extent of only a penny the pound in market value, that would be a gain to the county of £16,000 a year, which it would be well worth spending £300 a year on a dairy school to secure; and many Councils report a rise of more than 1*d.* a pound in the price of butter made after attending the County Council lectures. A dairymaid in Surrey reported that after the lectures she got 4*d.* a pound more for her butter; another in Westmoreland got 2*d.* and 3*d.* more, and all the pupils in that county who made for the market reported some improvement in the price they were able to obtain. In the North Riding, butter made on the new principles is reported readily to command 1*d.* and even 2*d.* a pound more than the former prices. East Sussex reports to the same general effect; while the organising secretary of Shropshire states that though the effect of the teaching on butter will take some time yet to be seen, farmers had informed him that their cheese had been improved as much as 10*s.* a cwt.

Dairy instruction is generally given by an itinerant lecturer, supplied often by some neighbouring dairy institute, together with movable plant and appliances, to permit of say ten pupils working at once, and moving from place to place wherever the local committee guarantees a sufficient number of pupils and a sufficient supply of milk. A lecture is usually given in the forenoon, and a practical

lesson in the afternoon, and the former has been usually attended by crowds of paying spectators in addition to the working pupils. In the North Riding, with 197 practical pupils, there were ten times as many spectators. In Surrey the classes were very large, but many had no intention of being either dairy-farmers or dairymaids, and apparently came to the school as to a kind of show. In Derby nearly 1000 persons paid for day visits merely to witness the process, while in Notts in 1891-2 there were 2617 persons at the lecture and demonstration class, and only 161 at the practical. In Cambridge it is found that after a month's tuition a girl is able to take charge of a dairy. Some of the larger counties have separate lecturers for butter and for cheese. Lancashire in 1892 spent £2500 in providing three migratory butter-making schools with six teachers, two stationary cheese-making schools with two teachers, and a peripatetic lecturer on both subjects to go and teach farmers on their own farms. The butter schools had fifty-two pupils; and cheese-making classes were opened on two farms with fifty-six pupils, chiefly farmers' wives and daughters, and the peripatetic lecturer visited forty-two farms, staying a week at each. The Council has now established in addition a permanent butter and cheese school, where pupils are to receive a six weeks' course of instruction for nothing, and get a contribution of 5s. a week for their board.

The only counties which have anything ill to report of the dairy schools are Hertford, where they are said to have been a failure, and Devon, where they encountered serious prejudice and opposition. Shropshire, notwithstanding the success in that county, engaged no teacher of butter-making for the present summer, because the number of applications for classes was insufficient.

Horticultural instruction has been supplied in most counties, and always with pre-eminent success. Even in Norfolk, where only fifteen classes could be brought together for general agriculture, the horticultural lecturer was able to hold sixty classes, with at least 600 pupils; and a by no means favourable critic states that the lectures "have really interested the labourers and done a great deal of good." Surrey, at an expense of £1250, had classes at fifty centres—winter evening lectures, summer garden lectures, cottage shows with lectures, school gardens with lessons; and the audiences—gardeners, allotment-holders, cottagers, amateurs—are reported to have been very earnest and enthusiastic, and where classes were formed in a place for the second time, the attendance and interest were both better than on the first occasion. The allotments, which used to be neglected all winter before, have a very different aspect now, and shops in their neighbourhood have begun to keep sixpenny and shilling packets of manure for use in them. In Derby 100 or 200

people would assemble on an allotment and watch the lecturer's demonstrations on pruning and the manipulation of plants generally; and in many gardens at Royston people are now seen carrying out the lecturer's instructions by cleaning the bark of their trees and dressing them with suitable solutions.

In agriculture proper the teaching has not been attended with the same success. It was more theoretical. The instruction in gardening and butter-making was largely an explanation of practical processes. But lectures on the chemistry of the soil, the composition of manures, the physiology and pathology of the animals, the botany of economic plants, were comparatively abstract and needed a certain preliminary education in the learner which was not always found. I have already mentioned that Norfolk, though an agricultural county, could only muster 15 classes in agricultural chemistry. Lancashire in 1871 voted £4650 for agricultural instruction—more than a third of its net technical education income. They engaged Dr. Webb, the principal of the successful Agricultural College at Aspatria, to itinerate the county, lecturing on the subject, and offered six agricultural scholarships of £60 a year and 24 of £15, open to children or parents with less than £300 a year. But the lectures were thought very unpractical by the farmers, and above their heads, and were given up after only a few were delivered, while not a single competitor appeared for any of the scholarships. Next year a new lecturer was engaged, but only four persons attended the whole course—all farmers' sons. A Saturday course for farmers was given, but only four farmers attended and half a score other persons.

But other counties have had better experience. Even in Devon, where the farmers' opposition is the subject of so much complaint, the agricultural chemistry classes seem to have been fairly well attended. In 1891–2, 163 went up for examination, and 73 passed. In the North Riding the agricultural lectures were attended last year by 757 farmers, who took great interest in them, and came often eight miles to be present. Bedford having given 33 elementary school teachers an eighteen days' summer course in agriculture under competent instructors, 21 of those teachers opened agricultural classes in the following year, and the classes had a total attendance of 618, of whom 422 were farm lads. The lectures, moreover, are stated to have spread abroad amongst the rural classes a marked spirit of inquiry. In East Surrey many of the smaller farmers have readily adopted the lecturers' suggestions as to manures, methods of cultivation, and the prevention of disease. Aberdeenshire opened evening classes in agricultural chemistry, botany, natural history, and geology, in different districts, and these classes in 1891 had a total membership of 2210, exclusive of many other occasional attenders, and in 1892 of 1789. After the lectures questions were asked and a discussion took

place. Much interest was roused in every district the lecturers visited, and their advice was sought by local farmers about the treatment of the soil, the choice of manures, and the diseases of crops. The only drawback felt was that the course was too short—two nights a week for five weeks—and in the second year it was prolonged to six weeks. The Council is now devising subsidiary classes to prepare for these lectures, and also some connection from these lectures with the university. In Warwickshire the agricultural lectures are more successful now than they were at first, and the previous failure is attributed to the want of qualified teachers, who should have had practical training in farming as well as scientific proficiency. In Cumberland the attendance had also improved since former years, and was last year 350. In Oxford the attendance was very large, but included only a small proportion of agriculturists; while in Derby, where the attendance last year was also satisfactory, it was composed chiefly of persons engaged in agriculture and horticulture, with a few school teachers.

A few counties have spent considerable sums on experimental farms and agricultural colleges. Cheshire has hired a farm of 16½ acres, paid £1500 for stocking it, and gives £800 a year for providing instruction at it. Northumberland and Durham have jointly founded an agricultural side in the Durham College of Science, Newcastle. The West Riding makes a grant for the same purpose to the Yorkshire College at Leeds; Derby to the Firth College, Sheffield; Glamorgan and Monmouth to University College, Bangor. Kent and Surrey have built between them a new agricultural college at Wye, which has an agricultural farm attached to it. Cheshire has set aside £5000 for building and £1000 for equipping a new agricultural college for the county, which is to cost £12,000. Shropshire set aside last year £1000 for a county agricultural college; East Sussex is building one at Uckfield. This multiplication of county colleges is obviously mere waste. When a student must leave home to attend a college it matters not whether the college is in his county or beyond it, and it would be much more economical for County Councils to follow the example of Northumberland and Durham, and give a grant for the creation of an agricultural faculty at some existing provincial college, than spend £12,000 in building one of its own, and thousands more in keeping it up. Staffordshire proposes to contribute £200 a year to the agricultural department of Mason College if Warwick and Worcester will do the same.

Lectures on bee-keeping and poultry-keeping have been given in many counties, and are universally very popular. Even in Lancashire, where the agricultural lectures were disliked, 2000 people received instruction last year in bee-keeping. For the agricultural labourers there were lectures on agricultural engineering in Devon, and on the

mechanics of the farm in Oxford—largely attended and greatly appreciated. Many counties give instruction in ploughing, hedging, ditching, stacking, thatching, farriery. The Berkshire travelling horse-shoeing van, with two forges and anvils, has been very popular with smiths, who have written the County Council expressing their great sense of the benefit derived from it.

The mining counties have established mining schools and mining classes which have, on the whole, been very successful. The West Riding and Derby have at a cost of £600 employed peripatetic lecturers from Firth College, Sheffield, who gave last year thirty-one courses of ten and twelve lectures in each, and who report that, though in one or two centres their lectures were practically failures, the attendance at the great majority of the centres exceeded their expectations. There was a better attendance in North Derby than in South Derby, because the North Derby miners had already since 1882 been in the habit of attending mining classes at Sheffield, and a general interest in the instruction had been thereby diffused among the population. The total attendance at all the classes was 1725, chiefly miners, with a few clerks and teachers, and many of them came long distances in bad weather: 314 passed the examination. In Notts the coal-mining classes in 1891-2 were attended by 955, of whom 263 passed; and arrangements have now been made for a two years' course in mining at University College, Nottingham, on Saturday afternoons in winter, and eight scholarships are provided for enabling the better students at the local classes to attend this Saturday afternoon course. The Warwickshire lecturer reports good and increasing attendances, especially of working lads from the mines—altogether 173 at nine centres—and that there were 253 borrowers of the fifty-three books of the migratory mining library. In Northumberland the miners often came straight from the mine to the class without stopping to wash, and made magnets, magnetic needles, galvanic batteries, and other instruments, which have been several times used by the teacher in class demonstrations. Lancashire votes £500 for the Mining School of Wigan; Glamorgan is going to found a mining school; the North Riding gives £150 for a course to the Cleveland miners by professors of the College of Science, Newcastle; Somerset, Stafford, Gloucester, Cumberland, and Fife have all established lectures for their miners. The Derby Council says the miners have got great good from the lectures in their county; and the West Riding Council says they are setting an increased value on book-learning; but complaints are general that they are largely too ignorant of arithmetic and mathematics to profit sufficiently from the lectures they hear.

Some of the maritime counties have instituted lectures for fishermen on the natural history or the management and cure of fish,

or on the building and navigation of boats, which have been unusually successful. The County Council of Aberdeen were fortunate enough to secure the services of Professor Cossar Ewart of Edinburgh for a course of lectures at the various fishery stations round the coast of that county on the natural history of the cod, haddock, and herring; on the exhaustion of fishing-grounds, the treatment of fish after capture, &c.; and the houses were in most cases crowded with fishermen. The lectures excited great interest, and the Council thinks there can be as little doubt of their influence as of their popularity; no part of its work gave it more satisfaction. Professor Ewart is equally satisfied, and writes the Council recommending the establishment of a Fishery Institute for the North-east of Scotland, and that subject is now being considered. Cornwall is founding a fishery school on an elaborate scale for teaching fishermen navigation, boat-building, the natural history of fishes, their artificial culture, curing, barking nets, cooking, and swimming. Essex has lectures on marketable sea fishes, oyster culture, meteorology; East Suffolk on fish curing, and Kent on fish culture. Northumberland sent selected fishermen from their coasts to the Marine Schools of South Shields to learn navigation, and they have been set to teach their neighbours since they returned. Lancashire first engaged a local lecturer for its fishermen, whose lectures did not prove successful, but has since engaged Mr. Gregg Wilson, whose courses on the structure and habits, foods, bait and preparation of fish have been extremely successful. He spent a fortnight at each station, went out to sea with the fishermen in the morning, and lectured to them in the evening, with demonstrations by the lantern and the microscope. The Council report that this work "has given great satisfaction, the general feeling being that the fishermen have derived very great benefit from the instruction they have received."

No doubt much of the best work which is being done under the assistance of the beer-money is done in the towns, but less information has been published regarding their doings than regarding the doings of the counties, and the general character of this very busy and diversified movement may be gathered from the work of the latter.

The work has been done under adverse conditions—done on short notice, with imperfect means, on unprepared materials; but it seems to show in every county a sufficient promise of practical fruit to prevent its being rashly abandoned. But though there is no probable danger of the money being diverted from technical education, it would be advantageous if it were secured permanently to that destination by statute; for at present hesitation sometimes arises about embarking on particular undertakings on account of the uncertainty of the continuance of the grant, and it is felt to be a

decided drawback by some local authorities that they cannot raise a loan on the grant, as they could if it were known to be permanent.

So far as yet appears, the worst deficiencies which the experience of the last three years has revealed—the deficiencies which most prevent the effectual diffusion of technical instruction—are, firstly, the startling illiteracy of the men and the lads who have passed the standards, the evanescence of the education they carried with them from the public school; and secondly, the general want of the means of good secondary instruction. Much of the time and money spent on technical education in the last three years has been as good as wasted, because those who came to the classes were very generally too ignorant to benefit by the instruction they came to receive. No complaint is more frequently made than that. Boys had forgotten their writing and their arithmetic almost entirely since they left school, from mere want of occasion to keep them up. They could not take notes of what they heard, because they could not write well enough. They could make no advance on some of the subjects they most wanted to be taught, because they knew no arithmetic, or none but a few rules dealing with money, and other subjects were darkness to them for want of a little elementary mathematics. The West Riding County Council has found that the majority of the technical students are too ill-educated to profit by technical classes, and that they are specially weak in arithmetic. The Warwickshire mining lecturer complains of having to waste much of his time in teaching the miners simple arithmetical rules. The Principal of Firth College says that 60 per cent. of the candidates at coal-mining examinations failed to obtain 25 per cent. of the marks in arithmetic, and none obtained half. Moreover, as will have been already divined, the pupils who go up for examination at all are only a minority, sometimes a small minority, of the whole classes; and the reason why the rest refrain, as is stated in the Derby Report of 1893, is mainly this, that they find the higher instruction beyond their powers, since they are unacquainted with arithmetical and mechanical principles. From many counties complaints are heard that the rural population is too ignorant to appreciate agricultural lectures or compete for agricultural scholarships. We have been spending large sums on the education of the people for the last twenty years, and discover after all that we cannot teach them their trade because they have not yet been taught their letters.

The effectual cure for that would, of course, be to extend the term of compulsory attendance, either at day or evening schools, till a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic and other elementary branches is acquired; but much could be done, even under existing arrangements. The revelation of the evanescence of the education young artisans have undergone at the day schools comes upon us simultaneously with

the provision by the Education Department of greater facilities for the continuation of their education at night schools. No doubt the growth of such schools will be greatly promoted under the joint influence of the young artisans' demand and the Department's assistance. But, as the law stands at present—or rather, as it has been interpreted by the Science and Art Department—if these artisans go to these schools for their writing or their arithmetic, the County Councils are prohibited from making the grant they would otherwise readily give for their instruction in mechanics, or chemistry, or any other technical subject, and they must postpone their technical education till they have finished their elementary. They are thus needlessly obliged to lose one or two of the best and most valuable years of their life for technical training—the very seedtime for it—although there is no good reason why they should not be proceeding with their technical training in certain branches merely because they have still to pass through the preparatory discipline necessary for certain others. Being awakened to a sense of their deficiencies, they are likely to be very willing learners, and deserve juster treatment than to be denied the assistance of the county grants for their technical instruction, simply because they are trying to recover some knowledge of the three R's.

Mr. Acland's reply to the deputation that waited on him about this subject, if I gather it aright from its imperfect reports, was that the School Boards had ample funds and powers to supply this class of pupils with both the elementary and the technical education they wanted, and that the County Council grants ought to be reserved for the more advanced technical instruction. He objected to the system of double grants—grants under the Evening Continuation School Code and grants from the County Council—being earned by the same pupil in the same subject; but that raises a different question. The technical subjects on which instruction is wanted are often outside those taught by the School Boards. Instruction in the ventilation of mines and cognate subjects is usually given, and must continue to be given, by a special lecturer, who travels from place to place, and not by the resident teacher under a local School Board; but a miner who is brushing up his arithmetic cannot attend the County Council lecturer's classes on ventilation and earn a grant. A needless disability is thus put on the inquiring miner, pursuing knowledge already under sufficient difficulties, and its removal ought not to be a controverted question at all. The question of double grants may have two sides; this really has not.

Then as to the question of double grants, it is not disputed that large numbers of evening technical classes are kept up at present in consequence of enjoying the double grant, which would have to be abandoned if either grant were withdrawn. Without the County Council

grant, the grant of the Education Department would, by itself, be too small to encourage into existence classes enough to meet the present proved demand. If, then, on the other hand, the Department grant were withdrawn to meet the present demand, the County Council must needs increase its grant till it equalled the amount obtained from both the grants now; so that, if the thing continues to be thought worth doing, it must take as much public money one way as another. Then—though it is no doubt logically more perfect to say, give to the School Board the things that belong to the elementary school, and give to the County Council the things that belong to the higher technical instruction—it will be found practically much more advantageous and workable for the County Councils and the School Boards to co-operate about some provisions for the less advanced forms of technical instruction where their respective spheres join.

The second main deficiency revealed to us is the want of facilities for good secondary education. The primary school teachers, or instructors of like attainments, may suffice for giving the rank and file of the industrial army the general technical training they need; but the training of the officers requires a higher stamp of instructors and a finer class of appliances than are found in the elementary schools. If the technical instruction scheme is to be effective, it must be supplemented, not only by a system of continuation night schools, but by a system of secondary schools. This will no doubt be costly, but there is no better reproductive expenditure than expenditure on popular education. The manufacturers tell us that the ordinary educated workman turns out, in consequence of his education, a fourth more work in the year than the illiterate, and it is quite impossible to calculate the increase of wealth to all that comes from the training and skill of inventors and designers and managers. It would be a pity, however, if the proposal of the promoters of last year's Secondary Education Bill were adopted, and the beer-money, which is small enough already for technical instruction, were to be made available also for general education in secondary schools. Of course it is now available, and rightly available, for promoting the technical side of education in secondary schools; and indeed complaints are raised, chiefly by the friends of the evening continuation schools, that far too much of it has gone to those schools already, and that other tendencies are at work, both in County Councils and in Parliament, which threaten to take every penny away from the evening schools, the schools of the working class, and give it all to the secondary schools, the schools of the middle class.

But these complaints, though not always entirely without occasion, are founded on a very exaggerated view of the facts, and are, I cannot help thinking, somewhat illiberal in their spirit. Taking the last

point first, it is not fair to represent a provision for secondary education as a provision for the middle class alone. The working class have quite as much interest in secondary education as the middle class. The numerous body of scholarships founded by the County Councils are in idea, and where they have been duly safeguarded by further conditions they are in fact, bridges for the cleverer children of the working class going from the primary to the secondary school, and rising to the professional positions for which their abilities qualify them. They open the careers to the talents according to the old democratic principle. I say that is their idea, and if some counties do not attach to them conditions which assure the practical fulfilment of that idea, then what the working man's friend ought to do is to try to get such conditions imposed; what he ought not to do is to represent secondary education and scholarships to secondary schools as things in which the working class has no interest, and from which it can derive no benefit. The secondary school is the place where the heads of the world of labour are to receive their training, and the working man has an interest in it, first, because it gives him and his children the chance of becoming heads in the world of labour; and second, because, even if he does not become a head himself, he has all the same the most vital pecuniary interest in the professional efficiency of those who do. Brisk work and good wages depend greatly on that.

Then as to the allegation that "the whole of the grants now available for technical instruction are in imminent danger of being appropriated for the benefit of the class who are well able to take care of themselves," and "for the exclusive use of secondary schools," there is really nothing in the facts to justify so wild an alarm. Mr. Acland has indeed declared that the evening continuation schools ought to be supported from the Education Department grants; but he declared, at the same time, that if these grants were as high as he would like to see them, the evening schools would not suffer even though they lost the grants of the County Council; and he has done so much for these schools already that, if we are to assume anything about his intentions at all, the right assumption surely is that he would not be willing to see them deprived of their present grants before they had got an equivalent. Then, although some County Councils are reducing the number of their classes and increasing the number of their scholarships, and some are saving up considerable balances every year for the purpose of assisting the foundation and equipment of secondary schools, these circumstances afford on examination no relevant ground for the alarm based on them. Counties are decreasing the number of their dairy, cookery, or other classes, mainly because they can no longer find pupils to attend them. The young women in a village centre who want dairy or cookery instruction run

soon exhausted, and it is necessary to wait for a few years till a new race of them has risen, before opening a class there on the same subject again. Oxford has given up its agricultural classes, because agriculturists would not attend them, and founded a £50 scholarship with the money; Notts opens mining classes at twelve centres instead of sixteen, and devotes the money saved to a mining scholarship; but the scholarship in both cases is meant for the same class of people as the classes. It may or may not be a mistake for Notts to reduce its mining classes and found a mining scholarship, but it is certainly not taking the people's bread and giving it to the middle class. The mining classes are attended mostly by miners, and the scholarship was restricted to pupils in the classes.

The Technical Education Committee of Berkshire last year recommended the discontinuance of a number of popular evening classes on the ground of their want of success, though their failure has manifestly not lain in deficient numbers of attenders. During the previous two years, 227 evening lectures had been delivered on horticulture, agriculture, health, farriery, and machinery, and the average attendance at them was forty-nine. These were now to be given up, but it was not proposed to spend any of the £600 thereby saved in grants to secondary schools, and only £50 was added to the scholarships (agricultural) grant. But £400 was to be given to open new classes of laundry work, and £400 on a migratory school of instruction in farriery.

On the other hand, some counties—Derby and Wilts for example—are reducing their scholarships, and most counties are increasing their classes. Evening continuation classes are rapidly multiplying all over the land. The counties which are increasing their scholarships most noticeably—the West Riding for example—are also increasing their evening schools most noticeably.

Then, as to the accumulation of balances for the future establishment of secondary schools, the total amount of the balances accumulated by the County Councils is probably very considerable, though we must wait for Lord Norton's return before we have exact information about this. But they have not as a rule been accumulated for any definite purpose, and where they have been explicitly reserved for secondary education, and seem even high in amount, that cannot be taken to imply any indifference to the more elementary and popular forms of technical instruction. Derbyshire, for example, has been pointed out as a prominent offender. Derbyshire has accumulated £15,000, which it means to spend on grammar and secondary schools when the Secondary Education Bill is passed. But Derby is one of the most active counties in promoting evening continuation classes, and has as many as 6500 pupils attending them. It also promotes science and art classes very largely, and has successful

classes in agriculture, fruit-growing, dairying, mining, cooking, and so on. It is, moreover, as I have said, giving up some of its scholarships. It found when it began its work that there was only one grammar school located within its jurisdiction. What it is more than usually short of is good means of secondary instruction, and in giving its grants to such secondary schools as it found, it lays down the explicit condition that the schoolhouse, teachers, and apparatus are to be available for evening classes, so that it is specially mindful of the requirements of working men even in its provision for secondary education. When a county so circumstanced and so minded lays by a large sum for secondary education purposes, it may be inferred that it is well needed, and that it will be neither saved nor applied so as in any way to cripple any of the other branches of the county's technical work.

County Councils have never during the last three years shown any sign whatever of a disposition to interest themselves exclusively in secondary schools. On the contrary, they are interesting themselves ~~much~~ much more in a variety of other agencies and kinds of educational work, and there is no reason to think that if the Secondary Education Bill were to pass, they would immediately fling all other interests to the winds, and give their whole soul and means to secondary schools. They could do that now if they chose, but they don't.

JOHN RAE.

OUR MOST DISTINGUISHED REFUGEE.

OF no man in Europe are more diverse opinions held than of Prince Kropotkine. To one section of society he is the Red Flag personified ; to another he is the Sermon on the Mount incarnate. Some even of those who know him well are convinced that by nature he is a poet, and that he passes his days indulging in beautiful dreams ; others, equally well able to judge, maintain that he is a scientist pure and simple, with no thought beyond the verification of his theories ; others again declare that he is a revolutionist of the most dangerous type, one whose sole aim in life is the destruction of everything the orthodox hold dear. He is depicted as a grand seigneur who never allows those around him to forget his rank, and as a democrat of democrats who is hail fellow well met with the riff-raff of the Continent. His moderation and his extravagance, his infinite humanity and his ruthlessness, are in turn lauded or condemned as the case may be ; and he is dubbed, in equal good faith, St. Francis d'Assisi, Danton, and—Don Quixote.

Peter Kropotkine is a member of a family which held high rank in Russia before ever the Romanoffs appeared there. He was born in Moscow in 1842. His father, Prince Alexis, was a man of mark in his day ; and his mother was notable alike for her beauty, intelligence, and kindness. She devoted herself to improving the condition of the serfs on her estate, and passed much of her time among them, teaching them and trying to make them understand the whys and wherefores of things. Unfortunately for them, as for her young family, she died in 1845. The household serfs at the Château—there were some fifty of them—gave an odd proof of their devotion to her memory when, a few years later, Prince Alexis brought home a second wife. They entered into a solemn compact to watch over her

three children and see that they were treated by their step-mother with due consideration. They even went so far as to give the lady a hint as to how she must comport herself towards her new relatives. Needless to say, their well-intentioned zeal did not contribute to the peace and comfort of the household.

Until he was fifteen Prince Kropotkine was educated at home with his brother. He was then sent to the Corps des Pages, an institution where noblemen's sons are trained to be courtiers as well as soldiers. He arrived at St. Petersburg at a time of intense public excitement. The Czar Nicholas had died two years before, and with him the old state of things had passed away. The nation had sung a solemn *Te Deum* over its former deities, and was seeking with passionate earnestness others to enshrine in their place. Every one, from the sovereign to the serf, was eager for change; and the very air was alive with Utopian projects. The emancipation was to be only the first of many reforms; for there was never a doubt in those days but that the Russian millennium was at hand. The spirit of general unrest had spread even into the Corps des Pages, where the boys—soon Kropotkine foremost of them all—used to discuss social problems and frame constitutions when they would have been better employed battling. They were all revolutionists, of course—a fact, however, which by no means detracted from their loyalty; for in their very wildest schemings they counted on the Czar as a leader. The Prince when a page passed much of his time at Court, where he was brought into close intercourse with the members of the Imperial family, some of whom have a kindly feeling for him even now for the sake of these old days. He remained at the Military College until he was twenty: then, to the unbounded astonishment of his friends, instead of joining the Imperial Guards, he applied for a commission in the Cossacks of the Amur. These commissions are by no means in great request; for most Russian officers go to Siberia only when they are sent. He therefore received an appointment at once, that of aide-de-camp to General Kukel, the Governor of Transbaikalia.

It chanced that a few days before Kropotkine arrived at Irkutsk, his chief received peremptory orders from the Central Government to have a report drawn up on the condition of the prisons in the district. Some sensational stories of the horrors of prison-life in Siberia had, it seems, reached St. Petersburg just when the enthusiasm for reform was at its height; and the report was to pave the way for making a clean sweep all round. General Kukel was anxious the work should be undertaken at once; but, as usual in Siberia, there was no one to do it: his officers all declared they had as much on their hands already as they could manage. When the new aide-de-camp appeared, therefore, he was hailed with delight; and the Governor at once set him to work to collect information for the report. This task, as

Kropotkine soon found, was no easy one; for in spite of his having at his back the authority of the Czar, the prison officials began by resenting his inquiries as an insult, and thwarting him at every turn. Still, boy as he was, he had keen eyes and plenty of wits; and by dint of patience and tact he at length succeeded in winning the confidence of those with whom he had to deal: the battle was then half won. He visited every prison in Transbaikalia, and wherever he went he insisted on seeing everything for himself. And very ghastly were some of the sights he saw, so ghastly that he would have thrown up his work in despair but for his firm belief that there would soon be an end to all this terrible suffering. When the Czar once knew what things were being done in his name all would be changed. In those days his faith in the Czar was unwavering.

The years he spent in Siberia have undoubtedly had an all-powerful influence on Prince Kropotkine's character and career. When he arrived there he was a boy, with all a boy's optimism and generous enthusiasm, firm in his faith that bright days were at hand, and eager to have a share in hastening their coming. Never did any human being start life with a more intense desire to help his fellows. There is something almost pathetic in the ardour with which he threw himself into that work by which, as he believed, the misery of many a prisoner would be lessened. He was so sure, too, that the whole world was bent, just as keenly as he was, on righting wrong and making the rough places of life smooth. Then came the awakening, and a rude one it was. Even before Kropotkine left St. Petersburg, Milutine had fallen; and there were rumours abroad that the tide was turning, that the Czar was becoming from day to day less eager to adapt himself to constitutional ways. The Prince had not been long in Siberia when he heard men tell how they had seen Mikhailoff, the poet by whom Young Russia swore, arrive in chains, on his way to the mines, and how they had sat side by side with him at that famous banquet the Governor gave in his honour. It was but a sorry affair, however, this banquet, they declared, for the guest of the evening recited a sort of funeral dirge, one to which those around him listened with pallid cheeks and a troubled look in their eyes. The most feather-brained know that it bodes ill for the future when singing of freedom is made a crime. Then General Kukel was removed, for his local government scheme for Siberia—which Kropotkine had had a hand in drawing up—was much too thoroughgoing to please his superiors. The Governor sent to replace him was an official of the orthodox type, who speedily put a stop to what he called "the reform mania." He even refused to sign the prison report, and changed his mind only when he knew what its fate would be. It was sent to headquarters, and never heard of afterwards. As time passed, the Prince saw men whom he honoured thrust aside,

one after another, their life's work undone by a stroke of the pen ; he saw protesters against injustice treated as criminals ; reformers forced to give up their task in sheer despair. He came, too, across Polish exiles—some of the 40,000 then in Siberia—who told him strange, wild tales of the things that were being done in their country. Evidently Alexander II. had tired of his rôle as the Liberal Czar. It was a terrible time this, when the Prince first began to doubt whether those beautiful schemes for the regeneration of the Empire of which he had heard so much, even at Court, would ever be tried ; whether, indeed, the Czar had ever intended that they should be tried. Fortunately he had not much time to indulge in this sort of speculation, for he had been appointed Attaché for Siberian affairs to the Governor-General of Eastern Siberia, and was busy winning his spurs as an explorer.

He organised a series of expeditions into the more remote parts of Eastern Siberia and Manchuria. He crossed from Transbaikalia to Merghen, and thence to the Amur ; and he was on board the first steamer that ever forced its way up the Sungari. Travelling in these regions was then no child's play. The Prince and his companions were often cut off, for the month together, from all intercourse with the civilised world ; and must rely on their guns for food, and for shelter on any chance cave they could find. It was during these expeditions that Kropotkin first developed that power of adapting himself to circumstances which is now so notable a feature of his character. He made light of hardships at which the roughest of the Cossacks grumbled, and when things were at the worst had a cheery greeting for every one he met. After roving about for three years, always on the alert for adventure, he returned to St. Petersburg in 1867, and entered himself as a student at the University.

In St. Petersburg he met with a warm welcome. The reports which he had published in the "Memoirs of the Imperial Geographical Society" had even then secured for him high rank both as an author and an explorer, while some odd stories which were afloat of his knight-errantry, and of the devotion with which he was regarded by the rough Cossacks, had won for him a certain amount of popular favour. The brilliancy of his conversation, too, and the charm of his manner, made friends for him wherever he went ; and the very waywardness with which he was credited only served to render him the more interesting. The Czar, it is true, looked on him somewhat askance, but the Grand Dukes and Duchesses were lavish in their kindly attentions, and he was fêted and made much of by all sorts and conditions of men. He was only twenty-six at this time, and the ball was at his feet : there was hardly a position in the Empire to which he might not then have aspired. But no man was ever less inclined to turn to his own advantage the gifts the gods gave him. If he had ever had any taste for Court society or official life, he had

lost it in the wilds of Siberia. Ceremonious entertainments were to him then as now simply intolerable. Besides, as he soon found, he was thoroughly out of touch with his surroundings.

The St. Petersburg to which he returned was a very different place from the St. Petersburg he had quitted five years before. He had been prepared to find it changed, but not so changed. The Reactionists had gained the upper hand; Count Tolstoi was all-powerful, and the very word "reform" was tabooed. Men whom he had left extolling liberty, equality, and fraternity, now dwelt with unction on the dangers of Constitutionalism. Abuses were rife on every side; the officials were as venal and high-handed as in the days of Nicholas; and the people at large were as completely at their mercy. And the Czar looked on the while with indifference. He had lost faith in his subjects, and was as fiercely opposed to sharing his power with them as ever his father had been. Kropotkin soon began to realise that, if Russia were to be saved, it must be from below, not above, by hard blows, not autocratic decrees. Alexander II. had had his chance and had missed it. Still, for a man of the Prince's nature, it is no easy thing to break away from early ties, early associations. Although profoundly discontented with the condition of his country during the four years he was at the University, he held himself determinedly aloof from all political movements. Plunged heart and soul in the study of science and mathematics, he paid scant attention to what was passing in the world around him.

When, in 1871, his college course was over, Kropotkin undertook, at the request of the Geographical Society, to make a survey of Finland. While engaged in this work he was painfully impressed by the signs of poverty he met with. At every turn he came across sober, industrious men and women, who, although they worked from early morning until late at night, and pinched and saved, hardly knew what it was to have enough to eat. To him there was something unutterably terrible in the lives of these people: in their hand-to-hand struggle against starvation; in their toil which ends only in the grave. Go where he would, he could not shake off the remembrance of the scenes he witnessed; the faces of the women haunted him; the cries of their children for bread rang in his ears. Some time previously there had fallen into his hands that old calculation of Prudhon's which has won for Socialism so many converts. Providing all had share and share alike, men, women, and children would have five sons each a day. And what if they had ten, or even twenty? So long as some spend hundreds, others must be left with never a sou at all. And as he thought of these things—of the terrible injustice that prevails in the world; of the ceaseless self-sacrifice imposed on one section of humanity for the sake of the other; of the many who are condemned to starve that the few may revel in luxuries—he was seized with an intense hatred and loathing, blind and unreason-

ing perhaps, but absolutely sincere, for this social system of ours which tolerates such iniquities. It is bad beyond redemption, he holds, and must be torn up root and branch.

Once convinced of the necessity of a social révolution, Prince Kropotkine set to work to consider how he could best help to bring it about. He went to Belgium to see how the workers lived there, and found them sunk in poverty. He then passed on to Switzerland, where he was brought into close relations with some of the members of the Internationale, better class working men for the most part. He was much struck by the feeling of universal brotherhood that existed among them, and he joined their association. He then hastened back to Russia, where the Tchaykovsky stood sorely in need of a helping hand.

The Tchaykovsky can hardly be classed as a revolutionary association; its aim was in a great measure educational. The leaders of the revolutionary movement were keenly alive to the fact, that the real obstacle to progress in Russia lies in the ignorance of the masses. It is no good expecting men to fight for constitutional rights who have no conception of the meaning of the term; and in those days not one in thirty, even among the artisan class, had ever heard of such a thing as a constitution. Eighty-five per cent. of the population could neither read nor write; and the mind of the ordinary working man was simply a blank so far as anything worth knowing was concerned. As the Government would do nothing to put an end to this state of things, the Tchaykovsky undertook to do the work for them, and in spite of them. A number of young people of education and position agreed to "*idti w norod*," i.e. to go to the people, to live among them, and to try by the force of personal influence and sympathy to rouse them from the apathy, moral and intellectual, in which they were sunk. It was to have a share in this work that Kropotkine returned to Russia, carrying his life in his hand, as he well knew.

During the day he went about, disguised as a painter, from workshop to workshop, making friends among the men and winning their confidence. Then, in an evening he held classes for them, led debates and gave lectures. The Prince has an innate genius for teaching; St. Petersburg was thronged with men eager to learn: his attic, therefore, was crowded night after night, although every one who went risked imprisonment. Yet the subjects taught were by no means sensational; not, *notu bene*, the uses of dynamite, or anarchist theories, but physical science and political economy, with perhaps a little sociology thrown in. No doubt from time to time the authorities were roughly handled in the debates: men are apt to lose their tempers, when, on their way to a night-school, they must play hide-and-seek with the police. Probably, too, Kropotkine did not measure his words when criticising his rulers. He holds that it

is an infamous thing for a government to keep a nation in thralldom ; and he said so roundly. He made no secret of the fact that he hoped the day was at hand when Russians would rise up and claim their liberty, as other nations had done before them. And he certainly did his utmost to hasten the coming of that day. Still, at these conferences of his there was no plotting, no conspiring. What he wished to do, and what he was striving to do, was to give to those men who flocked around him so eagerly, some of the advantages which would have come to them as a matter of course if they had been rich men's sons. He was trying to educate them, to interest them in political affairs, and to awaken in them a sense of personal dignity and responsibility. And this was counted unto him a crime. He had not been long in Russia before he knew that he was a marked man ; and at the beginning of 1874 several of his fellow-workers were arrested. His friends entreated him to leave the country ; and, if prudence were one of his characteristics, he would certainly have done so. It chanced, however, that he had written, for a conference of the Imperial Geographical Society, a paper on the glacial period ; and as he knew that it would be attacked, he was determined to read it himself. He was warned again and again of the risk he was running, but he must, and would, defend his theory, he said. And defend it he did most brilliantly and successfully. And on the morrow he was arrested.

The next two years and a half of his life he spent in prison, awaiting his trial which, as every one knew, would never come. He was confined in the Peter and Paul Citadel, where he was lodged in what had been a casemate. It was badly lighted, badly ventilated, and so damp that great drops of moisture stood on the walls. In this place he was shut up the whole day long, excepting for some twenty minutes thrée times a week, when he was allowed to walk in the court-yard. He had nothing to do, nothing to read, not a soul to speak to ; for even the jailers did not answer when he addressed them. No sound, but the tinkling of the city bells and the tread of the sentinels, ever entered the cell ; he was as completely cut off from his kind as if he had been in the grave. It is true the Grand Duke Nicholas more than once paid him a friendly visit, to try to make him see the errors of his way ; to try, too, by subtly-worded arguments and delicately offered bribes, to induce him to betray the cause he had embraced. Needless to say, his Imperial Highness met with scant return for the trouble he took. Alexander Kropotkine, who was in Switzerland, hastened home when he heard of his brother's arrest. As he knew there was no chance of the Prince's being released on honourable terms—for the Czar resented as a personal insult his having thrown himself on the side of the people—he worked night and day trying to obtain permission for him to see his friends from time to time, and have books and writing materials. In this he

succeeded, for he induced the Imperial Geographical Society to make a personal appeal to the Czar, that Kropotkine might be allowed to finish a scientific work on which he was engaged. The petition was granted, and two volumes of the "Glacial Period" were written in the Peter and Paul Prison.

Prince Alexander paid a terrible penalty for his devotion to his brother. A letter, written in a moment of anger at the treatment to which Kropotkine was subjected, fell into the hands of the authorities, and on the strength of it he was arrested. No charge could be formulated against him, for, although a pronounced Liberal, he was, as all the world knew, a peace-loving man, one who had no sympathy with violent ways or revolutionary methods. Still he was Peter Kropotkine's brother, and this relationship was a criminal offence in official eyes. While he was in prison, one of those little episodes occurred which go far to explain how Nihilists and regicides are made. He had one child, a little boy of remarkable intelligence, who was to him as the very apple of his eye; he literally worshipped him. And the news was brought to him that he was dying. He had but one thought—to go to him at any cost. He appealed to the Chief of the Police, pledged his word that if he would but let him go he would return within an hour; showed him how, by sending soldiers with him, he could insure his return. He was willing to promise anything, to do anything, so long as he might see his child before he died. But the Chief of the Police refused to let him go. The child died, and the father was sent to Siberia. St. Petersburg society is not easily disturbed by administrative eccentricities, but the news of Alexander Kropotkine's fate excited general consternation. People were sure there was some mistake, that the Czar had been deceived. A petition was drawn up setting forth the facts of the case, and proving the absurdity of suspecting him of treason. This was placed in the Czar's own hand by the Prince Kropotkine who was later murdered by the Nihilists. Alexander II. read it, threw it aside, and when someone reminded him that Prince Alexander was already in Siberia, his only remark was, "Qu'il y reste." And stay there he did, until he found life intolerable; then he made his escape by the only means in his power. Yet it is hurled at Peter Kropotkine as a crime that, when this Czar was murdered, he expressed no word of regret.

Meanwhile Kropotkine was in a fever of anxiety, for the officials, while allowing him to know of Alexander's arrest, refused him any further information. This anxiety, combined with the terrible solitude, close confinement, and insufficient food, told on his health, and it became necessary to remove him to the prison hospital. This gave him the opportunity for which he had long been waiting. If he were to escape it must be while in the hospital. It was his one chance, a chance, too, of which his friends felt the most must be made, let the risk be what it might; for a remark of the Czar's, "Il faut

finir de ce Kropotkine," had excited well-grounded fear for his safety. The Prince, when taking his daily walk in the court, noticed that while kindling was being brought into the prison the gate stood open. He decided to make a rush for it, on the chance of being able to reach the carriage his friends promised to have waiting outside. It was a risky affair at best, for on either side of him walked a sentinel with a loaded gun, and if they ran straight they could be at the gate as soon as he was. By means of some elaborate mathematical calculations, however, the Prince had convinced himself that they would run in a curve; and the result proved that he was right. Still they might fire; besides, there were generally other soldiers in the court.

His friends arranged that, when the carriage was ready and the coast was clear, they would let fly a little red air-ball. But, oddly enough, such a thing was not to be found in St. Petersburg, and the Prince waited in vain for the signal. Then another signal was fixed upon—a certain number of bars to be played on a violin. The next day—it was the 12th of July, 1876—he heard the first bar, and he was sure the time had come. But the music stopped; something must have gone wrong. It began again, and again stopped. Death itself were better than such suspense. Then it began for the third time, and, at the last note, with one bound Kropotkine was at the gate. Once the sentry's bayonet touched his heel, and he thought all was lost. But on he rushed, as the very wind, in his race for liberty. The carriage was there, in he sprang, and was whirled away at a rate men travel but once in a lifetime.

The Prince, disguised as an officer, travelled through Sweden to Hull, and thence to Edinburgh. There he had at once to face that most prosaic of problems: how to earn his daily bread. He had but little money with him, and the Russian Government would, he knew, take good care that none was sent to him. He must therefore find work to do, and the only lucrative work he could do, was to write. He sent some papers on scientific subjects to *Nature*, and although his English in those days was somewhat peculiar, he soon became a regular contributor to that journal. He then came up to London, where he made a precarious livelihood by writing notes on Siberian affairs for the *Times* and other periodicals. As it was his intention to return to Russia as soon as possible, he was careful to conceal his identity; and this procured for him an amusing experience. The editor of a well-known scientific journal asked him one day to review Prince Kropotkine's "*Orography of Siberia*." It was an embarrassing position; he could hardly review his own book; yet it was difficult to decline the work without giving the reason. Besides, he could ill afford to decline it, for things were not going well with him just then. He went off, therefore, with the book under his arm, to think the matter over. Two hours later he returned, and said he really could not review Peter Kropotkine's book. "Why

not?" asked the editor. "Because I am Peter Kropotkin myself." The editor, however, failed to see that this was an impediment.

Kropotkin did not stay long in England; for there was work better worth doing in the world, he felt, than writing scientific pamphlets. In 1877 he went to Switzerland, where, as he was recognised, the Russian police began that careful watch over his movements which they have kept up to this day. As this put a stop to his project of returning to St. Petersburg, he decided to make Geneva his head-quarters while carrying on his propaganda against the existing social system. He held public conferences there; gave lectures to workmen; and, after a time, founded a newspaper, *La Révolte*. In *La Révolte* he published "Les Paroles d'un Révolté," a book which has had great influence on the social movement in France. It is a scathingly fierce denunciation of the present conditions of society, and an appeal, passionate, yet from its earnestness most pathetic, to all honest men and women to combine and put an end to these conditions, with all the misery they entail. How they could do this, if they chose, he shows them in his "Conquête du Pain," *un vrai poème*, if ever one were written, as M. Zola declares. A poem it certainly is, though in prose, and one of singular beauty; but whether it is also, as it claims to be, a practical scheme for the reorganisation of society is another question. It is exquisite in language, admirably moderate in tone, and bears the impress of its writer's intense humanity and sympathy. If society could be organised as he describes, on the basis of universal brotherhood, the Golden Age would begin; but the "if" is a big one. The Prince himself has never a doubt but that it could be, nay, that it will be, sooner or later. But then he is an enthusiast whose faith in his kind knows neither bound nor limit. He is firmly convinced that, if the roughest mob that ever saw light held London to-morrow, its first care would be to install the old and feeble in the warmest nooks, and set aside for their use the softest raiment and the most delicate food. Some of us have doubts on this point; our eyes are holden; hitherto we have failed to detect in loafers any traces of white wings.

"Les Paroles d'un Révolté" was hailed with enthusiasm as the new gospel; and the influence of its writer was spreading apace. Then came the murder of the Czar, a murder for which the Russian Government chose to hold the little band of refugees in Switzerland responsible. As a point of fact not one of them, as has since been proved, even knew the deed was to be done until some hours after it was done. Nor had Kropotkin ever written or spoken one word that could be construed into an incitement to do it. He maintains that it is an infamy for any man to urge his fellows to do what he is not prepared to do himself. Still, he did not feel called upon to pass judgment on what was at worst but "a wild, wrong way of righting wrong." He even published in the *Révolte* an article in

which he shows that this murder was the inevitable result of the Czar's own acts. If Alexander II. had kept faith with his subjects they would never have turned against him. This article afforded Russia a pretext for bringing strong pressure to bear on Switzerland, with the result that the Prince was requested to quit the country.

Shortly before he left Switzerland a curious incident occurred. He was informed, and his informant was a personage who then stood very near the Russian throne, that there was a plot on foot to kidnap him. Some police agents were to be sent into Switzerland in disguise, and the first time they came across the Prince in a lonely place, they were quietly to take possession of him. There was to be no noise, no fuss; he was simply to disappear. All the details of the scheme, and the names of the officials who were responsible for it, were given. He knew it was no good applying to the Federal Council for protection; he therefore decided to appeal to the *Times*. He sought out a well-known representative of that journal and told him exactly how the matter stood. Acting on his advice Kropotkin deposited in the *Times* office all the documents bearing on the affair; and informed the contrivers of the plot of what he had done; informed them, too, that if any evil befell him, these documents, names, dates, everything, would be published. "You will hear no more of it, you will see," his friend remarked; and he was right.

Kropotkin again took refuge in England, where he tried by writing and speaking to excite public opinion against Russia. He soon returned to the Continent, however, where he felt his special mission lay; and started an active propaganda among the French workers. He advocated the most extreme anarchist principles; denounced governments of all sorts and kinds, and denied their right either to make laws or to enforce obedience to them. Every man must do what is right in his own eyes, he maintains. As all are equal, no one, be he never so much député, minister, or Czar, may dictate to his fellow what he may do or what leave undone. "Do what you like, do as you like," he tells his followers; but he never fails to add: "Do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you." This is the text on which he founds his teaching; the one moral law before which he calls upon Anarchists to bow. Equality is the fundamental principle of Anarchism, and he holds that there can be no true equality unless men do as they wish to be done by, or rather as they ought to wish to be done by—something quite different, according to the interpretation placed upon his words by some of his disciples. Exploiteurs, it seems, ought to wish to be despoiled; and tyrants, to be dynamited. The Prince never directly nor indirectly incited to outrages; still, he is fiercely opposed to the existing social system, and he certainly exhorted his followers to do their utmost to destroy it; he is convinced that land, with all the

machinery of industry, ought to be in the hands of the workers, and he called upon them to prepare themselves to take possession of it. And when outrages followed, the authorities, not unreasonably perhaps, held him responsible.

During the winter of 1882 there was a series of strikes in the neighbourhood of Lyons. The hatred of class for class was intense : the capitalists were using their power ruthlessly, and the Government of the day was on their side. Men who have no faith in their rulers think little of defying the law, and the starving soon lose their heads. There were excited meetings, threats were uttered, and then came crimes. "This is the result of Kropotkin's teaching," cried the *bourgeoisie* ; and the Prince and fifty-nine of his fellow-workers were arrested. The trial began on January 18, 1883, in Lyons, and a strange one it was. The authorities had failed to prove any connection between Kropotkin and the men who had committed the outrages, and for obvious reasons they were unwilling to bring him to trial as a propagandist. The charge against him, therefore, was that of having reorganised the Internationale, which had been declared an illegal association. In support of it, however, no proof could be advanced ; indeed, the Chief of the Lyons Police confessed in court that he did not believe the Internationale had been reorganised at all. But the Cour Correctionnelle was not inclined to allow technical difficulties to interfere with its course. Kropotkin was an avowed Anarchist ; he was using his great influence among the workers for the spread of Anarchism ; therefore, whether or not he was guilty of the precise offence of which he was accused, he should be condemned. And condemned he was to five years' imprisonment. In connection with this trial it is significant that all who took part in the prosecution have since received Russian decorations.

If the French Government had imagined that, when Kropotkin was safe in Clairvaux, their troubles, so far as he was concerned, were at an end, they were very much mistaken. While the prisoner himself was quietly experimentalising in intensive farming (in a garden fifty feet square) his friends were carrying on an active agitation on his behalf. Every scientist of eminence in England signed a petition for his release ; and all sorts of grave and reverent associations, the Council of the British Museum among the number, followed their example. Several well-known journalists did yeoman service for him in the press, while in the Chambre des Députés M. Clémenceau and his friends organised a regular crusade. They flung his name at the Government upon all occasions, much as a matador flings a red rag at a bull. Whenever a minister indulged in high-flown sentiments, straightway a cry of "Et Pierre Kropotkin !" was raised. For the sake of peace the Prince would soon have been released, if Russia had not stood as a lion in the path. As it was, he remained in prison for three years, and he would have remained the full five but

for an accident. When the Amnesty question was under discussion, the Government was "heckled" most unmercifully; and, in a moment of irritation, M. de Freycinet gave as a reason for not releasing Kropotkine, that "*derrière lui était une question diplomatique.*" This admission was a blunder which could be atoned for only by the Prince's immediate release: France could not be allowed to rest under the imputation of keeping a man in prison for the sake of pleasing Russia. He was liberated by a decree of the President of the Republic on January 15, 1886. Whereupon the French ambassador in St. Petersburg was treated with such discourtesy by the Czar that he returned to Paris.

Since 1886 Prince Kropotkine has lived entirely in England, supporting himself by his own labour. He is exiled from his country, separated from many of those whom he cares for, and broken in health, for he has never shaken off the effects of those terrible years he spent in the Peter and Paul prison. He is held responsible, too—and this is the cruellest touch—for crimes which he has no power to prevent. Verily he has paid a heavy penalty for caring in his lot with those who toil. When men attack the Prince they forget sometimes that, if his love of the poor were less intense, he would never have become an iconoclast; and if he believed their wrongs could be righted by peaceful means, he would not now be a revolutionist.

Some years ago I once heard Prince Kropotkine give an address to his followers. It was the anniversary of some *dies funesta* or other in the Anarchists' calendar, and between two and three thousand of them were met in solemn conclave. And a motley set they were, the veriest Ishmaels; there was hardly one among them to whom the fates had not given more kicks than sous. They were thinly clad for the most part, though a keen east wind was blowing; and in the eyes of some of them there was that look men have when the grim wolf is within hail. Poverty, misery, wretchedness was stamped on their faces; evidently sufferance was the badge of their tribe. They scowled ominously as they talked; their eyes flashed, their fingers twitched, and the peace-loving found no edification at all in their remarks. Suddenly they sprang to their feet with wild cries of "*Pierre, notre Pierre!*" The Prince had taken his place on the platform. "*Mes amis,*" he began quietly; and as he spoke it seemed as if these men cast aside, at one fell swoop, all their evil feelings, their rage, their violence. For the moment they forgot they were pariahs against whom every man's hand is raised.

EDITH SELLERS.

FRENCH PRISONS AND THEIR INMATES.

“THE cleanest places in Paris.” Such was the conclusion of the famous prison reformer, John Howard, after a careful inspection of the prisons of the French capital. Howard made no less than three tours of inspection of these establishments (in 1776, in 1778, and in 1783), the results of which are embodied in his great work on the science of penology. It is true he failed to penetrate the Bastille, although, much to the astonishment of the officers in charge, he made a determined attempt; but with respect to the others he was entirely successful.

Howard did not find them so bad after all, being generally models of cleanliness, even their paved courts being washed twice a day. This satisfactory condition of the prisons was undoubtedly due in a great measure to the personal intervention of that kind-hearted and unfortunate monarch, so soon himself to be imprisoned and to suffer on the scaffold for the misdeeds of dead and gone occupants of his confiscated throne. Louis XVI. had, by an order of August 30, 1780, installed airy and spacious infirmaries, abolished all underground dungeons, and separated men and women, as well as the different classes of prisoners.

As far back as 1753, Paris possessed a Prison Society, founded by the Abbé Bréton, powerfully aided by royal and aristocratic patronage, which supplied prisoners with various sorts of assistance. Thus one cherished modern notion of charity was all forestalled. Each prison had also its high-born patroness, who at the Christmas church services made a collection, and supplied clothing to her *protégés*, and during the rest of the year bestowed food and assistance. The State only supplied the proverbial bread and water—a pound and a half of bread per day—charity adding much else.

The conditions of life have, however, changed since then, and a disposition to effect reform in the prison methods formerly adopted is apparent on all sides. The many elaborate works on penology, the appointment of Government Commissions, and the institution of international congresses, all go to show the public interest that is now taken in the treatment of the criminal in confinement. England so far has carefully refrained from taking part in the penitentiary congresses held every five years by delegates from the various countries of Europe and America. This policy of exclusiveness seems to be based on the special conditions of life existing in England. Although it may be admitted that penal discipline must vary greatly according to the law, the climate, and the habits of the people, there are still many important subjects discussed at these international conferences which are of interest to all, and where common action might be beneficial. Thus at the International Penitentiary Congress to be held in Paris next year, the question as to the advisability of generalising and uniting the processes relating to anthropometry, and the examination of the conditions under which an agreement could be recommended in this respect, will be considered. As far back as 1885 the advantages of M. Bertillon's system of anthropometry for the identification of criminals were fully demonstrated at the Congress held in Rome; yet in 1887 the British authorities had not even heard of it, and only in 1893 did they seriously consider the merits of the system which they at once adopted. The mere presence at a congress does not entail the acceptance of any resolution passed, whereas to know what other nations are doing is an advantage not to be denied.

That our prison administration requires reform is shown by the recent appointment by the Home Secretary of a Departmental Committee to inquire into various questions of prison management, such as to what extent juvenile and first offenders should be treated as classes apart; prison labour and occupation, with special reference to the moral and physical condition of the prisoners; regulations governing visits and communications with prisoners; regulations governing prison offences, &c. The Paris Congress of 1895 will show how many of these matters are dealt with in foreign countries, in addition to which an important international problem will be submitted for solution—namely, the best means to prevent the prostitution of minors, and whether it is not desirable to come to an understanding amongst the different countries with a view to prevent the prostitution of young girls placed abroad, and too often given over to professional vice by the manœuvres of certain persons or agencies.

The Home Secretary's committee having been appointed in response to the public interest taken in matters of prison life, a brief review, based on personal inquiry, of prison administration in France will perhaps be not uninteresting.

There are five classes of prisons in France, which are divided as follows: (1) prisons for long sentences; (2) prisons for short sentences; (3) correctional establishments for the young; (4) lock-ups; and (5) *dépôts* for convicts sentenced to relegation and hard labour. All these are within the jurisdiction of the penitentiary department of the Minister of the Interior. The prisons for long sentences (*Maisons Centrales*) are the property of the State; but since 1811 the prisons for short sentences (*Maisons d'Arrêt, de Justice et de Correction*) are the property of the department in which they are situated, in the same way that the lock-ups (*Chambres de Sûreté*) are at the cost of their respective towns or communes. The State pays all the expenses connected with the furniture, staff, keep of prisoners, and in fact everything relating to the penitentiary service, which is exclusively a service of the State. The Minister of the Interior also controls the organisation of private establishments where any persons under penitentiary authority are placed, such as correctional colonies.

By the law of June 5, 1875, it was enacted that the cellular system should be universally enforced, but that at the same time three days' imprisonment in a cell should reckon as four days of the sentence. Unfortunately the law did not compel the Departments to construct at once the necessary cellular accommodation, and thus after nineteen years we find that, although the State contributes towards the necessary expenses of these works, there are only twenty-three cellular prisons out of a total of 365 departmental prisons.* A *Conseil Supérieur des Prisons* was appointed under this law to see that these provisions are carried out. This *Conseil* consists of fifty-seven members, nineteen of whom must be selected from the two Houses of Parliament. Its advice on general penitentiary matters is not unfrequently sought by the Government of the day. It is divided into three committees: (1) to examine the plans and estimates of proposed buildings; (2) for the study of penitentiary regulations; (3) for all matters connected with prison labour. Two sessions must be held annually, but the Government may call them together as often as it thinks fit.

There has also been at the Ministry of the Interior, since March 6, 1886, a committee for the classification of habitual criminals (*Commission de classement des récidivistes*), composed of seven members representing the various services interested—namely, justice, penitentiary, and colonial administration. This committee examines into the case of each particular prisoner with the utmost care, and determines his ultimate destination, and how far any clemency is advisable.†

* Under a subsequent law (February 5, 1893) the transformation of the present prisons will proceed rapidly.

† By the law of August 14, 1895, a Minister of the Interior is empowered to liberate a prisoner of good conduct on the expiry of half the sentence, but in all cases three months at least must have been spent in prison.

A special characteristic of French prison government is that the establishments for little children, girls, and women are subject to the supervision of lady inspectors.

Considerable credit is due to the French system of adapting the labour and occupation of prisoners to useful ends, both physically and morally. All the trades taught are more or less useful to the prisoner after liberation, whilst in the long-term prison at Melun first offenders are put at once to learn the honourable art of printing. The workshops of the new prisons, which are gradually superseding the older structures, are centres of healthy, active life, with a scale of payment according to the work done. Labour is also proportioned to the prisoners' mental capacity, health, habits, and disposition. The question of recreation, too, is taken especially into account, thus not only reducing the monotony of prison existence, but forming an incentive to prisoners to industry and observance of discipline. Another point worthy of attention is the principle of enabling prisoners to preserve their self-esteem, evidenced by the various little rewards and distinctions conferred for good conduct and good service, as well as by the form of labour to which each is subjected. It may therefore be taken for granted that in the French *model* prison every effort is made in the direction of humanising the prisoner. Hence the intellectual side of life naturally plays a considerable part in the daily discipline. Each prisoner is obliged to attend school every day either as a pupil or a teacher. The subjects taught are varied and scholarly, including mathematics and foreign languages. In some prisons there is a brass band and a music-room. The mind is further enriched and solaced by occasional community readings, singing, and concerts. Brightness and cheerfulness accompany the daily promenade, the exercise yard being profusely planted with trees and flowers. As for spiritual requirements, priest, pastor, and rabbi have every facility for intercourse with the prisoners, of which they largely avail themselves. That other important subject, the stomach, is also not disregarded, for it is clear that efforts such as have been described above would be futile if spent on convicts whose only thought is a good "square meal." Here we have the French system of the canteen, which supplements out of the prisoners' earnings the ordinary dietary regulations, which of themselves are favourable, thus enabling the prisoner to live in comparative comfort. Finally, the question of outside communication is solved satisfactorily for the prisoner, who not only can see his relations several times during the week, even when under punishment, but may write home practically as often as he likes.

In the *Maisons Centrales*,* of which there are in France fourteen

* In addition there are two agricultural colonies in Corsica for long-term prisoners, as well as prisons in Algeria.

for men and five for women, the category of prisoners is made up of those condemned to reclusion for a period of from five to ten years, and those condemned to simple imprisonment for terms varying from one to five years. On December 31, 1891, the latest date to which the Government statistics refer, the total criminal population of the *Maisons Centrales* was—men, 10,054; women, 1,439; total, 11,493. The following table will afford additional evidence of the grave fact, realised in other countries as well as in France, that more than half the male prison population is made up of criminals between the ages of sixteen and thirty:

Age.	Men.	Per cent.	Women.	Per cent.
Over 16 and under 20 .	1,020	10.40	77	5.34
„ 20 „ 25 .	2,034	20.23	219	15.21
„ 25 „ 30 .	2,264	22.51	256	16.78
„ 30 „ 40 .	2,656	26.41	375	25.00
„ 40 „ 50 .	1,274	12.67	308	24.00
„ 50 „ 60 .	524	5.23	163	11.00
„ 60 „ 70 .	236	2.35	35	2.27
„ 70	46	.46	6	.40
	10,054	100	1,439	100

Of the above, 7045 men and 615 women had been previously convicted.

An account of a recent visit I paid to the well-known establishment at Melun, where only prisoners sentenced to five years and upwards are confined, will give a clear idea of a *Maison Centrale*. This prison is situated on the banks of the Marne, at the outskirts of the Forest of Fontainebleau, a distance of some thirty miles from Paris. On approaching the main entrance, one cannot help smiling at the French idea of writing up over the entrance of all their prisons, “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.” The cellular accommodation of this prison is for 664 prisoners, but at the time of my visit 64 cells were unoccupied. The system prevailing is that of community life during the day and perfect isolation at night, with strict silence at all times. The workshops are all situated on the ground-floor on each side of a long corridor. They are spacious, clean, well ventilated, and well lighted by skylights. The first we enter is the printing establishment, giving employment to 119 prisoners, all of whom, with the exception of three, were utterly ignorant of the mysteries of printing, composing, folding, and book-binding until they arrived here. Twelve presses, including lithographic machines, were at work. In this room are set up and printed

the elaborate reports, tables, forms, and statistics connected with the Ministry of the Interior. This room is exclusively confined to first offenders. The average earnings of each prisoner is 2.50 francs per diem.

Another workshop—the tailoring—is now giving occupation to fifty-four men, of whom only five are tailors by trade. The average daily earnings are 2.25 francs. The work done here is also entirely for the State, and consists of warders' uniforms for all the prisons of France and Algeria, children's penitentiary colonies, the State lunatic asylum at Charenton, and the staff of messengers at the Ministry of the Interior. The brush-making department is the third workshop, exclusively devoted to Government work, and the twelve men employed are enabled to supply all the prisons of France. The average earnings are 1.91 francs. There are seven other workshops, in which the following trades are kept going :

Trade.	Number of men actually employed.	Average earnings. Francs.
Weavers (70 looms)	20	1.80
Basket-work (fine)	63	1.65
„ (coarse)	43	2.06
Scale-makers	14	1.88
Wire-weaving	21	1.76
Metal work	97	1.78
Whitesmiths	31	2.15

9. In addition to the above ten workshops, easy employment is given to men above sixty years of age, who by law are not compelled to work, but who are only too glad of the opportunity. The twenty-five prisoners thus employed make on an average 61 centimes a day.

Except in the case of the printing-room, there is unfortunately no distinction between first offenders and old gaol birds, it being found impossible to have separate workshops for each class, or to provide further special trades for the former. They are, however, but a scattered few. In the seven workshops given in the table, the prison labour is hired out to contractors. As an incentive to industry, the prisoner who has earned more than the average of the regulation two francs per day is decorated with a red chevron on the right arm, and in place of the heavy sabots is allowed to wear shoes purchased at his own expense. Should he fail in the ensuing month to come up to this standard, his chevron is withdrawn, and he reverts to his sabots. It may be mentioned that some prisoners actually earn five francs a day. The proportion of each prisoner's earnings conceded to him depends on his criminal antecedents and the sentence he is

undergoing. Of the earnings thus allotted to him one moiety he is allowed to spend, the other moiety accumulates, and is given to him on liberation. The following table shows the proportion allocated to the prisoners of the *Maisons Centrales* of France in 1891 :

Prisoners receiving—	MEN.				WOMEN.		
	Hard labour.	5 to 20 years.	Reclusion.	Imprisonment.	Hard labour.	Reclusion.	Imprisonment.
One-tenth . . .	3	...	63	94	7	1	8
Two-tenths . . .	3	...	136	168	21	3	14
Three-tenths . . .	1	...	436	432	413	11	33
Four-tenths . . .	...	...	2,703	1,101	93	169	62
Five-tenths . . .	..	135	7	4,664	...	...	556
Six-tenths . . .	...	6	...	10	...	...	...
More than six-tenths . . .	...	..	4	88	...	1	44
	7	141	3,349	6,557	537	185	717
			10,054			1,439	

The monthly average of the earnings is conspicuously placarded in each workshop respectively. In passing through these various labour centres one cannot help contrasting the comfortable arrangements of this prison with the workrooms in which the ordinary free labourer outside is occupied.

My next visit was to the canteen and kitchen, passing on the road the exercise grounds and their pretty arrangement of trees and flowers, so different from those of an English prison yard.

The Government allowance consists of 700 grammes of bread daily, soup, and 60 grammes of cooked meat without bone, three days a week, and on the other days soup and vegetables. This, however, is quite a secondary consideration in this prison, for no less than 250 prisoners prefer to feed themselves at their own expense from the canteen. For the first five or six months of detention, prisoners are allowed to receive money from outside, but after that time they must rely on their earnings. Here they are enabled each day to purchase a certain amount of food and wine, but the sum so spent must not exceed one franc. The bill of fare for two days in advance is sent round the workshops, and each man selects the tit-bits of his fancy. The following are the menu and prices for the day of my visit : white bread, 250 grammes, 5 centimes ; milk, 60 centilitres, 10 centimes ; Gruyère, 45 grammes, 10 centimes ; coffee, sugared, 5 centimes ; figs, 180 grammes, 10 centimes ; wine, 25 centilitres, 10 centimes ; saus-

ages, 120 grammes, with 400 grammes of potatoes, well prepared with onions and condiments, 20 centimes. This bill of fare is constantly varied, consisting of beef, mutton, veal, pork, fish, fresh butter, vegetables, salads, jams and fruits according to season. With such a list to choose from, it is not surprising that so large a proportion of prisoners decline to touch the regulation fare. There is also a specially prepared drink (an imitation beer) for those for whom neither wine nor water has an attraction. The whole of the bread, which is of the best quality, is baked on the premises.

The cells are large and airy, with polished wood floors, and each is supplied with an iron bedstead, rush mat, and a mattress, blankets and sheets; enamelled iron water-jug and slop-pail, with brush and iron dust-pan. A wooden triangular seat is placed in the corner. Other conveniences there are none, except in the punishment cells.

Work begins at 5 A.M., and continues, with necessary intervals for meals and exercise, until 7 P.M. Sunday is a day of rest. Two days a week each prisoner may receive visitors for twenty minutes at a time. As these visits are both morning and afternoon, the prisoner has the advantage of four distinct interviews with his friends per week.

All prisoners are bound to attend school for an hour a day, and, strange as it may seem, there are classes for learning English, Russian, German, Italian, and Spanish, the professors being prisoners acquainted with those languages. The prisoners' brass band of thirty-five instruments assists at the chapel services on Sundays. From time to time, also, prisoners are assembled for recreation, which takes the shape of reading short stories interspersed with music. Experience teaches that on such occasions the supervision of warders is a sinecure. In addition to the Catholic service, Protestant and Jewish services are held.

Having thus shown the pleasant side of prison life at Melun, the question of punishments naturally arises. Crimes of a serious nature committed in the prison are obviously referred to the ordinary tribunals, but disciplinary offences are dealt with each morning in a court-room by the governor, assisted by the inspector, the school-master, and the chief warder. The punishments inflicted are: (1) reprimands; (2) privation of use of canteen; (3) punishment cell, with ordinary food; (4) punishment cell with bread and water, each fourth day being the ordinary food; (5) deprivation of visits—this, however, is rarely inflicted; (6) deprivation of correspondence, when the prisoner has attempted to misuse it; (7) fines; (8) reduction of scale of proportion of earnings; and (9) discipline room. This latter punishment, which may be inflicted for two or more days, not exceeding fifteen, consists of prisoners passing the day from 5 A.M. to 7 P.M. alternately, sitting for fifteen minutes, and walking for twenty minutes,

being allowed neither to read, to speak, nor to work. The food is bread and water, with soup once per day. On the occasion of my visit there were thirteen men sitting about one yard apart from each other in rows, on square stools built of stone with a wooden top.

The punishment cells do not appear to be such formidable affairs, having a wooden bed fixed to the floor, bedding being supplied at night. The floors are of polished wood, and there is the usual convenience in the corner. By an ingenious arrangement the amount of light to be admitted into the cell can be regulated at will from the corridor without. Incurrigibles, whom it is found impossible to employ in the workshops, owing to their turbulence and persistent breaches of discipline, work in their cells. This sequestration may be carried on for any period up to ninety days, and gives no claim to the reduction of the original sentence. The *régime* at the other *Maisons Centrales* is practically the same as I have here described.

The total number of cases dealt with by governors in 1891 was—men, 49,754, and women, 2318. The ordinary tribunals dealt with fifteen men but no women.

The total amount earned in the same year was 2,867,117·54 francs by men, and 343,166·20 francs by women.

In the correctional prisons (*Maisons d'Arrêt, de Justice et de Correction*), the population at December 31, 1891, was—men, 20,336, and women, 3338, making a total of 23,674.

No better proof can be furnished of the progress made by penitentiary reform in France than a comparison between the two Paris prisons known as Sainte Pélagie and La Santé. In the former prison, which Englishmen are accustomed to associate with political and State prisoners, but which in reality is the building wherein some of the most inveterate gaol birds are caged, squalor and gloom reign paramount. It is satisfactory to know that, with La Grande and La Petite Roquette, it is doomed to speedy demolition, and that these prisons will be replaced by new ones outside Paris.* The worst feature at Sainte Pélagie, which is situated near the Jardin des Plantes, is the herding together at night, as many as six men, in some cases, sleeping in the same small, dark, malodorous cell. Strange as it may appear, criminals were anxious to be consigned to Sainte Pélagie,† notwithstanding its uninviting character, the explanation of which is certainly the fact of living and sleeping in company. Prisoners condemned for political and press offences, and debtors to the State, are housed in an entirely different part of the prison.

Sainte Pélagie, however, has had a stirring history, and as I

* The prison to replace La Petite Roquette is at Montesson, and is making rapid progress. Those to replace Mazas, La Grande Roquette, and Sainte Pélagie will be at Fresnes.

† By a new regulation only prisoners sentenced to less than two months are now sent to Sainte Pélagie.

wandered along its dim corridors my mind reverted to Madame Roland, who wrote her famous *Memoirs* in one of its cells. Here also were confined the members of the *Comédie Française*, Béranger the poet, Lamennais, and later on some 600 victims of the *Coup d'État*. The third Republic has also sent its quota of well-known writers to Sainte Pélagie, one of the most recent being M. Edouard Drumont, who, as I write, has now fled to Belgium in fear of another visit under the new press law.

Sainte Pélagie was never intended, and has never been fit, for a prison. It was originally built as a refuge for young girls of good family, by Madame de Miramion, a member of the noble family which produced the author of the "*Barber of Seville*" and the "*Marriage of Figaro*," but the scheme was a failure. There is no refectory, and the prisoners are huddled together in the chapel at meal-times. Although in the narrow dingy workshops there has been some attempt at lighting and heating, the dormitories have no such provision. In the cells the only convenience is a wooden tub placed in a corner, and in winter the atmosphere of these places, when all the windows are closed for additional warmth, can well be imagined.

The total number of prisoners in Sainte Pélagie on December 31, 1891, was 394. The men are employed in making ladies' feather boas, brass work, and mats, five workshops being in operation for the purpose. Here the whole of the prison labour is let out to private contractors. It is clear, from what has been said above, that not only is it impossible to make any separation between first offenders and habitual criminals, but even to carry out many other prison regulations.

On the same side of the river, not far from the Observatory and the Boulevard Port Royal, stands the handsome and spacious prison known as La Santé, where offenders with sentences of from two to twelve months are lodged. Built on the radiating system, it has two great divisions, the one strictly cellular, where the prisoner works, feeds, and sleeps in his cell; the other, where, though the prisoner sleeps in his cell, he works and feeds in common. In the first division there are 400 prisoners, and in the second 600. The cells are airy and well lighted from without, the oaken floor being brightly polished by rubbing the surface with the bottom of a bottle, which forms part of the furniture of the cell. A heating apparatus in the corridors supplies the necessary warmth. There are eight punishment cells, with the usual wooden bed, bedding being supplied at night; the entry is by a single door, and the silence and darkness within are less thorough than in English and American prisons.

To the infirmary of La Santé are sent the sick, not only of this prison, but of all the prisons of Paris.

The Roman Catholic chaplain visits each cell daily. The Protestant pastor and the Jewish rabbi constantly visit their co-religionists. High up in the centre of the round point is the altar, so placed that, on the cell doors being opened a few inches, each prisoner from the interior of his cell can follow the officiating priest without being seen by his fellow-prisoners. Those prisoners who work in common also attend the service in common.

There are four large exercise yards, planted in the centre with trees and flowers. Within three minutes of the bell sounding for meals, the 600 prisoners from all the workshops have taken their places, without noise or confusion, in the two spacious refectories. Each seat is provided with a receptacle, in which the prisoner keeps table utensils and his little private store of broken food, pepper, salt, &c.

As at Melun, there is at La Santé a series of well-ventilated and well-lighted workshops, in some of which more than one trade is carried on. The first room is set apart for tailoring and bootmaking for the prisoners themselves. All the other work done in this prison is for private contractors, under their own free foremen. In the next workshop I found about 100 prisoners employed in repairing old sacks, and in an adjoining one a like number engaged in making new ones, the average earnings of both being about 60 centimes daily. The 30 men employed in these workshops as porters are paid 1.25 francs per diem owing to the onerous character of the work. In the remaining workshops the prisoners are employed in preparing articles either for public festivities or for gladdening the hearts of children. Thus in one room we have 100 men engaged in the construction of balloons and Chinese lanterns, with which the streets of the capital are so profusely decked on the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. As for the doll-making, it occupies the time of a large number of prisoners. One set of men prepare the composition, which consists mostly of sawdust, cement, and barley meal; others roughly mould in presses the various parts of the body. These are passed on from set to set, until at last the doll in all its glory of bright paint with movable head and limbs is fit to be consigned to the *Bon Marché* or *Printemps*. The latest fashion of dolls being manufactured was, curiously enough, a representation of that terror of evil-doers, the *gendarme*, in all the majesty of cocked hat and jack-boots. The earnings throughout the prison give a monthly average of 76 centimes per diem. The prisoners rise at 6 A.M. and work until 7 in the evening; bed at 8.30 P.M. Here, as in all other French prisons, there is a well-supplied canteen. First offenders are separated and work in their cells. All the work done in the cellular quarter is also for private contractors. Recreations, outside communications, and punishments are practically the same in all prisons in France.

We now come to that most important subject—the treatment of

juvenile offenders. There is no doubt that during the last few years France has made immense efforts in the way of the protection of children * and the improvement of establishments set apart for young criminals.

The laws bearing on the imprisonment of children are as follows :

"ARTICLE 66 OF THE PENAL CODE.—When the accused is less than 16 years of age, and it is decided that he has acted without 'guilty knowledge' (*discernement*) he will be acquitted, but will be, according to the circumstances, given up to his parents, or sent to a House of Correction, to be brought up and detained during the number of years fixed by the judgment, which in no case can exceed the epoch when he will have accomplished his 20th year.

"ARTICLE 67.—If it be judged that the accused has acted with 'guilty knowledge,' the penalties will be as follows: If he has incurred the penalty of death, of hard labour for life, or transportation, he will be sentenced to from 10 to 20 years' imprisonment in a House of Correction. If he has incurred the penalty of hard labour for a term, or detention, or reclusion, he will be sentenced to be incarcerated in a House of Correction for a term equal to one-third at least, and one-half at most, of that to which an adult might be sentenced.

"ARTICLE 375 OF THE CIVIL CODE. A father who has serious complaint of his child's conduct may, if the child has not commenced his 16th year, have him detained for a period not exceeding one month on application to the local judge. After the 16th year begun the child may be imprisoned for six months, but the judge will not give the order until after consultation with the Public Prosecutor, and he may refuse it or alter the term. In neither case are there judicial formalities except the order for arrest, in which the reasons are not stated. In cases where the father has re-married, where the child has property of its own, or is gaining its own living, even if under 16, it may address a letter to the Public Prosecutor, who, after inquiry, may modify the order. A mother re-married cannot imprison her child without the consent of the two nearest paternal relatives."

If we come to examine this power given to parents to imprison their children at will, we find that there is no fixed age at which such incarceration may begin. I have myself been shocked on visiting the prison of La Petite Roquette to see a child of seven years, dressed in prison clothes, in solitary confinement at the demand of the parent. It is absurd to suppose that any decent parent would have lost all control over such an infant, or that he had not proper means of correction without resort to so drastic a remedy. Probably he was the more guilty party. Of the boys so confined under parental authority 20 per cent. are detained for theft, the rest for idleness, insubordination, and want of discipline. Of the girls, 99 per cent. are under restraint for debauchery, bad conduct, and libertinage, barely 1 per cent. for theft.

* By the law of July 24, 1889, a long category of unfit parents ending with "fathers and mothers who by their habitual drunkenness, their notorious or scandalous misconduct, compromise the health, security, or morality of their children," are declared socially incapable, and their parental rights are annulled, and their offspring are brought up by the State, or one of the numerous societies established to watch over the interests of that class of the population.

On December 31, 1891, there were in France 34 establishments for correctional education. For boys—public colonies, 6; correctional quarters, 5; private establishments, 13. For girls—correctional quarters, 1; special establishments, 2; private establishments, 7.

The law of August 5, 1850, which has been called the fundamental statute of penitentiary education in France, establishes four categories for boys. (1) Those condemned under Article 67 to six months' and under. These remain in the local prisons. Article 2 of the said law lays down that there shall be a distinct quarter for them. (2) Those acquitted under Article 66, who are sent to a penitentiary colony, to be brought up in common under severe discipline at agricultural work, and the industries relating thereto. (3) Those under Article 67, sentenced to more than six months' and less than two years', who are sent to the same penitentiary colonies, but must first serve three months at sedentary employment in a distinct quarter. This is not applied in any colony. (4) Firstly, those condemned to more than two years' imprisonment; secondly, the insubordinates of the penitentiary colonies—these should under the law be sent to *correctional colonies*, but as yet such colonies have not been instituted. All that has been done is to set aside special quarters in certain large departmental prisons, such as Rouen, Nantes, Dijon, Lyons and Villeneuve. The girls are to be sent to *Maisons Pénitenciaires*. (1) Minors under parental correction; (2) those of less than 16 years of age sentenced under Articles 67 and 69; (3) those acquitted under Article 66, and not handed over to their parents. The administration, however, sends girls sentenced for not more than two years to correctional quarters attached to houses of refuge. Those under parental correction are sent to a private establishment or to the cellular quarter at Nanterre. By far the larger class are those acquitted as having acted without guilty knowledge, and not given up to their parents.

On December 31, 1891, there were 2609 boys in public establishments, and 2546 in private establishments, making, with 1135 girls, a total of 6290, apportioned as follows:

	Boys.	Per cent.	Girls.	Per cent.
Acquitted under Article 66 . . .	5,041	97·79	1,046	92·16
Condemned under Articles 67 and 69	98	1·90	9	·97
Parental correction	16	·31	80	7·05
	5,155	100	1,135	100

The ages of the children at the time of committing the offence for which they were detained is shown in the following table :

Age.	Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Under 8 years	44	0·89	8	0·70
From 8 to 10 years	443	8·39	93	8·19
„ 10 to 12 „	1,039	20·15	169	14·89
„ 12 to 14 „	1,739	33·73	280	24·68
„ 14 to 15 „	1,187	23·02	295	25·99
Over 15 years and less than 16 . .	713	13·82	290	25·55
	5,155	100	1,135	100

The nature of the offence committed by these youthful offenders is shown in the following table :

Offences.	Boys.		Girls.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Assassination, poisoning	5	·10	8	·70
Cutting and wounding	133	2·58	38	3·34
Arson	92	1·78	36	3·25
Indecent assaults, &c	138	2·68	126	11·09
Robbery—false money	146	2·83	33	2·90
Thefts, cheating	3,146	66·27	517	45·54
Mendicity	367	7·12	121	10·65
Vagabondage	691	13·40	144	12·68
Other crimes and offences	151	2·93	32	2·81
Disobedience to parental authority	16	·31	50	7·04
	5,155	100	1,135	100

The parents of 875 boys and 443 girls had been condemned one or more times. 782 boys=15·17 per cent., and 141 girls=12·42 per cent. had been sent to correction one or more times.

The total number of breaches of discipline committed by boys in the year 1891 was 43,668, and by girls 2086. The same number of punishments were inflicted—viz., cells: boys, 3360; girls, 537. Other disciplinary punishments: boys, 33,630; girls, 840. Repri-mands: boys, 6678; girls, 709.

The power given by the law of 1850 to employ boys in industrial labour connected with agriculture has been very liberally interpreted by the Government. Thus the children are instructed in the work of wheelwrights, edge-tool makers, farriers, saddlers, carpenters, joiners, masons, whitesmiths, locksmiths, brickmakers, bakers, shoemakers, brushmakers, &c. The administration has created a public colony entirely industrial where there are workshops for hosiery, pasteboard and paper-making, cabinet-making, and wood-carving. There is a private establishment entirely devoted to edge-tool-making to which many Parisian children are sent, and on release they have no difficulty in finding employment either in the neighbouring factories or in Paris. For girls the law makes no mention of out-door work, but the Government have tried, while not neglecting women's usual work, washing, ironing, hand and machine sewing, lace-making, embroidering, &c., to employ them in some outdoor work such as gardening.

On December 31, 1891, there were 362 boys and 196 girls employed on household duties; 2114 boys and 142 girls employed on agricultural work; and 1625 boys and 786 girls in manufacturing work.

It may not be uninteresting to see how the boys are treated in the prison des Jeunes Détenus, generally known as La Petite Roquette. It stands near the cemetery of Père Lachaise, and facing the famous home of the guillotine (the Dépôt des Condamnés), known as La Grande Roquette. The offenders here confined are those under parental correction, boys under remand,* adults from sixteen to twenty years of age serving a sentence of under twelve months, and boys awaiting transferment to one of the penitentiary colonies. The marked characteristic of this prison is the absolute isolation by day and by night, even at exercise, of one youthful prisoner from another.

In 1836, M. Gabriel Delessert, Louis Philippe's last Prefect of Police, constructed the present cellular arrangement, differing from the so-called "model prisons" which have since been common in the last forty years.

As at La Santé, there is a central tower, from which diverge the various storeys of the six divisions; but here they are connected with it by bridges on the outside. The tower is used at various stages as kitchen, visiting-room, and chapel. The chapel is an amphitheatre, each child being in a stall enclosed on every side except in front. Besides being used for the weekly service, instruction and interesting readings are here given. On the occasion of my last visit, thirteen boys of from nine to eighteen years of age, confined by way of

* In many cases the magistrates send them to the establishment of the *Enfants Abandonnés* in the Rue Denfert Rochereau pending the inquiry, specially first offenders and children of tender years.

parental correction, were listening to a moral address from the school-master. All that could be seen of them was their upturned faces.

The youthful prisoners rise at 6 A.M., and work eight hours a day. Bedtime during the week is at 7 P.M., but on Sundays at 6 P.M., and the light is immediately withdrawn—they are thus left for eleven or twelve hours entirely to sleep, or to their thoughts. Two hours a day are allotted to school, and one hour for solitary recreation. They have three meals per day—in the morning, at midday, and at 4 P.M., for each of which meals half an hour is allotted. Here also the Government allowance may be supplemented at the canteen. There are twenty-four warders, but there is not a single woman, not even in the infirmary, for these poor children to turn to.

In strange contrast with the joyous emblems prepared at La Santé, the occupation of La Petite Roquette is largely connected with the making of beaded mortuary wreaths, the daily pay for which in the case of children is a fixed sum of 30 centimes. The older prisoners are engaged in caning chairs, at which they make 1 franc a day, whilst other occupations consist of sewing, netting, wire trap and pin-making, &c. The daily average earnings of the elder prisoners is 75 centimes. There is a good system of baths employed, of which the prisoners make use once a week. The punishments are analogous to those I have already referred to, but in the case of young boys the bread diet is never inflicted. One of the most able and kindest-hearted of the Paris *juges d'instruction*, who has done more than any one to ameliorate the condition of juvenile prisoners, thus writes about the punishments at La Petite Roquette:

"No doubt it is necessary to maintain good order, and to master the rebellious and vicious natures—but the dark cell! . . . I doubt if it is possible to render them better by condemning them to idleness in the dark. . . . I assert distinctly that it would be better to come back to the birch of our ancestors; Henry IV., in a letter to Madame de Monglat, rejoices that he was whipped, and more than one child at La Petite Roquette would get much more benefit from a good whipping than from fifteen days' idleness in a dark cell."*

I have heard the same remark made by many French magistrates, but the feeling in France against any form of corporal punishment is far too strong ever to allow of such a wholesome practice towards boys, either free or prisoners. It is not so long since that many French towns possessed their public whipper, who was called in to any house where his services were required; under a free Republic, however, the "rights of man" must be respected.

The last category is the *Depôt*, or receiving house for convicts sentenced to transportation and awaiting transfer. The population on December 31, 1891, was 253, and the following table will show the percentage of their ages:

* "Les Prisons de Paris," by A. Guillot (Paris, 1890), p. 127.

Age.		Per cent	
16 to 20	. . .	32.41	
20 „ 25	. . .	22.98	> 71.96 under 30 years.
25 „ 30	. . .	16.62	
30 „ 40	. . .	16.20	
40 „ 50	. . .	7.50	> 28.04 over 30 years.
50 „ 60	. . .	4.34	

Under the law of March 18, 1889, prison warders must be selected from a list of retired non-commissioned officers prepared by the War Office. It is only in default of such candidates that the Minister of the Interior may consider any other applications for employment in the prisons.

Elementary professional schools for warders have been established in most French prisons. By a decree of August 19, 1893, a superior school was established at La Santé prison. To this school are sent, for a six months' course of higher professional training, warders who have passed good examinations in the elementary schools. The chief warders and other superior prison officials are selected from amongst those who pass out well from this professional school at La Santé.

In all that has been said above one cannot help being struck by the difference of treatment of prisoners in France and England. The canteen system appears to be an abuse, for it enables a hardened habitual prisoner but clever workman to live much better on the produce of his work than an unfortunate first offender who is unused to manual labour, and whose intellectual capacities cannot be usefully employed. It surely is wrong to afford facilities for luxuries, unless by way of reward for exceptionally good work and good conduct, in long-term prisons. The efforts made for the improvement of the moral, social, and intellectual condition of the prisoners, such as the nature of the work, the higher education in the schools, cheerful recreation, music, and frequent communication with friends, must be beneficial in the long run. It is clear that so long as so large a proportion of French prisons are without cellular accommodation, and prisoners eat, work, and sleep in common, there can be very little prospect of any diminution in the number of habitual criminals.

This, however, may be said, that if the English authorities are in earnest in seeking information, much that is profitable may be gathered from a careful inquiry into French prison life, despite its imperfections.

EDMUND R. SPEARMAN.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY IN DOMESTIC LIFE.

NINETY years have passed since Dr. Joseph Priestley died at Northumberland in Pennsylvania. He is buried there with his wife and youngest son, Henry, and one by one a group of American descendants have been gathered to his side in that simple graveyard. With his scientific achievements I am incompetent to deal; but it seems to me that his reputation is not lessened by the lapse of years. He had the divining intellect which suggested even more than it achieved. He told to his contemporaries his successes, and even his mistakes, with the eager simplicity of a child of genius. His mind, like Kepler's, leapt from point to point, indicating many main lines of modern discovery. His statue, modelled from Fuseli's portrait, was placed in the Oxford Museum by a committee co-operating with Prince Albert; his name figures on the great frieze surrounding the Palais d'Industrie in the Champs Elysées; and Birmingham erected a statue to him in 1874, the centenary of the discovery of oxygen.

When this statue was inaugurated, my mother, who was born in Pennsylvania, was probably the only person living in England who could personally recall Joseph Priestley. She was seven years old when he died. He had taught her to read, and her memory of him remained perfectly clear and vivid. The delicate features of the old man, framed in thin locks of silvery hair, are recorded in the portrait by Artaud before me as I write. This presentment, rather than any of those by Flaxman, is what my mother affirmed to be the real grandfather she remembered. It may not be without interest to try and recover some traits of the man as he was, according to the last echo of oral tradition. Also to this end indirect help is given by a record which he left of his private life, an old-fashioned reticent autobiography, which, though several times reprinted, is hardly known

in general literature, because it is filled from cover to cover, not with records of the scientific discoveries which were making him famous from one end of Europe to the other, but with thoughts and interpretations pertaining to the Scriptures and life eternal. It is impossible to look upon the faded manuscript, in its century-old binding of white skin, without a feeling of deep, pathetic reverence. Matthew, Paul, John—with them he wrestled single-handed, if by any means he might wring out the truth of things divine. He scarcely takes the trouble to note those experiments on electricity, gas, and water which earned for him, even in his own lifetime, the recognition of the civilised world. To this autobiography his eldest son appended a supplementary chapter, recording the last years and peaceful death-bed, at which even the little grandchildren were present.

Modern readers will perhaps regret the destruction by Dr. Priestley himself of the great bulk of his correspondence; and in the first edition of the *Life* Mr. Priestley expresses a sentiment which falls on the ear like a tone from some old-fashioned musical instrument forgotten of men:

"The work," says he, "might have been made more interesting, as well as entertaining, had I deemed myself at liberty to have published letters addressed to my father by persons of eminence in this country (America) as well as in Europe. But those communications which were intended to be private shall remain so, as I do not think I have a right to amuse the public either against or without the inclinations of those who confided their correspondence to his care."

Many letters have, however, been preserved from oblivion; some have been privately printed in New York, others are in my possession, and now that full ninety years have passed since the last letter was written and received, and that few can even remember in his old age the reverent and scrupulous son, no such obligation need restrain the pen, though the written personal record is at best but meagre.

It can, however, be supplemented from other sources. Priestley made a great impression upon his contemporaries, as is witnessed by the extraordinary number of portraits and medallions executed in his lifetime; nor did the political caricaturists spare him. Moreover, the dignified household, marked by plain living and high thinking, and at all times poor in worldly goods, became the centre of a very whirlpool. The Birmingham riots raged round Priestley and his friends, and were full of ferocious passion, full also of incident, and of that strange blending of the sublime and the commonplace in which lies the deepest pathos. We have many letters recounting how people lost their property, their loose coin, their keys, and their clothes, as well as precious papers. We are told how the young people of Priestley's congregation, Mary R. and Sarah S. and their brothers, were hurried away along the country roads by their frightened parents, the mob

roaring and racing a mile or two behind ; and one of the girls afterwards wrote the best account we have of those four days. In the midst of the turmoil stood Priestley, calm and patient, forbidding the young men of his congregation to strike a blow. In the letters of his contemporaries, rather than in any documents furnished by himself, we must seek for the man.

He was born in Yorkshire, of an old Presbyterian stock ; one branch of the family acquired wealth and lived at Whiteways, but his own immediate ancestors were farmers and clothiers, people of substance in the yeoman class. We can trace them accurately as far back as the middle of the seventeenth century, when one Phœbe Priestley, after wrestling with fever in her household, was herself stricken and " lay like a lamb before the Lord " on her death-bed. Her husband wrote a long and touching account of all she said and did, that her children might know what manner of mother they had lost. These people were presumably of the same stock as the Priestleys of Soylands, who run back into the Middle Ages.

The children of the Priestley families were all named after Scriptural characters. They were Josephs, Timothy's, and Sams from one generation to another. The Bible was stamped into them, and from it they drew all the inspiration of their lives. That gifted Joseph, who was to make so singular an impression on his time, and to be associated with Shelburne and Sandwich, with Captain Cook, D'Alembert, and Diderot, and to receive honours from the Empress Catherine of Russia, was born on March 13 (old style) in the year 1733, at Fieldhead, a small stone house about six miles south-west of Leeds. It is now taken down, but I visited it in my youth, and made a rough sketch, which shows that it was rather smaller than the house of Shakespeare's birth at Stratford-on-Avon, but of much the same type, and probably very ancient. The front door led into the house-place ; a division had been made to accommodate two families, but originally, one hundred and sixty years ago, it would have been a solid and respectable homestead, and fifty years later we find Priestley writing to his sister, Mrs. Crouch, at the address of Fieldhead.

He was the eldest of six, and when quite a little fellow was sent to his maternal grandfather, a farmer at Shapton, near Wakefield, and remained there till his mother's death in 1740.

" It is but little," he says, " that I can recollect of my mother. I remember, however, that she was careful to teach me the Assembly's Catechism, and to give me the best instruction the little time that I was at home. Once in particular, when I was playing with a pin, she asked me where I got it ; and on my telling her that I found it at my uncle's, who lived very near to my father's, and where I had been playing with my cousins, she made me carry it back again ; no doubt to impress my mind, as it could not fail to do, with the clear idea of the distinction of property,

and of the importance of attending to it. She died in the hard winter of 1739, not long after being delivered of my youngest brother, and is said to have dreamed a little before her death that she was in a delightful place which she particularly described, and imagined to be heaven. The last words which she spoke, as my aunt informed me, were: 'Let me go to that fine place.'"

Quaint little picture of the Puritan woman whose lesson to her son was to remain indelible, and to be recalled by the old man after a long career of labour and honourable success.

The boy's life now underwent a radical change. On his mother's death he was taken home, the next brother replacing him in the farmer's household, and before long a sister of his father's, married to a wealthy man of the name of Keighley, offered to adopt and consider him as her own child. This was when Priestley was nine years old, and for twenty years Mrs. Keighley survived and kept her promise. Her husband, "remarkable for piety and for public spirit," died soon after the adoption of the child, leaving the greater part of his fortune to his widow, and much of it at her disposal after her death. From this time forward the boy had every advantage of education so far as it could be obtained at a time when the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were strictly closed to Dissenters. He was well instructed in the learned languages, of which he says he had acquired a pretty good knowledge at the age of sixteen.

His aunt naturally wished her adopted son to become a minister, and he entered into her views; but becoming, as it was thought, consumptive, he took another great intellectual start. The dead languages were laid aside, and with a view to a mercantile situation the youth learned three modern languages—French, Italian, and High Dutch, all without a master—and in the first and last, says he, "I translated and wrote letters for an uncle of mine who was a merchant, and who intended to put me into a counting-house at Lisbon. A house was actually engaged to receive me there, and everything was nearly ready for my undertaking the voyage." But the patient's health improved, and the foreign project was laid aside.

Priestley, therefore, resumed his theological studies, and in due time was ordained minister; and being a man of great though unconscious ability, wholly free from exaggeration of language, he has drawn a picture of the life led in Yorkshire by Presbyterian divines which must impress the modern reader with astonishment and perhaps admiration. No hermits of the desert, no monks of La Trappe, dwelt more serenely in an atmosphere apart. It was the time of Louis the Fifteenth in France and of George the Second in England, and the nephews and nieces of Charlotte Princess Palatine were still living, and her letters, whose name is legion, yet lay stored in the cabinets of her correspondents, full of inexpressible details discussed in most expressive language. It was the time when Jeanie Deans walked

from Scotland to beg her sister's life of Queen Caroline, and met Madge Wildfire in the way. It was the time when the polite world was composed of "men, women, and Herveys"; when Squire Pendarves was found dead in his bed in Greek Street, Soho, leaving his young widow to be courted by John Wesley and wedded by Dr. Delany; when statesmen bribed, and young blades drank, and Sir Harbottle carried off Harriet Byron, whose shrieks brought Sir Charles Grandison to the rescue, sword in hand. It was the period when the Jacobite Rebellion flamed up and expired, when the Young Pretender marched to Derby, and the heads of the decapitated lords were exposed on Temple Bar; tragedies, agonies, highway robberies, Dick Turpin, Jack Sheppard, smugglers, the press gang; Frederick Prince of Wales quarrelling in Leicester Square. Queen Caroline on her death-bed telling her weeping little George "*que l'un n'empêche pas l'autre,*" Horace Walpole making the grand tour, Dean Swift dying in agonised misery. Merciful Heavens! what an England, of which we possess the daily diary! We can see Hogarth at his easel, and Sir Joshua taking his first stiff portraits, and Garrick going on pilgrimage to Stratford, and the young King courting Hannah Lightfoot and marrying his little bride from Mecklenburg. Without too much verifying of dates, it is certain that all this was happening before Dr. Priestley was thirty years of age, and that of none of it is there the faintest mention in the account he has drawn up of his own childhood, youth and young manhood, though he was himself destined to be one of the principal illustrations of the Georgian era. For anything which appears to the contrary, he and his friends might have dwelt in some far serene planet whose inhabitants were wholly given up to study and to prayer. The tutors and students of Warrington Academy bestowed their whole minds (and very good minds) on the classics, the mathematics and metaphysics, and most of all on the theological discussions upon freewill and necessity, on the exact attributes of the Logos, and the exact results of the Atonement. Keenly alive to the immortal interests of man, the actual world touched them not. Much must be allowed to the absence of newspapers, to the want of easy communication. The men of the North who did not live with their bottle lived with their book; but it does seem strange that forty years later, when writing or revising his own story, Priestley, become in a sense a man of the world, should not recall of those exciting times a single letter, a single speech. Still stranger perhaps is it to note that though during his last years Europe still lay bleeding, he added no word on the great convulsion, nor upon the rise of Buonaparte; except in occasional notices in his private letters, he makes no reference to the French Revolution. It is impossible to doubt that all its details became gradually known to

him, but it is the literal truth that his interests lay "otherwhere." People now talk of true inwardness—such inwardness as Priestley's was really a "recollectedness" of the most singular kind, and it largely accounts for the extraordinary personal influence he possessed. He impressed those about him as a being from another sphere; of this there are many traces. Yet his own life was really one of the first to be swept into the vortex. When Harry Priestley rushed into the great drawing-room at Barr to tell the Galtons that the Bastille was down, it meant for the boy and his family flaming destruction and exile, and in his own case an early death. It is Marianne Galton, Mrs. Schimmelpennick, who tells the anecdote.

Returning to the thread of Priestley's own life, it was in 1752 that he went as a pupil to the Academy at Daventry, where he remained for three years under a successor of Dr. Doddridge. The new student felt "that peculiar satisfaction with which young persons of generous minds usually go through a course of liberal study in the society of others engaged in the same pursuits, and free from the cares and anxieties which seldom fail to lay hold on them when they come out into the world."

The endless discussions of these young persons need not here be analysed, though they are most curious and interesting. They are accessible in print. In three years Priestley obtained a small appointment as minister at Needham Market in Suffolk, and seems to have been pleased to get it. His congregation numbered about one hundred, and the salary did not even amount to the now classical forty pounds a year. The young man lived very meagrely. His rich aunt, Mrs. Keighley had been displeased at his theological opinions, and she had taken a deformed niece into her charge who ultimately inherited all she had to bequeath. His aunt had always assured him that she would leave him independent of his profession, but he was "satisfied that she was no longer able to perform her promise" and freely consented to the money being left to his deformed cousin. His aunt finally bequeathed him a silver tankard, and he remarks, "She had spared no expense in my education, and that was doing more for me than giving me an estate."

In 1758 he left Needham, going to London by sea to save expense, and from thence to Nantwich in Cheshire, where he had an offer from a congregation, and where he opened a school for about thirty boys with a separate room for half a dozen young ladies. Priestley at all times gave his best mind to the teaching of girls, and shows by many incidental words that he held women in as high mental and moral estimation as men; and he does this quite simply, and with no idea of propounding a theory or combating a prejudice. The profits of the school now enabled him to buy a few books, and also some philosophical instruments, with which he used to instruct and

amuse his boys. He tells us that he had no leisure to make any experiments till many years later. A portrait of him at this period of his life shows a slender, intelligent young minister in wig, gown, and bands. At Nantwich he learned to play the flute, and makes the odd observation that he would "recommend the knowledge and practice of music to all studious persons, and it will be the better for them if, like myself, they should have no very fine ear or exquisite taste, as by this means they will be more easily pleased and be less apt to be offended when the performances they hear are but indifferent."

In 1761 he moved to Warrington, where he succeeded the famous Dr. Aikin as "tutor in the learned languages" at the Academy. "But as I told the persons who brought me the invitation, I should have preferred the office of teaching the mathematics and natural philosophy, for which I had at that time a great predilection." Here he remained six years, and in the second year became a married man, his wife being sister to one of his pupils, William Wilkinson, and daughter of a wealthy Welsh ironmaster. This is how he writes about her many years later; there is no want of feeling in the simplicity of the style, our great-grandparents did not wear their hearts upon their sleeves:

"This proved a very suitable and happy connection, my wife being a woman of an excellent understanding much improved by reading, of great fortitude and strength of mind, and of a temper in the highest degree affectionate and generous, feeling strongly for others and little for herself. Also excelling in everything relating to household affairs, she entirely relieved me of all concern of that kind, which allowed me to give all my time to the prosecution of my studies."

It is a tradition in the family that Mrs. Priestley once sent her famous husband to market with a large basket and that he so acquitted himself that she never sent him again! Mrs. Priestley was extremely intelligent and original. Lord Shelburne once found her sitting on the top of a pair of steps, clad in a great apron, and vigorously pasting on a new wall-paper. She received him with calm composure. There is a good portrait of her as an elderly lady in a cap, curving her hand round her ear to assist her hearing. She must have herself insisted upon being painted in this unusual attitude. She looks like a person of excellent understanding whose mind had been much improved by reading.

Priestley now managed to spend every year a month in London. He gradually became more and more interested in natural science, made noteworthy experiments in the great beer-vats of a brewery at Leeds, became intimately acquainted with Benjamin Franklin, and in constant communication with the members of the Royal Society, went to Paris with Lord Shelburne, and very nearly went round the world with

Captain Cook. Into the details of that fruitful period of five-and-twenty years it is needless to enter. It is open to all who care to read about it. His letters and those of his scientific friends are touched by an imaginative light of intellectual dawn. Franklin and Wedgwood, James Watt and the elder Darwin, felt a breeze as from a mountain-top. Not for them was Nature pessimistic in her conclusions. They did not anticipate that a perfected telescope would only serve to bring us within range of the ravening tyrants of the Star! They were haunted by no visions of a dying sun and a cooling earth. Most of them saw God in clouds and heard Him in the wind; and even those who were touched by intellectual atheism conceived of Nature as a boundless realm of progressive wealth, conducive to the use and happiness of man.

Priestley was made Doctor of Laws by the University of Edinburgh and a member of the Royal Society by the agency of Franklin. He tells us this in four lines, and goes on to write six close pages on Scriptural matters as discussed by his colleagues, the tutors and ministers of Warrington. During several years he and his wife had to practise the most laborious economy in order to feed and educate their four children. It would be curious to learn what were the necessaries and what the luxuries of life in Yorkshire a hundred and twenty-five years ago. What did meat cost, and what was eaten every day? What was the price of textile fabrics, and what was paid in wages? All who know the details of a minister's house even in the first half of this century can keenly realise how very hard it was to have everything sacked, torn, and burnt in the Birmingham Riots.

When these occurred Priestley had been settled eleven years in the town as minister, and very happy years they had proved. His house, Fair Hill, was really in the country, but was then within an easy walk of the central streets. Dotted about were the wealthy abodes of prosperous merchants and manufacturers, and here he found "good workmen" to make his instruments, and "the society of persons eminent for their knowledge of chemistry." Here he met the Lunar Society, which dined together every month at the full of the moon, and numbered James Watt, Matthew Boulton, Erasmus Darwin, and Mr. Galton among its members. All this happy activity, this peaceful and refined centre of human life, was swept away in four cruel days, and never reconstituted.

In the first fortnight of July 1791 a number of Birmingham gentlemen had planned to dine together at an hotel to commemorate the destruction of the Bastille two years previously. At that time the coming horrors of the Revolution were undreamt of. The French royal family were at the Tuilleries, and not a single head had fallen beneath the guillotine. The mild men who wished to dine together in the full light of a blazing afternoon in July, had no wish for any-

thing but the highest good of their kind, and Dr. Priestley meeting Mr. Berrington, the well-known Catholic priest, at tea on Wednesday the 6th, asked him and their host, Mr. William Hutton, to join the banquet. But Mr. Berrington was more acute than the Doctor, and replied, "No; we Catholics stand better with Government than you Dissenters, and we will not make common cause with you." On Monday the 11th the dinner was advertised in a local newspaper, and—sinister portent—immediately under that advertisement was "another, informing the public that the names of the gentlemen who should dine at the hotel on Thursday would be published, price one halfpenny. This seemed a signal for mischief, but mischief was unknown in Birmingham, and no one regarded it." So wrote Miss Catherine Hutton in a letter dated the following week. She adds that her brother Thomas told her on Tuesday the 12th that "a riot was expected on Thursday, but so little was I interested by the intelligence that it left no impression on my mind. The word 'riot,' since so dreadful, contained no other idea than that of verbal abuse."

The dinner took place. A mob assembled and broke the windows, hissing and groaning, but the Liberal gentlemen did not apparently think much of this, and several of them went and took tea at a friend's house in town. This was literally noted as occurring at five o'clock, and it happens that their conversation has been recorded in a private letter, since privately printed. Dr. Priestley, however, was not with them at dinner or at tea. He had been persuaded by a wary friend to stay away. The lively, bright girl, Miss Mary R., who wrote the most vivid of all the accounts which have come down to us, went that afternoon to Fair Hill, and found Mrs. Priestley preparing to walk into Birmingham. To the rumours of window-breaking, told her by her young friend, she replied with characteristic decision, "Nonsense, my dear," or words to that effect. The two set out together and walked back into the town, the distance of a mile, where they found the gentlemen still at tea. They were all friends, and mostly relatives by blood or marriage—the older Birmingham families forming a sort of local mercantile aristocracy, full of culture and public spirit. After the ladies had returned each to their homes, Miss Mary R. went to look at a new conservatory which her father had just built for his daughters. It was quite empty, but the gardener had prepared the mould, and had purchased a number of plants which the young people meant to set early the next morning.

The flowers were never planted. The conservatory remains as "the baseless fabric of a vision." When the twilight darkened, the young ladies stood upon their father's lawn watching the double glow where the Old and New Meeting Houses were in flames. Then Mr. Samuel Ryland, whose daughter was engaged to marry Joseph Priestley the younger, got "a chaise" and hurried off to Fair Hill. He had been

warned by "a very Liberal Churchman, Mr. Vale," who had heard mischief intended, and begged him to "take Dr. Priestley away, as he was fearful his life was in danger." Mr. Ryland found the Doctor, who had not been into Birmingham at all, "playing at backgammon with his wife, and when informed his meeting was on fire could scarcely believe it, and refused to leave home." Probably Mrs. Priestley also said she would not go, abandoning her pleasant orderly rooms, her hundred and one simple treasures, her china, her linen, her books, the house where her children had grown up. However, "he and Mrs. Priestley were persuaded to get into the carriage" and leave the house to his servants and a few young men who had arrived meanwhile with the intelligence of the riot. These young men, members of the congregation, had begged hard to be allowed to defend Fair Hill. But Dr. Priestley absolutely forbade them to strike a blow. He told them that a minister of the gospel must not risk bloodshed even in lawful defence of his worldly goods, and he passed out of the house, leaving behind him his library, his costly and beautiful philosophical instruments, his treasured manuscripts, the notes of five and twenty years of scientific labour.

When the chaise with Dr. and Mrs. Priestley had rolled away, the servants extinguished every fire, the blinds were drawn down, and in the darkened rooms began that vigil by Mr. Hill which his one surviving son, Mr. Frederick Hill, has lately recounted in such moving terms. For half an hour the young man watched and waited; then came the tramp of the mob. The rest is matter of oft-repeated history. The ringleaders procured a light from the nearest public-house and set fire to the laboratory and the library. Of all the property in that dwelling an official inventory was afterwards compiled, a copy of which was made for Mr. Timmins, the well-known local historian and antiquary, a hundred years later. The original document is a folio book of sixty-five pages, in which the most minute details are given, and the value of each entry given by sworn valuers, surveyors for the building, auctioneers for the furniture, and booksellers for the books. All these are very curious and interesting as records of the interior of a substantial house one hundred years ago, and valuable as a register of the prices of household furniture. It has been partially reproduced in Dr. Carrington Bolton's interesting volume of Priestley's scientific correspondence, privately printed in New York. In addition to the splendid apparatus given to the Doctor partly by Lord Shelburne, partly by Wedgwood and other friends, are noted a large silver medallion of Sir Isaac Newton, and another in Wedgwood ware, two "five-guinea notes" in pocket books, a Magellan timepiece, three black Wedgwood inkstands, a large mahogany lathe, sixty pounds worth of lenses, and other optical instruments, including a large camera obscura. Of "chemical substances" there were six or seven hundred, liquid and

solid, of which no account can be given, many of them the results of expensive processes.

About three years later a similar inventory was taken of the apparatus of the French chemist, Lavoisier, guillotined in May 1794.

Fair Hill remained a mere shell, of which small pictures were made and published. Of the actual burning a strange record exists. An artist of the name of Exted, a "pupil of Hogarth," made an elaborate painting in oils, sketched upon the spot. "This picture represents the mob, with the banner inscribed 'Church and King,' in the very act of destroying Dr. Priestley's house; chairs, globes, bottles, apparatus, a wig, slippers, window-frames, books and pamphlets, a telescope, a bed-post, lying on the ground or falling from a window. The more sober part of the rioters, both in the house and in the garden, in the most various attitudes, the drunken one stretched out at length. Several of the faces are portraits; among them the town-crier with his public bell, a demon who attended on the occasion to incite the mob." This description is from a private letter. It is my impression that the secret history of the Birmingham Riots has never been unearthed, and now never will be known. Political passion has subsided; Churchmen and Dissenters have changed their lines of thought; the New Meeting has become a Roman Catholic chapel, and Dr. Priestley's congregation meets in a fine building called the Church of the Messiah, and a son of Sarah S. became the much respected Mayor and most prominent citizen of the metropolis of the Midlands.

Of the destruction of many other houses, far wealthier than that of Priestley, sad stories remain, notably the ruin of William Hutton's two dwellings; while Dr. Priestley's journey to London, his sojourn at Hackney, and final emigration to America are matters of history. But, on examining the documents, some unpublished, others printed in old-fashioned magazines, from whence they have never emerged, I am deeply impressed with the struggle it cost him to cross the Atlantic, and the changed life to which he submitted. The younger men of the congregation, including his own sons, believed in the possibility of a successful settlement across the ocean. But, as happened in the case of Winthrop, a hundred and sixty years earlier, the hand of death lay heavy on the exiles. The first to go was Henry Priestley, a delicate young man brought up for a learned profession. He flung himself into a farmer's life, caught ague, and then fever, from exposure in the unwonted climate, and died in 1795. His valiant mother survived him just nine months. The New House, now known as the Priestley House, and kept up by Government, was partly planned by her, the notable housewife who for thirty-four years had spared her husband every practical care. She did not live to inhabit it. Priestley's habitual submission carried him over a time of deep depression, which he pathetically tries in his letters to conceal. Over them, though some of them have

been printed from a collection at Warrington, I draw a veil. Under the deep self-control and reserve of his Presbyterian nurture was hidden a soul sensitively alive to affection, and an intellect instinct with genius. Among men he had one dear friend, with whom he continued to correspond. The following letter, hitherto unpublished, ends with sad suppressed yearning. It reached its destination, travelling from the backwoods of Pennsylvania to the Strand, and lies before me now :

"NORTHUMBERLAND, April 2, 1802.

"To the Rev. W. Lindsey, Essex Street, London.

"DEAR FRIEND,—I have at length, with great satisfaction, received a box of books from Mr. Johnson, though by no means all that I wrote for long ago. In it I was disappointed not to find either Mr. Belsham's 'Lectures,' or his (brother's) fifth and sixth volumes. But my son, being at Philadelphia when the box arrived, purchased those books for me. The history, being more immediately interesting, I read first, and also the 'Answer to Mr. Marsh,' and I admire them as much as, from your account of them, I expected to do. I am, however, astonished at the freedom with which he writes. Nothing of the kind would have passed unnoticed here during Mr. Adam's administration. I long to see another volume, which I imagine will bring the history down to the general peace. I see references to his history in quarto. Is this materially different from that in octavo ?

"I have made some progress in reading Mr. Belsham's 'Lectures,' and admire their clearness and comprehensiveness. That any work of this kind should be inviting to the generality of readers cannot be expected, especially as there is nothing of controversy to stimulate. It will, however, I doubt not, be long a standard work on the subject.

"Please to call on Mr. Philips, and thank him in my name for the many curious and valuable articles which he has sent me in this parcel.

"I sent Mr. Nicholson two articles for his *Journal*, with a P.S. to one of them in a letter to you. Has he received them ? I hope Mr. Morgan has received the letter I wrote him. Dr. Woodhouse, Professor of Chemistry here, is going to make a tour of part of Europe. I gave him a letter of introduction to you, and sent after him, directed to you, one to Sir Joseph Banks, who, I hope, will receive him with civility.

"Warned by the impaired state of my health (though I am not without hopes of a restoration) that what I do I must do quickly, I have begun to print the 'Continuation of my Church History.' We have printed two sheets, and I am promised three in a week. Four volumes will complete the whole. As I have hardly any other source of expense I hope that, if Mr. Wilkinson continues his allowance, I shall be able to finish this with little or no assistance, but if I receive any it will be welcome. No person has been more liberal in his promises to aid me in works of this kind than Mr. Russell, but his affairs have been in such a state that he has not been able. I think to write to him on the subject. He shall have copies for all that he may advance.

"I have just received a very interesting letter from Mr. J. Stone, giving me an account of the state of religion in France and in Germany, where Unitarianism has already gained great ground, and has been the means of putting a stop to the spread of infidelity. He was intimate with Mr. de la Harpe, the tutor of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, and from his letters I have formed great expectations from him. He is the friend of liberty, and in this promises to be a truly patriot prince. Mr. Stone urges me much to go to Paris. But any removal is now out of the question. I must be

thinking of my last, and I am thankful that I see no great cause to be anxious about it. I have lived in good health to the usual term of human life, and hope I have done some good in it, though I am sensible I might have done more. I am particularly thankful that you have been so long preserved to me and to the world. What could I have done without you? and this in many respects. I can only wish that we may derive the same advantage from our intercourse in another state, and the nearer I approach to it the more I think of it. How dark and gloomy must be the prospects of unbelievers in the same circumstances!

"We have had an uncommonly mild winter, such as no person here remembers, and the papers say that you have had a severe one, and that the dearth of provision continues. On the whole, I think a situation in this country more truly eligible than in any other country in the world. We have peace and plenty, and everything in a state of unexampled improvement. I may add that this very place appears to me to be on the whole more eligible than any other that I have seen or heard of.

"Yours and Mrs. Lindsey's most affectionately,

"J. PRIESTLEY."

Priestley survived his wife's death eight years, and found a measure of restored happiness in the children of his eldest son. No murmur ever crossed his lips. He worked on to the very last, correcting proofs of his "Notes on Isaiah" two days before he died, "and, having examined the Greek and Hebrew quotations, and finding them right, he said he was satisfied we should finish the work very well." On the morning of his death, February 6, 1804, he dictated an alteration in a pamphlet; his son read it over to him, and he said: "That is right, and I have now done." He had previously offered grateful thanks to the Almighty for giving him a painless death among his children; and putting his hand before his face, so that those watching him could not tell the exact moment, he passed away in deep and conscious communion with his God.

BESSIE RAYNER BELLOC.

THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

IS the English version of the Lord's Prayer a faithful representation of the original as recorded in St. Matthew? This question, touching as it does the essence and most sacred part of the Gospel, has been so often discussed—in some cases also by Biblical scholars of the first eminence—that it may appear now rather assuming if some one, like the present writer, comes before the public and claims to have something new to say. I duly realise the justice of such scepticism, but beg leave to state at once that my case is rather different from that of previous critics, inasmuch as my native language is Greek, and I have spent my life in studying that language, not only in its classical phase but also, and more particularly, in its post-classical and modern stages. I may also add as pertinent to the subject that I have only lately become acquainted with the English version of the Lord's Prayer, though my proficiency in the English language is of no recent date. These circumstances at once put me obviously in a different position from my English predecessors, in that I am not prepossessed by an interpretation which has become habitual and stereotyped in both my mind and belief, but have received, and that in mature age, the first impressions naturally produced by an English version. It is these impressions that I beg leave to communicate to my readers.

But before I enter upon the discussion of those points on which I believe I have something new to say, it will be expedient to refresh the memory of my reader by premising a few historical remarks bearing directly on the subject. And, first of all, it is necessary to say a few words on the language of the New Testament, that is, on its relation to both previous or classical, and subsequent or Christian Greek. For obvious reasons I shall not go into details. I simply wish to point out a factor which seems to have been hitherto lost sight of.

As is generally known, New Testament Greek is a sort of popular Greek which at the time of Jesus was current in Asia Minor and Egypt as an international language. Both the time and place referred to show enough that New Testament Greek is different from what we are wont to call *classical* Greek. And it is different, not only on account of its having been written at a different period and in a different place, but more particularly because it was intended as a popular instrument, and so approached the vernacular speech. Hence while classical literature, as well as its subsequent imitations—styled as Atticist—represent the *artistic* form of the language, New Testament Greek reflects more or less the *popular* speech. Again, classical writers and their subsequent imitators (Atticists) were representatives of Hellenic culture, whereas the New Testament writers were the exponents of a new doctrine, and entertained no tender sympathy with classical culture and language. Hence there is a signal contrast between New Testament Greek and classical Greek, and this contrast is more marked than that existing between the New Testament language and Byzantine Greek. In point of fact, New Testament Greek, though separated from classical antiquity only by a couple of centuries, is much less similar to it than it is to Byzantine, nay, in many respects even to modern Greek. In these circumstances, a comparison between classical and Biblical Greek, or a study of New Testament Greek on the bases of classical Greek, is not only one-sided and inadequate, but also mistaken in principle. I lay particular stress on this point, because its oversight has led to many and often grave errors.

With the propagation of the Gospel to foreign countries where its original language was not at home, the necessity naturally soon arose for translations. One of these, presumably the earliest, was the so-called *Old Latin* version. It was probably originated in North Africa, where the Church seems to have been Latin-speaking from the first, and was current towards the end of the second century. Turning over to Europe, we find that the Old Latin was soon superseded by another Latin version, called the *Italic*; it is this Latin version which was afterwards cursorily revised by Eusebius Hieronymus, better known as St. Jerome, and called the *Vulgata*, that is, the current Latin text. In process of time, however, the Vulgate version was corrupted by intermixture with other Latin versions, and the discordance among the copies current finally led Pope Sixtus V. to promulgate a revised text in the year 1590. This revision, however, was objected to, and three years later, Clement VIII. replaced it by the present standard edition, current among Roman Catholics, and called the Clementine Vulgate.

I have deemed essential these historical remarks on the Latin version, or Vulgate, because, to use Bishop Westcott's authoritative account,

"for many centuries it was the only Bible generally used, and directly or indirectly it is the real parent of all vernacular versions of Western Europe. . . . With England it has a peculiarly close connection: the earliest (lost) translations were made from it; and the most important monument of its influence is the great English version of Wyclif (1324-1384) which is a literal rendering of the current Vulgate text. . . . Of others that of Luther was the most important, and in this the Vulgate had great weight, though it was made with such use of the originals as was possible. From Luther the influence of the Latin Vulgate passed to our own Authorised Version."

As to the recent or Revised Version, every one knows that it has not essentially departed visibly from the Authorised Version, and that the slight changes in it are rather of the nature of a textual recension than a correcter interpretation.

Thus far we see that all European and other vernacular versions of the New Testament are founded, directly or indirectly, on the Vulgate, which, in its turn, is again a translation from the Greek. Now mark here that we have no responsible authority for the original Vulgate; that St. Jerome's work consisted merely in a cursory revision of some current Latin copy; and that the knowledge of New Testament Greek possessed by all translators, whether ancient or modern, consisted in their familiarity with a dozen *classical* writers, that is, with a language essentially different in both diction and spirit from the New Testament Greek. It is for these reasons, too, that all grammatical treatises hitherto written on Biblical Greek are a mere rehearsal of classical Greek. Every Biblical expression has been measured by the standard of classical Attic. The error is also pardonable, at least as regards mediæval versions, because in those times Greek was considered as an extinct and mysterious language, and any Greek text met with was dismissed with the set phrase, *Græca sunt, non leguntur*.

Another point of cardinal importance for the interpretation of the New Testament is the time and circumstances in which it originated. The Jews had lost their political liberty, and entertained no hope of recovering it, in view of the mightiness of their mistress Rome. In this juncture of political disappointment and moral depression, Jesus appeared on the scene, not as a political speculator or demagogue, but as the Messiah, the providential fulfiller of the Old Testament. And in order to accomplish the work of His divine mission, He took care to dissociate Himself from any political goal; for He knew too well that in so doing He would gain the confidence of His countrymen and at the same time secure the toleration of the Roman Government. Hence, shunning carefully all political phraseology which might compromise Him, He never speaks of a *king* or *kingdom*, but of a *lord* and his *lordship* (dominion, sway). I deliberately make this assertion, because the titles, *king* and *kingdom*, put into His mouth, are based, as we shall presently see, on a misinterpretation of the original.

Having thus chosen the opportune moment for His divine mission, and secured the toleration, or rather indifference, of the Roman authorities, Jesus selected also that mode of propagating His supreme doctrine which best suited the time and circumstances, that is, the intellectual condition and culture of the Jewish people. Hence He adopted the method of graphic narrative by means of concrete and palatable illustration. Taking all circumstances into consideration, it would be impossible to devise a mode of teaching better fitted to engage the attention, to appeal to the taste, to interest the feelings, and to impress effectively the mind of His audience. It is by this method of graphic illustration that He drew multitudes who otherwise would not have listened to truth conveyed in the form of abstract propositions. This engaging mode of teaching, moreover, was familiar to the Jews through the writings of their prophets, so that they, like all Oriental nations, listened with visible pleasure to doctrines wrapped in the veil of simple narrative and allegory. This plain fact accounts, too, for the unusual frequency of parables and stories in the Synoptic Gospels. (Cf. Kitto, "Encycl. of Biblical Literature," iii. p. 412^a.)

As to the principles of Christ's teaching I need not say a word, since they breathe through the whole New Testament. What is essential to emphasise here is the concrete and graphic form alluded to. There are two mighty powers depicted as two spiritual figures. One represents the principle of good, and the other the principle of evil. The former is the Supreme Being; it is God who has sent Christ to "save His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 21). He dwells in heaven, and has angels as attendants and messengers. The other, the principle of evil, is His adversary, Satan; he rules over this world (John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11), assisted by a host of evil and unclean spirits or demons in the execution of his evil work, which consists in laying snares for man, and tempting him to sin, so as to cause his perdition. Jesus Himself very frequently alludes to this personified evil by various more or less euphemistic names, such as *Satan* (σατανᾶς adversary), the *wicked* or *evil one* (ὁ πονηρός), the *chief of spirits* (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν δαιμονίων), the *foe* (ὁ ἐχθρός), *Beelzebub* (Βεελζεβοὺλ), the *ruler of this world* (ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου τούτου). Other appellations of Satan used by the Apostles are the *opponent* (ὁ ἀντικείμενος), the *accuser* (ὁ κατήγωρ), the *old serpent* (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος), the *big dragon* (ὁ δράκων ὁ μέγας), the *god of the present times* (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου), the *tempter* (ὁ πειράζων). He is conceived throughout as a personified spirit with spiritual influence, and his sole mission and action are directed towards defying the will of God by counteracting the Messiah, whom he does not even shrink from tempting. We have thus before us a graphic representation of two mighty allegoric figures engaged in a spiritual struggle, one to *save* and the other to *destroy*.

mankind, with the approaching outcome that Light will prevail over Darkness.

I have dwelt on these general considerations, not only on account of their intrinsic importance for the study of the Bible, but because they indicate the right method of its interpretation. The language of the New Testament being distinguished from all previous and most subsequent compositions by its sublime simplicity of both spirit and diction, it is manifest that the simplest interpretation is also the truest. All theological speculations and philosophical abstractions foisted into it are later accretions originating in patristic and dogmatic theology, and to seek to discover such subtleties in the language of the Gospel is tantamount to an attempt to interpret the Homeric poems by means of Platonic or Aristotelian philosophy.

From these general observations I pass over to my particular subject, the Lord's Prayer. And in order to grasp its spirit fully, I beg my reader to leave for a moment the turmoil of our present social surroundings, and to transfer himself to the remote time and place associated with the Gospel. Let us imagine ourselves transferred to Palestine, and, staff in hand, amidst rural associations of Oriental life, follow the route indicated by the wanderings of Jesus. We shall at length arrive at an elevated out-of-the-way place, called the Mount, where Jesus has retired from the crowd in order to instruct His apostles in the code of true Christian duty before sending them out to preach. One of His holy precepts is how and for what to pray: not ostentatiously, and in vain repetitions like the hypocrites and Gentiles, but privately and quietly; not for treasures, and food, or the like, nor for to-morrow, for all these earthly goods are ephemeral, but for salvation from the adversary; in short, for the absolute establishment of God's dominion in this world disputed by the great enemy. And let the manner after which you must pray, He says, be this:

1. *Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name*; that is, as in heaven by the angels, so on earth by mankind. No further comment is necessary here, since the current interpretation is an adequate rendering of the original, *πάτερ ἡμῶν ὃ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου*. I only call attention to the stress contained in the phrase, "which art in heaven," for it suggests a contradistinction to the lord of this world, afterwards specified ("so on earth").

2. *Thy kingdom come*. This clause but vaguely renders the original *ἔλθτω ἡ βασιλεία σου*. For *kingdom* is nothing but a translation of the Latin *regnum*, a term for the two classical expressions *βασιλεῖον* and *βασιλεία*. In the case, however, of New Testament Greek, in particular that of the Synoptics, it must be remembered that *βασιλεία* supplies the abstract noun, not so much of *βασιλεύς*, *king*, as of *κύριος*, *lord*; for the latter, though very common, has no corresponding abstract of its own (*κυρία* or *κυριότης*).

is hardly used), but borrows it from βασιλεύς. In other words, βασιλεία is, in New Testament Greek, the abstract noun more of κύριος than of βασιλεύς. Now, speaking of the language used by Jesus in particular, as in the present case, we must remember that He employs, neither for Himself nor for His and our Father, the title of *king* (βασιλεύς),* because such a title would have exposed Him in the eyes of the Jewish people and compromised Him with the Roman authorities. He even explicitly disclaims the title of King (Luke xxiii. 2-3, John xviii. 33-36). When He refers to Himself, or to our Father, He uses the term κύριος, *lord, master*, whereas for the abstract notion of this expression He invariably says βασιλεία, that is, *lordship, dominion*. Had He wished to express the idea of "kingdom," He could have easily resorted to the then current term βασίλειον, which is still the only designation in modern Greek. This, however, He avoided for the above reasons. The correlative terms then used are κύριος, *dominus, lord, master*, and βασιλεία, *dominium, lordship, sway, supremacy*, not "kingdom." Hence the exact meaning of ἰλθίτω ἡ βασιλεία σου is "Thy dominion come," that is, Thy sway be extended from heaven to this world (now ruled over by the adversary), so as to extirpate wickedness.

3. *Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth.* This version is, though admissible, a misleading interpretation of γενηθίτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ (τῆς) γῆς. For whether we take the word "will," in its archaic sense of "volition," or in its wider usage of "wish," "pleasure," and the like, it does not, in either acceptation, render the meaning of the Greek θέλημα, which signifies the result or effect of the will, that is τὸ δεδογμένον, *what one has determined, a fixed purpose*. It is, moreover, opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, which represents God not as merely "willing" but *determined* to redeem the world. The English interpretation is doubtless due to the Latin term *voluntas*, as well as to the classical verb (ἐ)θέλω. But θέλημα is a popular term peculiar to post-classical (Hellenistic) and modern Greek, and serves as a substitute for the classical βουλή, βούλευμα, διάγνωσις, *determination, decision*. That this is the case may be corroborated by the following circumstances. (1) Θέλημα is still very common in modern Greek, principally in the above sense of "fixed purpose," "direction," "order;" (2) since post-classical times the proper terms previously used for "purpose," "determination" have become extinct, and there is no other substitute for such a common notion, except θέλημα; (3) the office of "will" in the sense of "volition," which is dispensable, is performed in Hellenistic and Christian Greek, by βουλή, θέλησις;

* Only once it is put into His mouth (Matt. xxv. 34, 40), but even then the question is expressly about His second coming. On the other hand, the Synoptic Gospels apply to God and Jesus the term κύριος over 150 times, βασιλεία nearly 120 times, while κύριος or κυριότης does not occur at all.

(4) the term *θέλημα* frequently stands in the plural, a usage incompatible with the English "will;" (5) combinations like the following are impossible in English if we take *θέλημα* to mean "will": *κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος* (Eph. i. 5) "according to his gracious determination" (not "according to the good pleasure of his will" which is a tautology), and *κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ* (*ibidem*), "according to the purport of his determination" (not "after the counsel of his will," since "counsel of the will" is incomprehensible), &c.; (6) the verb *θέλω*, the parent and parallel companion of *θέλημα*, which is very common in all stages of Greek, has appropriated, already since post-classical times, the office and meaning of the classical *(δια)γιγνώσκω, δοκεῖ μοι*, I "resolve," "determine." Hence the translation of *θέλω* by the English "I will," as now used, often perverts the sense.*

4. *Give us this day our daily bread* or "our bread for the coming day," is the current translation of the Greek *τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον* *δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον*, or rather of the Old Latin version *panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie*. This petitional sentence has called forth many disquisitions among Biblical and classical scholars on account of the word *ἐπιούσιος*, which appears here for the first time in the Greek language. As there was no classical guide except etymological and theoretical speculation, much erudition has been displayed or rather wasted, because the cardinal point has been lost sight of, viz., that the leading characteristic of the Gospel is its eminent simplicity, and therefore calls for a simple interpretation. That Jesus or His recorder St. Matthew (also Luke xi. 3) in coining the term *ἐπιούσιος* had in his mind no etymological or grammatical subtleties is too manifest to be dwelt upon. On the other hand, all English versions I have seen—our daily bread, our bread of the coming day, our bread of or for the day—are foreign both to the spirit and language of the New Testament. For in the first place it is inconsistent to pray this day for the bread of every day to come or even for the bread of to-morrow. This is furthermore expressly and repeatedly deprecated by Jesus Himself in the very same sermon, (vi. 25 *seq.*), "Therefore I say unto you trouble not your spirit about what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink, nor your body about what ye shall put on; is not the spirit more than food, and the body more

* As an illustration I may take Matt. xvi. 24, *ὃς γὰρ ἂν θέλῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ σῶσαι ἀπολέσει αὐτήν*, which means simply "whosoever *purposes*, or *wants*, to save his life, shall lose it." This is rendered in the Authorised Version by "whosoever *will* save his life shall lose it," but this translation now implies a mere futurity and contradiction. As to the rendering of the Revised Version, "whosoever *would* save his life shall lose it," it introduces a conditional relative construction (optative mood) not only militating against the meaning of the original, but utterly unknown to the New Testament writers, who never use the optative except in indirect and parenthetical sentences. The same error mars Matt. xx. 27 (for "whosoever *wants* to be great"); Luke ix. 23 (for "if any man *wants* to come after me"); John vii. 44 (for "some of them *wanted* to apprehend him"); Mark vi. 9 (for "Herodias had an inward grudge against him and *wanted* to kill him"); Rom. vii. 15 (it should be "for not what I *want*, this do I practice"), &c.

than raiment? Behold the birds of the sky, that they sow not, neither do they reap, *nor gather into barns*, and your Heavenly Father feedeth them. . . . Therefore take no care saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek. For your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the dominion of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you. *Therefore take no care for to-morrow*, for the morrow shall take care of itself."

As a matter of fact, the qualifying term *ἐπιούσιος* has absolutely nothing to do with this or any other coming or past *day*, nor does it refer to time at all. Its true meaning has to be sought elsewhere. We know that St. Matthew was very familiar with the Septuagint version, and that he quotes, or refers to, it constantly. For a similar familiarity of Jesus, His frequent reference to the same source speaks.* Now the Septuagint several times uses (Ex. xix. 5, Deut. vii. 6, xiv. 2, xxvi. 18) a new term, *περιούσιος*, in the sense of "constituting a property." It is obviously coined from *περιουσία*, "wealth," "abundance," for the translation of the Hebrew *segulla*, "acquired property," "wealth," "treasure," *πλοῦτος*, *θησαυρός*.† It is to this term of earthly goods (*περιουσία*) that Jesus alludes when He says, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon the earth" (Matt. vi. 19), but ask simply for your bread, *τὸν ἄρτον*; ask not for bread *περιούσιον*, to be treasured up as wealth (*segulla*, *θησαυρός*), but for

* "The quotations from the Old Testament in this [St. Matthew's] Gospel, which are very numerous [forty-eight in all against twenty-three in St. Mark, twenty-three in St. Luke and fourteen in St. John—not counting the mere references], are of two kinds: those introduced into the narrative to point out the fulfilment of prophecies, &c., and those where, in the course of the narrative, the persons introduced, and especially our Lord Himself, make use of Old Testament quotations. Between these two classes a difference of treatment is observable. In the latter class, where the citations occur in discourses, the *Septuagint version* is followed (as iii. 3; iv. 4, 6, 7, 10; xv. 4, 8, 9; xix. 5, 18; xxi. 13, 42; xxii. 39, 44; xxiii. 39, xxiv. 15; xxvi. 31; xxvii. 46), *even where it deviates somewhat from the original* (as iii. 3, xiii. 14); or where it ceases to follow the very words, the deviations do not come from a closer adherence to the Hebrew Old Testament: except in two cases (xi. 10 and xxvi. 31). The quotations in the narrative, however, do not follow the Septuagint, but appear to be a translation from the Hebrew text (as i. 23; ii. 6, 15, 18; iv. 15, 16; viii. 17, xii. 18-21; xiii. 35; xxi. 5; xxvii. 9, 10). Thus we have the remarkable phenomenon that, whereas the Gospels agree most exactly in the speeches of persons, and most of all in those of our Lord, the quotations in these speeches are reproduced, not by the closest rendering of the Hebrew, but from the Septuagint version, although many or most of them must have been spoken in the vernacular Hebrew, and could have had nothing to do with the Septuagint. A mere translator could not have done this. But an independent writer, using the Greek tongue and wishing to conform his narrative to the oral teaching of the Apostles, might have used for the quotations the well-known Greek Old Testament used by his colleagues. There is an independence in the mode of dealing with citations throughout, which is inconsistent with the function of a mere translator."—The late Archbishop of York (Dr. William Thomson) in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. iii. p. 1834^b.

† The formation *περιούσιος* was apparently facilitated by the presence of such words as *πλοῦσιος*, *ἐκούσιος*, *ἐθελοῦσιος*. Another view is that *περιούσιος* is derived from *οὐσία*, "substance" on the analogy of *ἐνούσιος*, *ἐτερούσιος*, *ὁμοούσιος*, *πολυούσιος*. But this is a fallacy, since these terms are posterior formations due to the very words just referred to—viz., *ἐπιούσιος*, *περιούσιος*. Such a derivation, moreover, would presuppose a familiarity of the Septuagint with *οὐσία* used at that time as a philosophical term foreign to the spirit and language of the Bible.

bread ἐπιούσιον, mere bread. Accordingly the term ἐπιούσιος is a new formation coined for the purpose, presumably by Jesus Himself (hence it is preserved also by Luke), on the analogy of, and as a direct allusion and contrast to, περιούσιος, that is, intended to imply the opposite meaning of "treasure-like," "abundant." This intended contrast or, to use a grammatical term, dissociation, is also emphasised by the syntactical position τὸν ἄρτον τὸν ἐπιούσιον, instead of the more common and simpler construction, τὸν ἐπιούσιον ἄρτον. That ἐπιούσιος stands in direct allusion to περιούσιος appears also from its abnormal form ἐπιούσιος, which otherwise would be ἐπούσιος.

It may be, of course, objected that all commentators, even the earliest, have understood the term ἐπιούσιος to mean *daily*, but the misconception arose on the one hand from the total absence of this novel term from the common as well as from the literary language of the time, and on the other from its collocation with the emphatic word σήμερον, "this day." It is this circumstance that gave rise to many rather confusing than elucidating commentaries. But it will be remembered that all such learned interpretations originated in a period when Biblical research had risen to a philosophical theology. That speculative theories of the kind are incompatible with the severe simplicity of the Gospel has already been pointed out.

The simplest and truest interpretation, therefore, of the passage under consideration is: *Give us this day our mere (or simple) bread*; or, to use a homely phrase, "Give us this day our bread and butter."

5. *And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil one (or from evil)*, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. I propose to treat both clauses of this sentence together, because they express much the same idea, one in the negative and the other in the affirmative. In point of fact they explain each other. It is this close affinity, too, which accounts for the omission by St. Luke of the second part, "but deliver us from the evil one." But before entering into a parallel examination of the two clauses, it will be convenient to explain the phrase, "and lead us not into temptation," since in its present form it cannot be well reconciled with either the precepts of the Gospel or logic. It is impossible, indeed, to conceive God as tempting mankind. This is also explicitly denied in St. James's Epistle (i. 13), "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted by God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth He any man." The incongruity of the passage was perceived by the earliest commentators, who endeavoured to remove it by observing: "Suffer us not to be led into temptation."* But such comments are out of place; they are

* Multi precando ita dicunt: nenos patiaris induci in temptationem (St. Augustine "De Serm. Dom." ed. Migne, t. 34, 1282; also in "De Dono Persev." 45, 1000; so too Cyprian, Tertullian, and others). Καὶ δὴ καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ μὴ ἐδάσῃς ἡμᾶς ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς πειρασμόν. Dionysios of Alexandria (ed. Migne, 10, 1601).

due to a misinterpretation of the Greek verb *εἰσενέγκης*. If post-classical and Biblical Greek had been duly studied, it would have been known that the active form of the verb was, at Jesus's time, rapidly gaining ground before the middle form, and that accordingly *εἰσενεγκεῖν* here stands for *εἰσενεγκέσθαι*, or rather *εἰσενέγκασθαι*, "to have one brought or led into," "to cause one to come into." Mark further that the middle form, if actually used, would in the present case be *εἰσενέγκη* instead of the extant *εἰσενέγκηΣ*. It is unnecessary to emphasise here the possibility that the original text showed the reading *εἰσενέγκη*, and that this form, owing to its coincidence and confusion with the third person active, was mistaken for a *lapsus calami* of some previous scribe, and thus called forth the "correction" of *εἰσενέγκη* to *εἰσενέγκηΣ*. Be that as it may, either form must be rendered as if it were actually middle; "*have us not brought into.*" It may be also added, by the way, that the whole phrase is peculiar to the post-classical mode of thinking; a classical writer would have more probably used the reverse turning, *μὴ εἰσενέγκη(ς) εἰς ἡμᾶς πειρασμόν*, assuming the term *πειρασμόν* to be classical, and mean "temptation."

And now let us return to the parallel examination of the whole sentence under consideration. We have here to do with two adversative clauses linked by *but* (*ἀλλά*). The nature of the case points to an antithesis between two notions of a sentence, all other items being assumed as cognate. The notions contrasted are manifestly "let us not come (lead us not) into, but deliver us from"—say N. There is no other reasonable way of expressing an antithesis like the present, for we cannot say "let us not come to the Turk, but deliver us from the French." We can only say "let us not come to the American, but deliver us from the Yankee," American and Yankee being taken here for synonymous. To return to our point, the sentence taken either in its logical or grammatical construction, asks simply "let us not come to, but deliver us from, the evil one." I translate the Greek term *πονηρός* by the English "evil one" without further comment, because I see that common sense and scholarship have at length prevailed over prejudice and given the word its due and indisputable meaning. We have thus arrived at a point which suggests the meaning of another word, viz. *temptation*, and which, for ought I know, has never been touched before. The Greek term for it is *πειρασμός*. It has already been alluded to that this *peirasmós* must be a cognate term with "evil one." The nature of the antithetical construction "let us not come to *peirasmós*, but deliver us from the evil one," requires that *peirasmós* and "evil one" must represent kindred notions. Only such an assumption, moreover, can account for the omission by St. Luke of the second part of the sentence. Now I for one cannot satisfy myself that "temptation"

in its ordinary sense *enticement* (to evil) or *trial*, that is "suffering which tests virtue," can be taken as synonymous with "evil one," and that too in the plain and unsophisticated diction of the Synoptic Gospels. The same consideration applies to the Latin version *tentatio*, the French *tentation*, and the German *Versuchung*. As to the Greek *πειρασμός*, the case is different. It is true that its etymology points to the classical *πείρα*, "trial," "test," and *πειρᾶσθαι*, "to try," "to test"; but these classical parents were almost forgotten in the common or popular language of Jesus's time, their place having been taken by the parallel terms *δοκιμή* and *δοκιμάζειν*, terms which have been in universal usage from classical antiquity down to the present time. The parent words *πείρα* and *πειρᾶσθαι*, therefore, belonging as they do to classical and Atticist Greek exclusively, cannot be a safe criterion for the interpretation of the Biblical *πειράζειν* and *πειρασμός*, since the latter are late formations used in the New Testament, not to express the notion of "try" and "trial," or the like—for which there was no need in presence of the ancient and popular terms *δοκιμή* and *δοκιμάζειν*—but for a quite different purpose: to designate the especial methods and actions of the evil one. It is in this special sense that both the verb *πειράζειν* and the noun *πειρασμός* are always used in the Synoptic Gospels. It is also in this particular sense that the Greek Church fathers and interpreters have at all times understood and used the term *πειρασμός*.

It may be even noted that the term *peirasmós*, owing to its constant association with the devil's practice on the one hand and its *masculine* gender (*ὁ πειρασμός*) on the other, soon led Christian Greeks to the belief that *peirasmós* was nothing else than a euphemistic expression for the devil himself. Hence *peirasmós* since the fourth century, if not earlier, has been identified with Satan. Even such eminent Church fathers as Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 357), younger brother of Basil the Great, so understood the term. Commenting on this very passage of the Lord's Prayer ("De Oratione Dominica," ed. Migne, t. 44, p. 1192 B *sq.*), this learned bishop says:

"It seems to me that the Lord calls 'the wicked one' by many and various names, designating him, according to the variety of his wicked actions, as the Devil, Beelzebub, Mammon, Ruler of the World, Manslayer, Wicked One, Father of Lying, and such like. Therefore one of these appellations descriptive of him may also be *peirasmós*. This assumption is, too, confirmed by the context. For having said 'Bring us not to *peirasmós*,' he subjoined 'deliver us from the wicked one,' *the same thing being obviously meant by either name*. For if he that has not come within the reach of *peirasmós* is altogether out of the reach of the wicked one, and he that has fallen into *peirasmós* has of necessity fallen into the wicked one, it follows that the *peirasmós* and the wicked one are identical in meaning."

So too Nilus (A.D. 430), a pupil and friend of John Chrysostomos, says

distinctly (ed. Migne, tom. 79, p. 573b) "*peirasmós* is called the devil himself; *peirasmós* is called also the method by which the enemy is wont to tempt mankind." Another contemporary authority is Palladius (A.D. 420), who, in his "*Historia Lausiaca*" (ed. Migne, tom. 34), p. 1042a A, speaks of the incitements of the *peirasmós*, the hater of the Good (*μισόκαλος*). Similarly the *peirasmós* is graphically represented in "The Acts of Thomas" (ed. Max Bonet), 30, as a corpse of a beautiful youth stretched by the road and watched by an atrocious dragon, who, at the approach of St. Thomas, burst out into infernal groaning and wailing. Further evidence from subsequent sources is unnecessary, since all Greek-speaking Christians have ever since identified the *peirasmós* with the evil spirit.

In face of these considerations and testimonies, the term *peirasmós* cannot possibly mean "test" or "trial." It can only denote the fiendish arts and methods of the Old Serpent. Now what the methods of this author of evil are, we know: to cause man's perdition by setting snares or traps for him (Luke xxi. 35; 1 Tim. iii. 7; vi. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 26), by tempting him to sin. Inasmuch, then, as the word *temptation* can represent the work of the evil one and so be closely associated, if not identified, with the *tempter*, its usage in the Lord's Prayer for the Greek *πειρασμός* is defensible. But how many Christians, or even ministers, think of the tempter's influence when they say or interpret the Lord's Prayer?

To sum up my observations, I believe that a faithful version into English of the Lord's Prayer would—leaving the choice of the appropriate diction to more competent authorities—run somewhat thus:

"Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name—thy dominion come—thy (fixed) purpose be done: as in heaven, so too on earth. Give us this day our mere (or simple) bread, and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors theirs; and let us not fall into a tempter's snare, but deliver us from the evil one." And if we admit the spurious doxology—"For thine is the dominion, and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen."

A. N. JANNARIS.

WEISMANNISM ONCE MORE.

• **A**MONG those who follow a controversy to its close, not one in a hundred turns back to its beginning to see whether its chief theses have been dealt with. Very often the leading arguments of one disputant, seen by the other to be unanswerable, are quietly ignored, and attention is concentrated on subordinate arguments to which replies, actually or seemingly valid, can be made. The original issue is thus commonly lost sight of.

More than once I have pointed out that, as influencing men's views about Education, Ethics, Sociology, and Politics, the question whether acquired characters are inherited is the most important question before the scientific world. Hence I cannot allow the discussion with Professor Weismann to end in so futile a way as it will do if no summary of results is made. Here, therefore, I propose to recapitulate the whole case in brief. Primarily my purpose is to recall certain leading propositions which, having been passed by unnoticed, remain outstanding. I will pass, in the second place, to such propositions as have been dealt with; hoping to show that the replies given are invalid, and consequently that these propositions also remain outstanding.

But something beyond a summing-up is intended. A few pages at the close will be devoted to setting forth new evidence which has come to light since the controversy commenced—evidence which many will think sufficient in itself to warrant a positive conclusion.

The fact that the tip of the fore-finger has thirty times the power of discrimination possessed by the middle of the back, and that various intermediate degrees of discriminative power are possessed by various parts of the skin, was set down as a datum for my first

argument. The causes which might be assigned for these remarkable contrasts were carefully examined under all their aspects. I showed in detail that the contrasts could not in any way be accounted for by natural selection. I further showed that no interpretation of them is afforded by the alleged process of panmixia: this has no *locus standi* in the case. Having proved, experimentally, that ability of the fingers to discriminate is increased by practice, and having pointed out that gradations of discriminativeness in different parts correspond with gradations in the activities of the parts as used for tactual exploration, I argued that these contrasts have arisen from the organised and inherited effects of tactual converse with surrounding things, varying in its degrees according to the positions of the parts—in other words, that they are due to the inheritance of acquired characters. As a crowning proof I instanced the case of the tongue-tip, which has twice the discriminativeness of the fore-finger-tip; pointing out that, consciously or semi-consciously, or unconsciously, the tongue-tip is perpetually exploring the inner surfaces of the teeth.

Singling out this last case, Professor Weismann made, or rather adopted from Dr. Romanes, what professed to be a reply, but was nothing more than the blank form of a reply. It was said that though this extreme discriminativeness of the tongue-tip is of no use to mankind, it may have been of use to certain ancestral *primates*. No evidence of any such use was given; no imaginable use was assigned. It was simply suggested that there perhaps was a use.

In my rejoinder, after indicating the illusory nature of this proceeding (which is much like offering a cheque on a bank where no assets have been deposited to meet it), I pointed out that had the evidence furnished by the tongue-tip never been mentioned, the evidence otherwise furnished amply sufficed. I then drew attention to the fact that this evidence had been passed over, and tacitly inquired why.

No reply.*

In his essay on "The All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection," Professor Weismann set out, not by answering one of the arguments I had used, but by importing into the discussion an argument used by another writer, which it was easy to meet. It had been contended that the smallness and deformity of the little toe are consequent upon the effects of boot-pressure, inherited from generation to generation. To this Professor Weismann made the sufficient reply, that the

* In "The All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, Sept. 1893, p. 311), Professor Weismann writes: "I have ever contended that the acceptance of a principle of explanation is justified, if it can be shown that without it certain facts are inexplicable." Unless, then, Professor Weismann can show that the distribution of discriminativeness is otherwise explicable, he is bound to accept the explanation I have given, and admit the inheritance of acquired characters.

fusion of the phalanges and otherwise degraded structure of the little toe, exist among peoples who go barefoot.

In my "Rejoinder" I said that though the inheritance of acquired characters does not explain this degradation in the way alleged, it explains it in a way which Professor Weismann overlooks. The cause is one which has been operating ever since the earliest anthro-poid creatures began to decrease their life in trees and increase their life on the earth's surface. The mechanics of walking and running, in so far as they concern the question at issue, were analysed; and it was shown that effort is economised and efficiency increased in proportion as the stress is thrown more and more on the inner digits of the foot and less and less on the outer digits. So that thus the foot furnishes us simultaneously with an instance of increase from use and of decrease from disuse: a further disproof being yielded of the allegation that co-operative parts vary together, since we have here co-operative parts of which one grows while the other dwindles.

I ended by pointing out that, so far from strengthening his own case, Professor Weismann had, by bringing into the controversy this changed structure of the foot, given occasion for strengthening the opposite case.

No reply.

We come now to Professor Weismann's endeavour to disprove my second thesis—that it is impossible to explain by natural selection alone the co-adaptation of co-operative parts. It is thirty years since this was set forth in "The Principles of Biology." In § 166, I instanced the enormous horns of the extinct Irish elk, and contended that in this and in kindred cases, where for the efficient use of some one enlarged part many other parts have to be simultaneously enlarged, it is out of the question to suppose that they can have all spontaneously varied in the required proportions. In "The Factors of Organic Evolution," by way of enforcing this argument, which had, so far as I know, never been met, I dwelt upon the aberrant structure of the giraffe. And then, in the essay which initiated this controversy, I brought forward yet a third case—that of an animal which, previously accustomed only to walking, acquires the power of leaping.

In the first of his articles in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW (September 1893), Professor Weismann made no direct reply, but he made an indirect reply. He did not attempt to show how there could have taken place in the stag the "harmonious variation of the different parts that co-operate to produce one physiological result" (p. 311); but he contended that such harmonious variation *must* have taken place, because the like has taken place in "the neuters of state-forming insects"—"animal forms which do not reproduce themselves,

but are always propagated anew by parents which are unlike them" (p. 313), and which therefore cannot have transmitted acquired characters. Singling out those soldier-neuters which exist among certain kinds of ants, he described (p. 318) the many co-ordinated parts required to make their fighting organs efficient. He then argued that the required simultaneous changes can "only have arisen by a selection of the parent-ants dependent on the fact that those parents which produced the best workers had always the best prospect of the persistence of their colony. No other explanation is conceivable; and it is just because no other explanation is conceivable, that it is necessary for us to accept the principle of natural selection" (pp. 318-9).

[This passage initiated a collateral controversy, which, as continually happens, has greatly obscured the primary controversy. It became a question whether these forms of neuter insects have arisen as Professor Weismann assumes, or whether they have arisen from arrested development consequent upon innutrition. To avoid entanglements I must for the present pass over this collateral controversy, intending to resume it presently, when the original issues have been dealt with.]

No one will suspect me of thinking that the inconceivability of the negation is not a valid criterion, since, in "The Universal Postulate," published in the *Westminster Review* in 1852, and afterwards in "The Principles of Psychology," I contended that it is the ultimate test of truth. But then in every case there has to be determined the question—*Is the negation inconceivable?* and, in assuming that it is so in the case named, lies the fallacy of the above-quoted passage. The three separate ways in which I dealt with this position of Professor Weismann are as follows:—

If we admit the assumption that the form of the soldier-ant has been developed since the establishment of the organised ant-community in which it exists, Professor Weismann's assertion that no other process than that which he alleges is conceivable, is true. But I pointed out that this assumption is inadmissible; and that no valid conclusion respecting the genesis of the soldier-ant can be drawn without postulating either the ascertained, or the probable, structure of those pre-social, or semi-social, ants from which the organised social ants have descended. I went on to contend that the pre-social type must have been a conquering type, and that, therefore, in all probability the soldier-ants represent most nearly the structure of those ancestral ants which existed when the society had perfect males and females, and could transmit acquired characters, while the other members of the existing communities are degraded forms of the type.

No reply.

A further argument I used was that where there exist different castes among the neuter-ants, as those seen in the soldiers and workers

of the Driver ants of West Africa, "they graduate insensibly into each other" alike in their sizes and in their structures; and that Professor Weismann's hypothesis implies a special set of "determinants" for each intermediate form. Or, if he should say that the intermediate forms result from mixtures of the determinants of the two extreme forms, there still remains the further difficulty that natural selection has maintained, for innumerable generations, these intermediate forms which are injurious deviations from the useful extreme forms.

No reply.

One further reason—fatal it seems to me—was urged in bar of his interpretation. No physical cause has been, or can be, assigned why, in the germ-plasm of any particular queen-ant, the "determinants" initiating these various co-operative organs, all simultaneously vary in fitting ways and degrees, and still less why there occur such co-ordinated variations generation after generation, until, by their accumulated results, these efficient co-operative structures have been evolved. I pointed out that, in the absence of any assigned or assignable physical cause, it is necessary to assume a fortuitous concurrence of favourable variations, which means "a fortuitous concourse of atoms"; and that it would be just as rational, and much more consistent, to assume that the structure of the entire organism thus resulted.

No reply.

It is reasonable to suspect that Professor Weismann recognised these difficulties as insuperable, for, in his Romanes Lecture on "The Effect of External Influences upon Development," instead of his previous indirect reply, he makes a direct reply. Reverting to the stag and its enlarging horns, he alleges a process by which, as he thinks, we may understand how, by variation and selection, all the bones and muscles of the neck, of the thorax, and of the fore-legs, are step by step adjusted in their sizes to the increasing sizes of the horns. He ascribes this harmonisation to the internal struggle for nutriment, and that survival of the fittest which takes place among the parts of an organism: a process which he calls "*intra-individual-selection*, or more briefly—*intra-selection*" (p. 12).

"Wilhelm Roux has given an explanation of the cause of these wonderfully fine adaptations by applying the principle of selection to the parts of the organism. Just as there is a struggle for survival among the individuals of a species, and the fittest are victorious, so also do even the smallest living particles contend with one another, and those that succeed best in securing food and place grow and multiply rapidly, and so displace those that are less suitably equipped" (p. 12).*

* Professor Weismann is unaware that the view here ascribed to Roux, writing in 1881, is of far earlier date. In the *Westminster Review* for January 1860, in an essay on "The Social Organism," I wrote: "One more parallelism to be here noted, is that

That I do not explain as he does the co-adaptation of co-operative parts, Professor Weismann ascribes to my having overlooked this "principle of intra-selection"—an unlucky supposition, as we see. But I do not think that when recognising it a generation ago, I should have seen its relevancy to the question at issue, had that issue then been raised, and I certainly do not see it now. Full reproduction of Professor Weismann's explanation is impracticable, for it occupies several pages, but here are the essential sentences from it :

"The great significance of intra-selection appears to me not to depend on its producing structures that are directly transmissible—it cannot do that—but rather consists in its causing a development of the germ-structure, acquired by the selection of individuals, which will be suitable to varying conditions. . . . We may therefore say that intra-selection effects the adaptation of the individual to its chance developmental conditions—the suiting of the hereditary primary constituents to fresh circumstances" (p. 16). . . . "But as the primary variations in the phyletic metamorphosis occurred little by little, the secondary adaptations would probably as a rule be able to keep pace with them. Time would thus be gained till, in the course of generations, by constant selection of those germs the primary constituents of which are best suited to one another, the greatest possible degree of harmony may be reached, and consequently a definitive metamorphosis of the species involving all the parts of the individual may occur" (p. 19).

The connecting sentences, along with those which precede and succeed, would not, if quoted, give to the reader clearer conceptions than these by themselves give. But when disentangled from Professor Weismann's involved statements, the essential issues are, I think, clear enough. In the case of the stag, that daily working together of the numerous nerves, muscles and bones concerned, by which they are adjusted to the carrying and using of somewhat heavier horns, produces on them effects which, as I hold, are inheritable, but which, as Professor Weismann holds, are not inheritable. If they are not inheritable, what must happen? A fawn of the next generation is born with no such adjustment of nerves, muscles and bones as had been produced by greater exercise in the parent, and with no tendency to such adjustment. Consequently if, in successive generations, the horns go on enlarging, all these nerves, muscles and bones, remaining of the original sizes, become utterly inadequate. The result is loss of life: the process of adaptation fails.

the different parts of a social organism, like the different parts of an individual organism, compete for nutriment; and severally obtain more or less of it, according as they are discharging more or less duty." (See also "Essays," i. 290.) And then, in 1876, in "The Principles of Sociology," vol. i. § 247, I amplified the statement thus: "All other organs, therefore, jointly and individually, compete for blood with each organ . . . local tissue-formation (which under normal conditions measures the waste of tissue in discharging function) is itself a cause of increased supply of materials . . . the resulting competition, not between units simply, but between organs, causes in a society, as in a living body, high nutrition and growth of parts called into greatest activity by the requirements of the rest." Though I did not use the imposing phrase "intra-individual-selection," the process described is the same.

"No," says Professor Weismann, "we must conclude that the germ-plasm has varied in the needful manner." How so? The process of "intra-individual-selection," as he calls it, can have had no effect, since the cells of the soma cannot influence the reproductive cells. In what way, then, has the germ-plasm gained the characters required for producing simultaneously all these modified co-operative parts. Well, Professor Weismann tells us merely that we must suppose that the germ-plasm acquires a certain sensitiveness such as gives it a proclivity to development in the requisite ways. How is such proclivity obtainable? Only by having a multitude of its "determinants" simultaneously changed in fit modes. Emphasising the fact that even a small failure in any one of the co-operative parts may be fatal, as the sprain of an over-taxed muscle shows us, I alleged that the chances are infinity to one against the needful variations taking place at the same time. Divested of its elaboration, its abstract words and technical phrases, the outcome of Professor Weismann's explanation is that he accepts this, and asserts that the infinitely improbable thing takes place!

Either his argument is a disguised admission of the inheritableness of acquired characters (the effects of "intra-selection") or else it is as before, the assumption of a fortuitous concurrence of favourable variations in the determinants—"a fortuitous concurrence of atoms."

Leaving here this main issue, I return now to that collateral issue named on a preceding page as being postponed — whether the neuters among social insects result from specially-modified germ-plasms or whether they result from the treatment received during their larval stages.

For the substantiation of his doctrine Professor Weismann is obliged to adopt the first of these alternatives; and in his Romanes Lecture he found it needful to deal with the evidence I brought in support of the second alternative. He says that "poor feeding is not the *causa efficiens* of sterility among bees, but is merely the stimulus which not only results in the formation of rudimentary ovaries, but at the same time calls forth all the other distinctive characters of the workers" (pp. 29-30); and he says this although he has in preceding lines admitted that it is "true of all animals that they reproduce only feebly or not at all when badly and insufficiently nourished"; a known cause being thus displaced by a supposed cause. But Professor Weismann proceeds to justify his interpretation by experimentally obtained evidence.

He "reared large numbers of the eggs of a female blow-fly"; the larvæ of some he fed abundantly, but the larvæ of others sparingly; and eventually he obtained from the one set flies of full size, and from the other small flies. Nevertheless the small flies were fertile,

as well as the others. Here, then, was proof that innutrition had not produced infertility; and he contends that therefore among the neuter social insects, infertility has not resulted from innutrition. The argument seems strong, and to many will appear conclusive; but there are two differences which entirely vitiate the comparison Professor Weismann institutes.

One of them has been pointed out by Mr. Cunningham. In the case of the blow-fly the food supplied to the larvæ, though different in quantity, was the same in quality; in the case of the social insects the food supplied, whether or not different in quantity, differs in quality. Among bees, wasps, ants, &c., the larvæ of the reproductive forms are fed upon a more nitrogenous food than are the larvæ of the workers; whereas the two sets of larvæ of the blow-fly, as fed by Professor Weismann, were alike supplied with highly nitrogenous food. Hence there did not exist the same cause for non-development of the reproductive organs. Here, then, is one vitiation of the supposed parallel. There is a second.

While the development of an embryo follows in a rude way the phyletic metamorphoses passed through by its ancestry, the order of development of organs is often gradually modified by the needs of particular species: the structures being developed in such order as conduces to self-sustentation and the welfare of offspring. Among other results there arise differences in the relative dates of maturity of the reproductive system and of the other systems. It is clear, *a priori*, that it must be fatal to a species if offspring are habitually produced before the conditions requisite for their survival are fulfilled. And hence, if the life is a complex one, and the care taken of offspring is great, reproduction must be much longer delayed than where the life is simple and the care of offspring absent or easy. The contrast between men and oxen sufficiently illustrates this truth. Now the subordination of the order of development of parts to the needs of the species, is conspicuously shown in the contrast between these two kinds of insects which Professor Weismann compares as though their requirements were similar. What happens with the blow-fly? If it is able to suck up some nutriment, to fly tolerably, and to scent out dead flesh, various of its minor organs may be more or less imperfect without appreciable detriment to the species: the eggs can be laid in a fit place, and that is all that is wanted. Hence it profits the species to have the reproductive system developed comparatively early—in advance, even, of various less essential parts. Quite otherwise is it with social insects, which take such remarkable care of their young; or rather, to make the case parallel—quite otherwise is it with those types from which the social insects have descended, bringing into the social state their inherited instincts and constitutions. Consider the doings of the mason-wasp, or mason-bee, or those of the carpenter-

bee. What, in these cases, must the female do that she may rear members of the next generation? There is a fit place for building or burrowing to be chosen; there is the collecting together of grains of sand and cementing them into a strong and waterproof cell, or there is the burrowing into wood and there building several cells; there is the collecting of food to place along with the eggs deposited in these cells, solitary or associated, including that intelligent choice of small caterpillars which, discovered and carried home, are carefully packed away and hypnotised by a sting, so that they may live until the growing larva has need of them. For all these proceedings there have to be provided the fit external organs—cutting instruments, &c., and the fit internal organs—complicated nerve-centres in which are located these various remarkable instincts, and ganglia by which these delicate operations have to be guided. And these special structures have, some if not all of them, to be made perfect and brought into efficient action before egg-laying takes place. Ask what would happen if the reproductive system were active in advance of these ancillary appliances. The eggs would have to be laid without protection or food, and the species would forthwith disappear. And if that full development of the reproductive organs which is marked by their activity, is not needful until these ancillary organs have come into play, the implication, in conformity with the general law above indicated, is that the perfect development of the reproductive organs will take place later than that of these ancillary organs, and that if innutrition checks the general development, the reproductive organs will be those which chiefly suffer. Hence, in the social types which have descended from these solitary types, this order of evolution of parts will be inherited, and will entail the results I have inferred.

If only deductively reached, this conclusion would, I think, be fully justified. But now observe that it is more than deductively reached. It is established by observation. Professor Riley, Ph.D., late Government Entomologist of the United States, in his annual address as President of the Biological Society of Washington,* on January 29, 1894, said:

“Among the more curious facts connected with these Termites, because of their exceptional nature, is the late development of the internal sexual organs in the reproductive forms” (p. 34).

Though what has been shown of the Termites has not been shown of the other social insects, which belong to a different order, yet, considering the analogies between their social states and between their constitutional requirements, it is a fair inference that what holds in the one case holds partially, if not fully, in the other. Should it be said that the larval forms do not pass into the pupa-state in the one

* “Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington,” vol. ix.

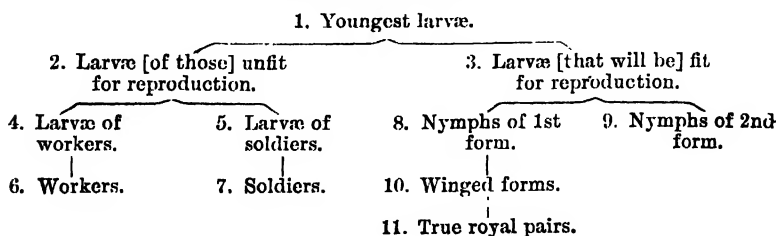
case as they do in the other, the answer is that it does not affect the principle. The larva carries into the pupa-state a fixed quantity of tissue-forming material for the production of the imago. If the material is sufficient, then a complete imago is formed. If it is not sufficient, then while the earlier-formed organs are not affected by the deficiency, the deficiency is felt when the latest formed organs come to be developed, and they are consequently imperfect.

Even if left without reply, Professor Weismann's interpretation commits him to some insuperable difficulties, which I must now point out. Unquestionably he has "the courage of his opinions"; and it is shown throughout this collateral discussion as elsewhere. He is compelled by accumulated evidence to admit "that there is only *one* kind of egg, from which queens and workers as well as males arise."* But if the production of one or other form from the same germ does not result from speciality of feeding, what does it result from? Here is his reply:

"We must rather suppose that the primary constituents of two distinct reproductive systems—*e.g.*, those of the queen and worker—are contained in the germ-plasm of the egg" (p. 35).

"The courage of his opinions," which Professor Weismann shows in this assumption, is, however, quite insufficient. For since he himself has just admitted that there is only one kind of egg for queens, workers, and males, he must at any rate assume three sets of "determinants." (I find that on a subsequent page he does so.) But this is not enough, for there are, in many cases, two if not more kinds of workers, which implies that four sets of determinants must co-exist in the same egg. Even now we have not got to the extent of the assumption required. In the address above referred to, on "Social Insects from Psychical and Evolutional Points of View," Professor Riley gives us (p. 33) the—

Forms in a Termes Colony under Normal Conditions.



Hence as, in this family tree, the royal pair includes male and female, it results that there are *five* different adult forms (Grassi says there are two others) arising from like eggs or larvæ; and Professor

* Romanes Lecture, p. 29.

Weismann's hypothesis becomes proportionately complicated. Let us observe what the complications are.

It often happens in controversy—metaphysical controversy more than any other—that propositions are accepted without their terms having been mentally represented. In public proceedings documents are often “taken as read,” sometimes with mischievous results; and in discussions, propositions are often taken as thought, when they have not been thought and cannot be thought. It sufficiently taxes imagination to assume, as Professor Weismann does, that two sets of “ids” or of “determinants” in the same egg are, throughout all the cell-divisions which end in the formation of the *morula*, kept separate, so that they may subsequently energize independently; or that if they are not thus kept separate, they have the power of segregating in the required ways. But what are we to say when three, four, and five sets of “ids” or bundles of “determinants” are present? How is dichotomous division to keep these sets distinct; or if they are not kept distinct, what shall we say to the chaos which must arise after many fissions, when each set in conflict with the other strives to produce its particular structure? And how are the conquering determinants to find their ways out of the *mêlée* to the places where they are to fulfil their organising functions? Even were they all intelligent beings and each had a map by which to guide his movements, the problem would be sufficiently puzzling. Can we assume it to be solved by unconscious units?

Thus even had Professor Weismann shown that the special structures of the different individuals in an insect-community are not due to differences in the natures they receive, which he has failed to do, he would still be met by this difficulty in the way of his own view, in addition to the three other insuperable difficulties grouped together in a preceding section.

The collateral issue, which has occupied the largest space in the controversy, has, as commonly happens, begotten a second generation of collateral issues. Some of these are embodied in the form of questions put to me, which I must here answer, lest it should be supposed that they are unanswerable, and my view therefore untenable.

In the notes he appends to his Romanes Lecture, Professor Weismann writes:

“One of the questions put to Spencer by Ball is quite sufficient to show the utter weakness of the position of Lamarckism—if their characteristics did not arise among the workers themselves, but were transmitted from the pre-social time, how does it happen that the queens and drones of every generation can give anew to the workers the characteristics which they themselves have long ago lost?” (p. 68.)

* It is curious to see put forward in so triumphant a manner, by a

professed naturalist, a question so easily disposed of. I answer it by putting another. How does it happen that amongst those moths of which the female has but rudimentary wings, she continues to endow the males of her species with wings? How does it happen, for example, that among the *Geometridæ*, the peculiar structures and habits of which show that they have all descended from a common ancestor, some species have winged females and some wingless females, and that though they have lost the wings the ancestral females had, these wingless females convey to the males the normal developments of wings? Or, still better, how is it that in the *Psyllidæ* there are apterous worm-like females, which lay eggs that bring forth winged males of the ordinary imago form? If for males we read workers the case is parallel to the cases of those social insects, the queens of which bequeath characteristics they have themselves lost. The ordinary facts of embryonic evolution yield us analogies. What is the most common trait in the development of the sexes? When the sexual organs of either become pronounced, the incipient ancillary organs belonging to the opposite sex cease to develop, and remain rudiments, while the organs special to the sex, essential and non-essential, become fully developed? What, then, must happen with the queen-ant, which, through countless generations, has ceased to use certain structures and has lost them through disuse? If one of the eggs which she lays, capable, as Professor Weismann admits, of becoming queen, male, or worker of one or other kind, does not at a certain stage begin actively to develop its reproductive system, then those organs of the ancestral or pre-social type which the queen has lost begin to develop, and a worker results.

Another difficulty in the way of my view, supposed to be fatal, is that presented by the honey-ants—aberrant members of certain ant-colonies which develop so enormously the pouch into which the food is drawn, that the abdomen becomes little else than a great bladder out of which the head, thorax, and legs protrude. This, it is thought, cannot be accounted for otherwise than as a consequence of specially endowed eggs which it has become profitable to the community for the queen to produce. But the explanation fits in quite easily with the view I have set forth. No one will deny that the taking in of food is the deepest of vital requirements, and the correlative instinct a dominant one; nor will any one deny that the instinct of feeding young is less deeply seated—comes later in order of time. So, too, every one will admit that the worker-bee or worker-ant, before regurgitating food into the mouth of a larva, must first of all take it in. Hence, alike in order of time and necessity, it is to be assumed that development of the nervous structures which guide self-nutrition precedes development of the nervous structures which guide the feeding of larvæ. What, then, will in some cases happen, supposing

there is an arrested development consequent on innutrition? It will in some cases happen that, while the nervous centres prompting and regulating deglutition are fully formed, the formation of those prompting and regulating the regurgitation of the food into the mouths of larvæ are arrested. What will be the consequence? The life of the worker is mainly passed in taking in food and putting it out again. If the putting out is stopped, its life will be mainly passed in taking in food. The receptacle will go on enlarging, and it will eventually assume the monstrous form that we see.*

Here, however, to exclude misinterpretations, let me explain. I by no means deny that variation and selection have produced in these insect communities certain effects such as Mr. Darwin suggested. Doubtless ant-queens vary; doubtless there are variations in their eggs; doubtless differences of structure in the resulting progeny sometimes prove advantageous to the stirp, and originate slight modifications of the species. But such changes, legitimately to be assumed, are changes in single parts—in single organs or portions of organs. Admission of this does not involve admission that there can take place numerous correlated variations in different and often remote parts, which must take place simultaneously or else be useless. Assumption of this is what Professor Weismann's argument requires, and assumption of this we have seen to be absurd.

Before leaving this general problem presented by the social insects, let me remark that the various complexities of action not explained by inheritance from pre-social or semi-social types, are probably due to accumulated and transmitted knowledge. I recently read an account of the education of a butterfly, carried to the extent that it became quite friendly with its protector, and would come to be fed. If a non-social and relatively unintelligent insect is capable of thus far consciously adjusting its actions, then it seems a reasonable supposition that in a community of social insects there has arisen a mass of experience and usage into which each new individual is initiated; just as happens among ourselves. We have only to consider the chaos which would result were we suddenly bereft of language, and if the young were left to grow up without precept and example, to see that very probably the polity of an insect community is made possible by the addition of intelligence to instinct, and the transmission of information through sign-language.

There remains now the question of *panmixia*, which stands exactly where it did when I published the "Rejoinder to Professor Weismann."

* This interpretation harmonises with a fact which I learn from Professor Riley, that there are gradations in this development, and that in some species the ordinary nenters swell their abdomens so greatly with food that they can hardly get home.

After showing that the interpretation I put upon this view was justified by certain passages quoted, and after pointing out that one of his adherents had set forth the view which I combated—if not as his view, yet as supplementary to it; I went on to criticise the view as set forth by Professor Weismann himself. I showed that as thus set forth the actuality of the supposed cause of decrease in disused organs implies that *minus* variations habitually exceed *plus* variations—in degree, or in number, or in both. Unless it can be proved that such an excess ordinarily occurs, the hypothesis of *panmixia* has no place; and I asked, where is the proof that it occurs?

No reply.

Not content with this abstract form of the question I put it also in a concrete form, and granted for the nonce Professor Weismann's assumption: taking the case of the rudimentary hind limbs of the whale. I said that though, during those early stages of decrease in which the disused limbs were external, natural selection probably had a share in decreasing them, since they were then impediments to locomotion, yet when they became internal, and especially when they had dwindled to nothing but remnants of the femurs, it is impossible to suppose that natural selection played any part: no whale could have survived and initiated a more prosperous stirp in virtue of the economy achieved by such a decrease. The operation of natural selection being out of the question, I inquired whether such a decrease, say of one-half when the femurs weighed a few ounces, occurring in one individual, could be supposed in the ordinary course of reproduction to affect the whole of the whale species inhabiting the Arctic Seas and the North Atlantic Ocean; and so on with successive diminutions until the rudiments had reached their present minuteness. I asked whether such an interpretation could be rationally entertained?

No reply.

Now in the absence of replies to these two questions it seems to me that the verdict must go against Professor Weismann by default. If he has to surrender the hypothesis of *panmixia*, what results? All that evidence collected by Mr. Darwin and others, regarded by them as proof of the inheritance of acquired characters, which was cavalierly set aside on the strength of this alleged process of *panmixia*, is reinstated. And this reinstated evidence, joined with much evidence since furnished, suffices to establish the repudiated interpretation.

In the printed report of his Romanes Lecture, after fifty pages of complicated speculations which we are expected to accept as proofs, Professor Weismann ends by saying, in reference to the case of the neuter insects:

This case is of additional interest, as it may serve to convince those naturalists who are still inclined to maintain that acquired characters are

inherited, and to support the Lamarckian principle of development, that their view cannot be the right one. It has not proved tenable in a single instance (p. 54).

Most readers of the foregoing pages will think that since Professor Weismann has left one after another of my chief theses without reply, this is rather a strong assertion; and they will still further raise their eyebrows on remembering that, as I have shown, where he has given answers his answers are invalid.

And now we come to the additions which I indicated at the outset as having to be made—certain evidences which have come to light since this controversy commenced.

When, by a remembered observation made in boyhood, joined with the familiar fact that worker-larvæ can be changed into the larvæ of queens by feeding, I was led to suggest that probably all the variations of form in the social insects are consequent on differences of nurture, I was unaware that elaborate observations and experiments justifying this supposition had been made, and that Professor Grassi has recently published observations on the food-habits of two European species of Termites, showing that the various forms are due to feeding. Professor Grassi is known to be a most careful observer, and some of the most curious of his facts are confirmed by the collection of white ants exhibited by Dr. David Sharp, F.R.S., at the *soirée* of the Royal Society in May last. He has favoured me with the following account of Grassi's results, which I publish with his assent:

"There is great variety as to the constituents of the community and economy of the species in White Ants. One of the simplest conditions known is that studied by Grassi in the case of the European species (*Calotermes flavicollis*). In this species there is no worker caste: the adult forms are only of two kinds, viz., soldiers, and the males and females; the sexes are externally almost indistinguishable, and there are males and females of soldiers as well as of the winged forms, though the sexual organs do not undergo their full development in any soldier whether male or female.

"The soldier is not, however, a mere instance of simple arrested development. It is true that there is in it arrested development of the sexual organs, but this is accompanied by change of form of other parts—changes so extreme that one would hardly suppose the soldier to have any connection with either the young or the adult of the winged forms.

"Now, according to Grassi, the whole of the individuals when born are undifferentiated forms (except as to sex), and each one is capable of going on the natural course of development and thus becoming a winged insect, or can be deviated from this course and made into a soldier; this is accomplished by the White Ants by special courses of feeding.

"The evidence given by Grassi is not conclusive as to the young being all born alike; and it may be that there are some individuals born that could not be deviated from the natural course and made into soldiers. But there is one case which seems to show positively that the deviation Grassi believes to occur is real, and not due to the selection by the ants of an individual

that, though appearing to our eyes undifferentiated, is not really so. This is that an individual can be made into a soldier after it has visibly undergone one-half or more of the development into a winged form. "The Termites can in fact operate on an individual that has already acquired the rudiments of wings and whose head is totally destitute of any appearance of the shape or of the armature peculiar to the soldier, and can turn it into a soldier; the rudiments of the wings being in such a case nearly entirely re-absorbed."

Grassi has been for many years engaged in investigating these phenomena, and there is no reason for rejecting his statement. We can scarcely avoid accepting it, and if so, Professor Weismann's hypothesis is conclusively disposed of. Were there different sets of "determinants" for the soldier-form and for the winged sexual form, those "determinants" which had gone a long way towards producing the winged sexual form would inevitably go on to complete that form, and could not have their proclivity changed by feeding.

The other piece of additional evidence I have referred to is furnished by two papers contributed to *The Journal of Anatomy and Physiology* for October 1893 and April 1894, by R. Havelock Charles, M.D., &c., &c., Professor of Anatomy in the Medical College, Lahore. These papers set forth the differences between the leg-bones of Europeans and those of the Punjaub people—differences caused by their respective habits of sitting in chairs and squatting on the ground. He enumerates more than twenty such differences, chiefly in the structures of the knee-joint and ankle-joint. From the *résumé* of his second paper I quote the following passages, which sufficiently show the data and the inferences:

"7. The habits as to sitting postures of Europeans differ from those of their pre-historic ancestors, the Cave-dwellers, &c., who probably squatted on the ground.

"8. The sitting postures of Orientals are the same now as ever. They have retained the habits of their ancestors. The Europeans have not done so.

"9. Want of use would induce changes in form and size, and so, gradually, small differences would be integrated till there would be total disappearance of the markings on the European skeleton, as no advantage would accrue to him from the possession of facets on his bones fitting them for postures not practised by him.

"10. The facets seen on the bones of the Panjabi infant or fœtus have been transmitted to it by the accumulation of peculiarities gained by habit in the evolution of its racial type—in which an acquisition having become a permanent possession, 'profitable to the individual under its conditions of life,' is transmitted as a useful inheritance.

"11. These markings are due to the influence of certain positions, which are brought about by the use of groups of muscles, and they are the definite results produced by actions of these muscles.

"12. The effects of the use of the muscles mentioned in No. 11 are transmitted to the offspring, for the markings are present in the *fœtus-in-utero*, in the child at birth, and in the infant.

"13. The markings are instances of the transmission of acquired characters which heritage in the individual, function subsequently develops."

No other conclusion appears to me possible. *Paumotu*, even were it not invalidated by its unwarranted assumption as above shown, would be out of court: the case is not a case of either increase or decrease of size, but of numerous changes of form. Simultaneous variation of co-operative parts cannot be alleged, since these co-operative parts have not changed in one way, but in various ways and degrees. And even were it permissible to suppose that the required different variations had taken place simultaneously, natural selection cannot be supposed to have operated. The assumption would imply that in the struggle for existence, individuals of the European races who were less capable than others of crouching and squatting, gained by those minute changes of structure which incapacitated them, such advantages that their stirps prevailed over other stirps—an absurd supposition.

And now I must once more point out that a grave responsibility rests on biologists in respect of the general question; since wrong answers lead, among other effects, to wrong beliefs about social affairs and to disastrous social actions. In me this conviction has unceasingly strengthened. Though "The Origin of Species" proved to me that the transmission of acquired characters cannot be the sole factor in organic evolution, as I had assumed in "Social Statics" and in "The Principles of Psychology," published in pre-Darwinian days, yet I have never wavered in the belief that it is *a* factor, and an all-important factor. And I have felt more and more that since all the higher sciences are dependent on the science of life, and must have their conclusions vitiated if a fundamental datum given to them by the teachers of this science is erroneous, it behoves these teachers not to let an erroneous datum pass current: they are called on to settle this vexed question one way or other. The times give proof. The work of Mr. Benjamin Kidd on "Social Evolution," which has been so much lauded, takes Weismannism as one of its data; and if Weismannism be untrue, the conclusions Mr. Kidd draws must be in large measure erroneous and may prove mischievous.

HERBERT SPENCER.

THE CHINO-JAPANESE CONFLICT—AND AFTER.

A CONVERSATION WITH SIR THOMAS WADE.

“**S**PEAKING from an experience of forty years’ residence in China, during twelve of which you were her Majesty’s Minister, do you think, Sir Thomas Wade, that we are overrating the importance of the events that are taking place in the far East?”

“By no means, if all we hear is to be relied upon; but exact information is difficult to obtain. The Chinese do not know, and the Japanese will not tell. But the Japanese scientific training is undoubtedly making itself felt, and it *seems* beyond dispute that the Chinese are being driven out of Korea. It *seems* almost as clear that they are in danger of invasion at a vital point in their Empire—the province of Manchuria, the home of the Manchu Dynasty. I recoil from prophecy, and in China nothing happens but the unexpected. But *if* Japan be as able to follow up her first success as she claims to be, with others—if she strikes hard and quickly—then we are face to face with a crisis which may affect the whole world—a crisis which may, for various reasons, become a first-class European question!

“The Japanese have acted sagaciously in striking for the province of Manchuria. If they succeed in capturing the two historic towns of Mukden and Hsing-king they will have struck two blows which may jeopardise the very existence of the reigning dynasty.

“The reason of this is not as yet fully appreciated by the English press. Manchuria is beyond the wall. So long as China is invaded from the south the present Manchu emperor can always retire into his own province with some saving of dignity. When, in 1860, we approached Peking, the Emperor retired north until the troubles should be over. The theory of the Chinese imperial family is bound up with a

conception somewhat similar to that which held together the Roman empire. The Emperor is the 'Son of Heaven,' and the city of Mukden is the fellow or sister capital. If the Japanese can seize and occupy this sacred home and birthplace of the dynasty, the prestige of the Manchus will be hard hit. The three provinces of the Manchus, whence came the warlike tribe which invaded China 250 years ago, and upset the decadent dynasty of the Mings, are Shing-King, Kirin, and Tsi-tsi-har. The occupation of these provinces might shake the Chinese empire to its very basis. The authority of the Emperor is largely bound up with his invulnerability. In China, nothing fails like failure. They accepted the rule of the strong man, the Manchu, who proved that he could maintain himself; but if the Son of Heaven, instead of withdrawing into a dignified retreat within his own peculiar dominions, were forced, after evacuating Peking, to fly for his life towards the southern provinces of China, respect for his authority would receive a dangerous shock."

"But are you so sure that the game is up? Have not the Chinese an immense reserve of strength? Surely, in a struggle between an empire of 350,000,000 and a little nation of 40,000,000, victory is not decided by one or two battles?"

"It is not a question of numbers, but of science. The Manchus, who conquered China last, were less in number than the Japanese. The Japanese have allowed their armies to be trained and disciplined by European officers. They have not hesitated, but have even been eager, to adopt all the latest military reforms of Europe. Against such troops, the bulk of the Chinese army would be, in the field, as helpless as the great host which they put face to face with our little band of soldiers outside the walls of Peking in the year 1860. In fact, on that occasion their numbers but increased their confusion. An army of 100,000 Chinese, imperfectly disciplined, with inexperienced officers, badly organised commissariat, and weapons in part obsolete, will be only the more surely conquered because of their numbers. The military organisation of China is 250 years old. Mr. Curzon may perhaps underrate the numerical strength of the army, but his book gives a very fair account of the prevailing incompetence and confusion. It is true that one out of every three Mongols is bound to serve in time of war; but of what value are such untrained levies? With the strongest sympathy with the Chinese, I cannot excuse their government for such unpreparedness as it is chargeable with. In the last sixty years it has had warning upon warning, and after each scare it has made a reluctant advance towards improving things; but on the return of peace it has ever lapsed back into its old indifferent quiescence. I remember that in 1880, when the Chinese nearly went to war with the Russians over

the question of Kuldja, I told the Tsung-li-Yamen—their foreign Ministry—that I was sorry war had been avoided. ‘What,’ they said, ‘you, who have been always working for peace?’ ‘Yes,’ I said, ‘because now you will do nothing for the defence of the empire. You have been talking of railways, of organising your army and improving your navy, but now we shall hear no more of it.’ And to my sorrow I was right. Something has been done, no doubt, but in the main the defences of that great empire have been left in a semi-barbarous condition ever since. I am sincerely sorry for them, but it is their own fault! If the government now come to incurable grief, it will be but paying the penalty of neglect!”

“But do we not hear of foreign factories, and machine-guns turned out by the dozen? Is not Li Hung-Chang, at any rate, a convert to foreign ideas in regard to the army?”

“Yes, but it is against the grain of the majority. Li Hung-Chang, as you know, was much beholden to Gordon in his suppression of the Taiping Rebellion. On that occasion he was compelled into an admiration for European methods as exemplified by Gordon’s organisation and generalship. He admired—and the Chinese have not forgotten—the man who looked after his troops in every detail, and sacrificed his very pay for the sake of the wounded. The effect was the creation of a force which has been the only bright exception in Chinese war administration. But its nominal strength, according to Mr. Curzon, is only 100,000, and its real strength far less. It is, I suspect, little more than an army *corps*. But then, remember, it is full twelve years since I left the country.

“It is true that, since the French war, factories have been built, and modern weapons of precision manufactured. But these things are so foreign to Chinese ideas that it may very well be questioned whether these modern weapons, distributed to provincials not long, if at all, trained in their use, will not prove a greater source of weakness than of strength. English officers have told me that they have seen Chinese torpedo-boats lying in such a condition that they would be totally useless for war, injured past redemption by neglect and dirty habits. I cannot vouch for this myself, but it fully accords with what I know of the Chinese. Besides, these European weapons are of no use without European drill for the men who use them, and European instruction the government has very sparingly adopted. The Chinese soldiers are themselves the best material that an officer could desire—obedient, industrious, and temperate. They are good marksmen, and behind trenches they will fight admirably. But brought face to face with a well-drilled army, *in the open*, they can hardly be expected to do better than a levy of Spanish patriots opposed to Napoleon’s marshals.

"Of course, if China had time, she could bring her strength to bear; she could levy and train her peasantry, and if she showed Europe that she could fight, she would have, I imagine, small difficulty in borrowing money. But these things take time, and I am going on the assumption that Japan does not intend to let her have time. At present her men are undrilled, and her war-chest is by no means full; for I do not believe these stories of great treasure at Mukden. Time is above all necessary for her to collect and drill her men and to obtain money. But if Japan strikes quickly, the dynasty might be in full flight before any of these things could be done."

"But supposing the dynasty to be put to flight? China has changed her dynasty many times ere now, and still remained a national unit. Will the end be anything more than a mere change of government?"

"Again I say, I recoil from prophecy. Much may happen to prevent the dynasty from even flying. But if this should happen, I foresee far greater trouble in the end than even change of dynasty. Your idea would be, I suppose, that Japan should supply the next Chinese dynasty. An intelligent Japanese has put forward the theory that Japan is fighting the cause of the yellow races against Manchu and Tartar usurpers. But this is a movement towards conclusion by far too simple.

"If the Japanese had conquered China fifty years ago, such an outcome as you suggest would have been possible. Japan might have supplied the new dynasty, and continued the tradition of Chinese ideas. There would then have been no hopeless division of sentiment between two races who were both agreed in resistance to Western civilisation, though even then there would still have been an ancient record of hostility to reckon with. But now that the Japanese have shown themselves ardent converts to the European movement, there is a strong barrier fixed between Japan and China; as strong as that between China and all the rest of the world. When the Manchus overthrew the Ming dynasty 250 years ago, they maintained their hold over the Chinese by adopting, almost uniformly, Chinese customs and ideas. I have always been surprised that, having left so much as they found it, the Manchus should have forced the tonsure upon the conquered Chinese. But it was almost the only respect in which they offended Chinese ideas, and they may be said to have nationalised themselves by adopting Confucianism. For this is the tie between all the various races that make up the vast conglomeration that is called China. It is not only, or even chiefly, a religion; the religion of the masses is mainly a muddle of Buddhistic idolatries. It is a common ethico-political bond, enabling millions of human beings to be governed from one centre. But Japan has cut herself off from

Chinese civilisation by adopting Occidentalism. She would, therefore, be as much handicapped in the endeavour to govern China as would any European nation ; without, of course, the same resources, and hampered by racial feud, of the extent and intensity of which the western world can scarce form an idea. Fifty years ago, the conquest of China by Japan might have meant merely a change of dynasty ; now, it may mean a portentous explosion which may shake the whole world.

“ It is not as if this were the first blow to the present dynasty. Circumstances have combined to weaken it. The death of the Emperor in 1861 left an heir, Tsai Ch'un, of five years of age. The supreme authority was vested in a regency of two women, the widows of the dead Emperor. This regency continued until 1873, when the two regent empresses retired. Tsai Ch'un had reached the age of sixteen, when a Chinese attains his majority, and became Emperor. This young man died, however, in 1874-5, and a second regency followed, lasting for fourteen years, until the present Emperor Tsai Tien came of age and took over the reins. Thus for twenty-six out of the last thirty-three years China has been governed by women-regents.

“ This is an old story, but people scarcely realise its importance. Women are not regarded with anything like the same contempt in China as in many other Oriental countries, nor are they under the same disqualifications. Still, as a Chinese statesman remarked to me on the occasion of the Emperor's death, in 1861, feminine regencies are not regarded as bringing good luck. They have a bad record. The central authority is also weakened by the fact that the present Emperor is still a very young man.

“ All this, however, would not so much matter if it were not that in China everything depends on the central authority. When the Emperor proves a man of grit, all may go well ; but otherwise the system is full of dangers. In some respects China seems to the outsider to be very much decentralised ; it is yet in all essentials the most centralised country in the world. Thousands of things are done by imperial decree which would be left elsewhere to local authorities ; and, if the imperial head is weak, China is correspondingly weak.

“ The task of government, no doubt, has been made more easy by centuries of usage. I am convinced, from my own observations, that the Chinese are a very easy people to govern. I once made that remark to a Chinese statesman, and he replied, ‘ Yes, they are—if they have food.’ My remark referred to their training in obedience to authority ; but I need not say that I fully admitted the soundness of his. He was thinking, I imagine, of the results of national calamities—flood, famine, earthquakes. But these, in the popular mind, are but manifestations of the wrath of Heaven, displeased at the misconduct or omissions of the government. And the govern-

ment is, unfortunately, not seldom responsible. If the central government becomes weak, corruption, always the bane of Chinese government, increases in the civil and military services, and brigandage, with all its train of woe, is naturally the result. The Chinese will bear much from their government which we should not stand; and perhaps wisely, as they are scarcely yet capable of self-government. But there is a point where their long suffering draws the line. Some of the most formidable rebellions in China have broken out through the failure of the government to give the soldiers their pay, or, in other words, the habit among the officers of intercepting the pay. Of such a kind, I should say, is the rebellion which, if we may believe the telegrams, is at present breaking out in some of the southern provinces.

"These rebellions are to be strictly distinguished from rebellions like that of the Mohammedans, or of the Taiping, which was a political rising grotesquely characterised by a hotch-potch of superstitions. The Taiping were what the Chinese call *yao-tsai*, or relying on evil spirits, and they professed a creed which was a strange mixture of Christian and native ideas. The rebellions that will break out if the dynasty collapses will not necessarily be of this nature. They will, much more probably, resemble the movement in the south of China, which, as you will have noted, has been described to us as the rebellion of the *ko-lao*, or, as it may be freely translated, 'the Old Boys' or 'Comrades.' This is military; the men are ex-soldiers, protesting possibly with truth that arrears are due to them. But there are besides innumerable secret societies with which China is honeycombed, and which are always in a state of disaffection. They would all become a great source of disorder when they found themselves without any government to restrain them. There would be massacres of mandarins, and ruthless oppression all round of everybody who had anything to lose.

"I do not look for any combined action. Conflicting rebellions will break out in various parts of the empire. The ephemeral powers which will arise from these movements, partly political and partly, perhaps, superstitious, will, for the most part, be at conflict with one another, and China will be thrown into very much the same condition as before the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth, and the Manchu invasion in the seventeenth century. She will, in short, present much the same phenomena as the peninsula of India did before our conquest; the phenomena of warring princelings and usurpers, none of them strong enough to obtain the supreme power.

"This state of things, of course, cannot be the end. It is impossible that all the different Powers interested should leave China to anarchy. It is merely a question who should step in and when. And that is the reason why I say that the Chinese question is rapidly

attaining to the point of becoming a problem of first-class European importance. For the question threatens to be who is to interfere, Russia, England, France, or Germany? Who shall have the governing and drilling of these great masses of hardy, obedient, and most governable people? Even one slice of China, with its millions of potential soldiers, would give to any one European Power an enormously preponderant weight in the councils of the world."

"Which Power do you imagine will take the lead in this race?"

"Without doubt, Russia. I do not say it in a spirit of hostility, but for the last fifty years Russia has been steadily Russianising the peoples of Central Asia, and Russia undoubtedly is in some ways better fitted for the absorption of Asiatic races than most Western Powers. The Russians manage to send out men of great ability for this work of expansion, and as a race they have a social charm and faculty of adaptation which gives them a peculiar power. We know some of their weaknesses. On the other hand, they have an immense capacity for drilling and organising, and this applied to the Chinese must produce results that would astonish the world. The Japanese need not be so confident that they are going to have the whole thing their own way. Should they win, and the game is as yet by no means over in their contest with China, they will still have Russia to deal with; Russia conterminous with Chinese territory for, say, 4000 miles."

"But up to the present Russia shows no sign of interference, and her Czar is away, and ill. May I ask on what your prognostication is based?"

"It is based on a general observation of the tendency of Russia's action during the last fifty years. I can remember having this first brought home to me, in the year 1846, by perusal of a book called 'Revelations of Russia,' the predictions in which, however, concerned rather the centre of Asia than the regions beyond. Our interference with Russia in her ambition for the settlement of the Eastern Question in Europe has driven the Levantine question further east. But in truth, the Levantine question apart, Russia's desire for expansion had been pressing her eastward for years. Her later advance through Siberia has been almost unnoticed; her annexation of more than half Manchuria in 1858 was hardly commented upon in Europe; and her next-door neighbours are now China Proper and Korea. The common cry is that she is threatening India. So she may be, for she must regard us as a chief obstacle to her acquisition of Constantinople; but in the far East her true objective is the Yellow Sea, and the coasts thereof."

"But to return to China. Do you not think that, even if defeated by Japan and attacked by Russia, and even if the dynasty falls,

350,000,000 Chinese would not make some attempt to defend themselves? Once more, is there not strength in numbers?"

"What defence would they have? Their common tie gone, they would merely disintegrate into a number of warring groups, formidable to one another and not to the enemy. With the fall of the imperial power goes that of every provincial official, for he is a foreigner in the province, and out of sympathy with his neighbours. You have no idea besides of the apathy of the Chinese. I can remember an instance of the type of fatalism that prevails among Chinese officials. When the Taipings were driven from Nanking, and marched further south, they fell upon a populous city of some 700,000 people, and captured it without a blow, themselves being armed merely with wands, and seated upon bare horses. This news I conveyed to a Chinese official, high in rank. 'Yes,' he said, calmly, 'I had heard that that town was taken,' and made no further comment. 'It's like our luck,' said another, on a similar occasion.

"It is this attitude that the Chinese too readily take up towards most of their misfortunes. The consequence is, that gradually the State has lost all its tributaries. It has lost Tonquin, Cochin China, and Annam to France, Burmah to us, half of Kuldja to Russia, and in 1877-8 it allowed Japan to alienate the Islands of Liu-chu without an effort beyond remonstrance. The Formosan affair in 1874 was another instance of China's torpor. The crew of a Liu-chu junk had been murdered by the Formosans, and the Japanese Government demanded a heavy compensation. After much trouble the Japanese were persuaded to leave Formosa for half a million taels. In 1877, however, China did not get off so easily. She protested against the deposition of her vassal, but she was unprepared to do more for him. Ever since 1874, as it is affirmed, it has been Japan's ambition, by the subjugation of Korea, to indemnify herself for her failure to gain Formosa. China has lost, let it be remembered, all her tributaries except Korea. Korea is the last of her vassals, and it will be impossible for her to desert Korea without a terrible loss of dignity and self-respect. It is an old bone of contention between the nations. Japan has tried to conquer Korea before. Three centuries before Christ an Empress-Regent of Japan did conquer it. She bore the significant name of Jingo."

"Then you consider this latest war merely a step in the waning of China? To what, then, do you attribute this strange military weakness in a nation famed for its pride? Surely, if China considers all the rest of the world to be tributaries, she must do something to justify the boast?"

"China's pride is merely one among the thousand and one contradictions that you find in that strange country. Just as the Chinese

are both the most cultured and the most ignorant of races, just as their civilisation is the oldest and yet the least developed, so the Chinese are both the least humble and the least military of all the races in the world. It is an entire mistake to construe their pride as the pride of the soldier and the adventurer. It is purely and simply the pride of the don scholastic. To understand the pride of China, you should have lived in one of our university towns half a century ago. It is academic pride in its original form. Thus it comes to pass that, with all her pretensions to supreme power, China has ever been the least aggressive of Eastern races.

“One might almost say she is too proud to be aggressive. Scholastic culture is the grand desideratum in China, and, by a natural sequence of ideas, the trade of the soldier is considered as vile and unworthy. The consequence is, as Mr. Curzon points out in his able book, that the officers of her army are chosen from the remnants left over from the lettered service. This is why the Chinese army is, in general, so shockingly led. Gordon showed that if the Chinese were properly headed they were as good as any troops in the world; but with incompetent officers, each acting upon his own responsibility, no troops in the world could fight well.

“Again, one might say that Chinese antipathy to war is largely derived from the precepts of Confucius. In regard to violence, Confucius comes to very much the same conclusions as the Quaker, only by a different route. He condemns violence, not because it is immoral, so much as because it is indecorous; if a man spits in your face, he preaches, it is more becoming not to resent it. Or rather, you are forbidden to be violent, not because of any injury to others so much as on account of the injury to yourself. I have known a Chinese remonstrate with his foreign pupil against boating: it was so undignified. By enforcing an extreme of meekness Confucius did not mean, as far as one can judge, to inculcate a spirit of Christian humility so much as that spirit of dignified reserve and immovable calm to which one sees some approximation in the educated Chinese. It now looks as if the Chinese were in peril of being destroyed by the weapons of Confucian civilisation rather than condescend to the loss of deportment necessitated by their use.

“It is true that circumstances have latterly driven China to pay some attention to foreign affairs. The war with England and France in 1860, the unceasing advance of Russia, the late aggressions of France, and the threatening attitude of Japan, have, in some sort, occupied the minds and thoughts of many leading Chinese. The first effect of the war of 1860, by which foreign Ministers were installed at Peking, was the creation of an imposing foreign Ministry under the title of the Tsung-li-Yamen, at the Board of which officers of State do really frequently assemble and endeavour to grapple with the affairs of the world. I

have frequently had to engage in negotiations with its members ; and I cannot say that I agree with Mr. Curzon in the low estimate he has formed of them. He represents them as a 'scratch lot' chosen from other Ministries ; but this system of official pluralities is frequently employed elsewhere, and implies no slur, as he seems to imagine, on foreign nations. Rather it is a compliment, because in that way the State chooses its best men. Of course, no Chinese pretends to regard any single outside Power as anything else but an intolerable nuisance, or as possessing any approximate claim to intellectual equality with China.

"The classical instance of her assumption of superiority is the long struggle over the *kow-tow*. The chief foreign question in China during the past hundred years had been the claim of the Celestial that all representatives of foreign Powers should perform the *kow-tow* on being presented to the Emperor ; in other words, should kneel thrice and knock the forehead on the ground nine times. No Englishman has ever done this ; Lord Macartney dropped on one knee in 1793, but he never kow-towed. In 1873 five foreign Representatives, of whom I was one, were received by the Emperor standing. There was much dissatisfaction among many Englishmen, reflected, I see, by Mr. Curzon, that we should have been received in the hall usually reserved for tributaries. I cannot say that I altogether shared these criticisms. The ceremony was entirely different. With a Power like China, you must be content to move step by step, and the concession, much as it left to be desired, must have been a great strain on her pride.

"But her pride, as I have said, is the pride of the don, and not wholly unartificial. The Chinese combines with his affectation of superiority a very shrewd appreciation of dangers that may come from the outer world. The 'Yamen' was in my time by no means without ability, although that could not be said of all its members. Critics have complained that the Chinese have a way of repeating all you have said after you have refuted them. That, so far as my experience goes, is the way with diplomatists all over the world ; it is certainly the habit of the Japanese as well as the Chinese. I do not deny that the Chinese diplomatist is a very aggravating personage, but that is, after all, exactly what he aims at being. And I have no doubt that he has formed equally strong opinions about us."

"But if the ablest Chinese so fully realise the weakness of their position, how is it that nothing is done ? How is it that Japan finds her totally unprepared after so many warnings ?"

"Ah, how and why indeed. It is another characteristic Chinese contradiction. Chinese perceptions are on one side, Chinese instincts and methods of reasoning are on the other. The sentiment of China

was very well represented by a Chinese statesman who said to me: 'We intend to adopt Western machinery, but we shall keep our old customs and our old morality.' The more acute Japanese, on the other hand, clearly perceives that you cannot have one without the other, and that the machinery of Western life is merely the fruit, so to speak, of the ideas that underlie it. The consequence with China is that her attempts to adopt Western ideas have been continually defeated by her adherence to ancient and invincible custom. Those mouldy torpedo boats referred to are typical of much. The Chinese Government gets as far as to use a European for building and organising a factory, and then the impulse is exhausted. It hopes, doubtless, that in this way it will get all it requires out of the West, while at the same time keeping it at arm's length.

"Take one instance of its backwardness—the difficulty of communication in China. In 1874, when Mr. Margary was murdered, I had to send a party to Yunnan from Hankow, under Mr. Thomas Grosvenor. Yunnan is in south-western China, on the border of Burma, the scene of the outrage. Will you believe that my party occupied three months on the journey? As long as such travelling is the rule, how is it possible for China to have any command over the forces which are scattered over her great empire? Her empire is at present in danger from an attack on Manchuria, and China finds herself unable to concentrate any troops except those in the immediate neighbourhood. The troops in the southern provinces are, in fact, far less available for her use than are the troops stationed in England for the use of our Government in India.

"China, I allow, is not solely to blame in all this. Europe is very willing to blame her for not adopting European drill and discipline; but she has done something to discourage her. After her experience of Gordon, she was strongly inclined to officer her army with Europeans; but Mr. Frederick Bruce dissuaded her from doing so. He pointed out, what was perfectly true, that foreign officers drawn from large Powers, ourselves included, might become a danger to China in the event of foreign complications, or might be forbidden to fight in time of war. This line of argument partly dissuaded the Chinese from employing foreign officers as a rule. Mr. Bruce's recommendation that she should obtain officers from smaller States, was, on the other part, discouraged by other foreign advisers.

"Mr. Curzon somewhat misses the point when he numbers among the weaknesses of China the decentralisation of her provincial government. It is true that her fleets are provincial fleets, and are theoretically under provincial governors. But this is only an administrative arrangement. The fleets are always under the control of an imperial decree, and if they are not properly concentrated at the right time, it is certainly not from excess of local control. Mr.

Curzon speaks of the weakness of the Chinese fleets against the French at Formosa in 1883, and seems to convey the idea that each fleet acted on its initiative. But the fact that the French were allowed to fight the fleets in detail was the fault, if of any one, of the high authorities at Peking. The provincial governors are allowed to organise their own fleets—and even, as in the case of Li Hung-Chang, import their armies—but their use for imperial objects is entirely under the control of the central government. The fact that the governors should be allowed as much power as this is a very striking example of decentralisation. On the other hand, both the governors and the mandarins, and all the representatives of imperial power in the provinces, are strangers in the towns where they live, and are completely under the control of the vermilion pencil, even in the smallest matters. No civilian, even in the lower grades, may hold office in his own province. In some respects the governors are allowed an extraordinary amount of independence, but in others they are entirely powerless. All centres at the head, and if the head were to fall, all the limbs would go with it.”

“But is it not possible that a strong and able Chinese like Li Hung-Chang would endeavour to found a dynasty on his own account? Surely the fact that he is a pure Chinese must give him considerable strength as against a foreign dynasty like the present?”

“No, I do not think that there is the remotest chance of Li Hung-Chang pretending to the throne. Englishmen’s ideas on this subject remind me of what Napoleon said after the battle of Waterloo: ‘I suppose that the Duke of Wellington will now aim at the throne of England.’ This remark showed that he did not understand the temper of a loyal Englishman. It is just as difficult for us to understand the sentiment of loyalty that is general in China. Obedience to the Emperor, so long as he is seated on the throne, stands together with obedience to parents as an essential part and parcel of duty. The Confucian training which a Chinese like Li Hung-Chang has absorbed from his earliest years has ingrained this habit of obedience until it has become a second nature. Besides, no Chinese is ever a revolutionary in our sense. The Chinese have, it is true, accepted rule from without, but it is always to the successful foreigner. His success showed that Heaven was with him. The Chinese is no Rousseau; he does not argue from premisses but from precedents, and precedents are all in favour of the existing order. Li Hung-Chang is an able man enough, but he has never shown ambition of the kind. He is an old man of 73 years, and throughout a trying career his unswerving fidelity has never been doubted by the Court.”

“There is one question, Sir Thomas Wade, that cannot help being of great interest to Englishmen. If fate prove against the dynasty,

and China be thrown into confusion, what will be the result to the foreign inhabitants of the Treaty Ports? Will the Englishmen settled in China be in great danger?"

"No, except from their own fears. The timidity and liability to alarm among the foreign settlers is really their chief danger. Any aggressive action on their part would naturally provoke reprisals; but left to themselves I do not believe that the Chinese will injure them. My view is supported by what occurred during the Taiping rebellion, when half China was in flames, and yet no foreigners were molested at the Treaty Ports. And this was in spite of the fact that some foreign missionaries, hearing vaguely that the leader of the Taipings had Christian ideas, had indiscreetly said and done things calculated to encourage the rebels. We heard more than once of Taiping rebels boasting that they had received an invitation from the Christians.

"Of course, it is natural that men whose vocation is peace, and whose responsibilities are great, should feel anxious, and it is but right that we should support our subjects by our fleet. It would be wise perhaps if some of the inland missionaries were to withdraw to the Ports. But I think that a greater danger, if the war be protracted, is the possible refusal of the Japanese to recognise the immunity of the Treaty Ports, and to exempt them from bombardment. It is said that they have promised to respect Shanghai; but the necessities of war may not permit them to keep such a promise, and it is obvious that it cannot be more than provisional. It is quite possible that the Japanese Admirals, on the ground that the Treaty Ports are really Chinese territory, might refuse to concede to them any immunity from the accidents of war.

"If China should really fall into complete confusion, it is equally possible that European nations may be forced to intervene for the protection of their various subjects. It is from some such cause, indeed, that I apprehend a beginning of those foreign complications which will cause this, as I said before, to become a great world-question. One nation after another may be dragged in to protect its subjects, and the jealousy of one another among European Powers may prevent any such combined action as the situation might demand."

"But, roughly speaking, and assuming the victory of Japan, what do you suppose will be the order of intervention?"

"Japan will, *if victorious*, I suppose, attempt to organise Korea as part of her dominions. She may even endeavour to annex part of China. It matters little at what point she stops. At one moment or another in this development of events Russia must step in and Japan will begin to discover the true nature of the part that she has played. Whether she wins or loses, I think it quite certain that Japan in the end will have to pay the piper. If she loses, she will have to pay to China; if she wins, to Russia. So much for the first step. The

intervention of Russia on the north, I cannot but assume, would be quickly followed by the intervention of France on the south. The informal alliance between these Powers will naturally incline France to follow suit in anything that Russia may do. But, apart from that, France has, or believes that she has, a complaint of some standing against China for her alleged conduct on the Tonquin frontier, and it would be but natural to expect that she would use the opportunity of settling her account.

"Left to themselves, it is possible that Russia and France might be minded to partition China. But it is not in the slightest degree probable that they will be left to themselves. Germany, one would think, could hardly allow either France or Russia to gain such an enormous accession of strength, without a word in the matter. Nor could America be indifferent. Her interests in the Pacific have been steadily increasing of late years. She cannot ignore the Pacific, and, with all her reality or affectation of non-interference in outside affairs, she could scarcely stand idly by while changes so vast were taking place on the other side of the great ocean. It is idly whispered that her sympathies incline her to Japan. And then, when all other Powers were dragged in, is it not possible that we *volens volens* might bring up the rear?"

"You say, Sir Thomas, that Japan will in the end have to pay the piper, and you intimate that she is playing the part of one who is dragging the chestnuts out of the fire for the good of Western civilisation. What motive do you suppose is instigating Japan in her war against China?"

"Experts tell me that now, as in 1874, the reformers are striving to divert the generality from home politics by war abroad. Even without this we have to reckon with the over-excitability of a young race that has acquired new strength and wishes to put it to the test. Japan, as we have seen, has an old quarrel and more quarrels than one with China; all memories that feed the war-spirit.

"But the factor of domestic complications is not to be ignored and it may indeed be the mainspring of the war. The recent elections in Japan, and the need of the Government to gain prestige in face of their critics, all these are influences of which it is difficult to estimate the importance at this distance."

"Do you think that Japan's quarrel is just, or that her victory is desirable for the good of the world?"

"I have implied that a final victory by Japan would be followed, in my belief, by the extinction of Chinese nationality. I have blamed China in many ways, but I should much grieve to see her broken up or destroyed. She has many splendid qualities. I fully

admit that the acceptiveness of Japan has astonished most of the oldest residents in the far East, nor can I say that any of us in China, at the time of the great change, for a moment supposed that Japan would succeed as she has done in adopting Western ideas. After the extraordinary examples of adaptability that she has given us, it seems impossible to place any limit upon her powers in that direction. She may even, it seems to me, some day collectively adopt English as the national language. The nation that can, for instance, plant two schools side by side, one on the basis of rationalism, the other of Christianity, merely as sociological experiments, has audacity illimitable. And yet, so far as my experience of the two races goes, China is possessed of many of the solid moral qualities that Japan seems wholly to lack. The Chinese are a more dignified and thoughtful race. They have more real gravity, and, I should say, a higher sense of moral duty. Though not possessed of our ideas of chivalry, they have a far greater respect for women than the Japanese. They seem purer in their lives and talk. But I only know what I know of the Japanese by hearsay, and they have moved of late years with such rapidity that my appreciations may be obsolete. In some important particulars the Japanese are unquestionably ahead of their rivals, notably in cleanliness. And even in their superstitions I am disposed to believe they have nothing that dips them so deep in impracticability as that most puerile of bondages the *fêng-shui*, the air and water influences, without consultation of which it is difficult to say what building can be built, what grave can be dug, what act of life can be performed in China.

"Still I do like the Chinese, and honour them in many ways, and it would go to my heart to see them stamped out as a nation. They possess some undoubtedly great moral ideas, upon which their civilisation has really been based, or it would not have continued for so many centuries. Their governors and their civil servants are chosen by a test of merit, and a test to which we are ourselves the latest of converts. The elaborate examination system of China is democratic in the sense of ensuring that the civil servants chosen may come from any section of the people. The mandarins, be it, often lean on the letter of their elaborate education, as lawyers on cases; but their acquaintance with the law, history, and philosophy of their own country is a colossal accomplishment. Their political system is based on the idea that government is not for the governors but for the governed, and so far it is a good system. Of course, I do not say that those so educated are all fully actuated by the principles that they profess.

'Video meliora proboque
Deteriora sequor,'

is as true of a Chinese as it is of a European. The mandarin is full of

the loftiest precepts, and yet he embezzles and takes bribes for his judicial decisions; now even as in the days of Confucius. He jobs too. The habit of helping friends and relatives to offices in the State is incurably ingrained in the Chinese nature. The custom of advancing 'men of one's own year,' or college-friends, or *their* friends, has the tradition of centuries behind it. None of these things are according to Confucius. But may I ask whether all our actions are in harmony with the Sermon on the Mount or the Ten Commandments? of which law, be it remembered, they have heard little until recently. Through ages of darkness they have been a law unto themselves. Speaking for myself, I have often wondered that they are no worse."

"In your estimate of the future you are not consoled by the thought that all this will prevent the verification of Mr. Pearson's prophecy that the world may be swamped by the yellow race?"

"Such a speculation appears to me, to say the least, premature. Besides the fact that China is not in the least degree aggressive, she has a vast territory to fill at home, which no Chinese leaves with a good will. It is a territory greater than any which has ever in other regions of the earth fallen under one name in a form so compact. Its combination in one empire and survival through the ages may in part be explained by the physical fact that this great area is surrounded by great mountains and deserts, and, except on its seaboard, has been in the past only subject to invasion on one side on its northern frontier, which is loosely defined by the Great Wall. It is unscientific to speak of this area as inhabited by one race. When you speak of the Chinese you mean a vast conglomerate of races—over which Confucianism has spread to make them think alike and act alike, and, once the Manchu came, the tonsure to make them look alike. Their weakness is that, mighty nation as they are, the spirit of nationality is not intense, and in this they are in remarkable contrast with the Japanese. But the idea that they will conquer the world is hardly before us at this moment, is it? The more important question to be decided during the next few weeks is, Will they be able to prevent the Japanese conquering them? And if they do not, then, it seems to me, the crucial question of the future will be, not whether they will absorb the Western nations, but which Western nation will absorb China? For whichever among the great Powers has the Chinese to serve him, is in a fair way to devour all the rest."

* * * * *

I have read the above Note of my interview, and I see that I must have very imperfectly answered one of the last questions put to me, whether, namely, in my opinion, Japan's quarrel is just, and

whether her triumph in the pending contest would be desirable in the interest of the world ?

If my interpretation of Japan's motive in entering into this quarrel, my charitable assumption that the war is due largely to the youthful restlessness of a Power commencing a new career, be correct, it follows logically that I do not find in Japan's claim to the championship of Korean civilisation, on which she relies for her defence against criticism, sufficient explanation or excuse of her unexpected resort to arms ; her own interests or safety, as I understand the question, being in no sense imperilled by the backwardness of Korea, whether this be attributable to a reactionary disposition on the part of China, or otherwise. As a hearty well-wisher of Japan, I deplore her act, and not the less because of her apology for it.

As to the other part of the question, the possible advantage to mankind of the triumph of Japan in the present war, as I have said with reference to Mr. Pearson's prediction, speculation on a question of the kind appears to me somewhat premature ; but I cannot imagine, I must confess, that within a reasonable limit of time any such benefit is likely to result to the world as will counterbalance the misery that must for years be the lot of China's millions, as the logical consequence of her conquest by Japan. The Japanese, naturally, must attempt to impose themselves as a government upon the Chinese nation. In an attempt to that end, for the reasons given above, I feel satisfied that the Japanese will fail. Could they hope to be left to struggle single-handed with the Chinese, they would fail ; and in the inevitable conflict with other Powers that I conceive certain to follow upon their failure, their own independence would more than possibly be compromised. To state the nearer outlook briefly, victory such as the Japanese are hoping to achieve would mean annihilation of Chinese nationality, to be in due time followed by a like suppression of her conqueror. What advantages are to be ultimately derived by the outer world from causes so awful to contemplate, is a problem which I must leave to more mature experience to solve.

THOMAS FRANCIS WADE.

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE BOARD SCHOOL.

IT is beginning to be felt by many that the School Board contest now proceeding in London is of national importance. The millions of the great city are not easily stirred ; but the magnitude of the interests at stake in this controversy is slowly but steadily taking possession of the sluggish consciousness of the metropolis and goading it to action. The issues are not local and transitory ; they are far-reaching and enduring. They do not merely involve the training in body, mind and heart of the 500,000 children committed to the care of the London School Board, but also the future of every School Board in the kingdom, and the welfare of unborn generations of men. London "sets the style." Its School Board system has been accepted in many quarters as a model, its Biblical syllabus followed as a pattern, its regulations for religious teaching welcomed as a guide. So that whilst primarily the votes cast in the urns on Thursday, the 22nd of November, will determine the *personnel* of the administration of the elementary tuition of the children within the metropolitan area for the next triennial period, actually those votes will also fix the lines of our educational evolution for years to come, and possibly for generations. Not for herself alone, but for England, must London answer the question of the maintenance and development of our new National School system along broad, universal and popular lines, offering their advantages to the whole of the children of the people irrespective of class and of creed ; or whether it shall be reorganised on the principle of a narrow, partisan and hampering sectarianism, creative of endless strife and bitterness, fostering monopoly and class privilege, and imperilling the strength, clearness and efficiency of our training. More and more it becomes apparent

that this is one of our "decisive battles," an educational Marathon or Waterloo.

Wise and serious men shrink with almost unconquerable reluctance from the controversy. They see, however it may end, it is full of peril to reverence and faith, to justice and love, to education and religion, to all the most sacred interests of life, and to every force by which men and nations grow. The conditions of the strife are complex, comprehensive, and confusing. They strike deep, and cover wide areas. No educational or religious interest is left untouched. Ostensibly we are debating the teaching of the principles of the Christian religion and morals to children; but, as a matter of fact, we are determining the question of the destruction of the national system of elementary education initiated by Mr. Forster's Act of 1870. The air is full of cries about "definite Christian teaching"; but inextricably mixed up with that subject are the efficiency of our Board School work, the sufficiency of the accommodation for the children, the adequacy of the apparatus for tuition, and even the sanitary state of the schools. The doctrinal substance of the creeds of the Churches is alleged to be the real stake of the battle; but it raises the problem of the true method of instructing the minds of children in religion, the limitations of the liberty of the teacher, the relation of national to sectarian education, the conversion of Board Schools into theological seminaries, Bible or no Bible, Bible without creed and without priests; or with one or both, and if so, which is to be the "creed," and who is to be the priest? Christians are divided against each other. The Catholic is in revolt against his Cardinal, the Evangelical is opposed to the Anglo-Catholic, and the Conformist against the Nonconformist. Good men needlessly charge one another with being enemies of religion, when accuser and accused are giving their lives for the Gospel, and know no passion so strong as that of loyal and loving obedience to Jesus Christ. Indeed, in this century of religious, political, and social warfare, there has not been a controversy in which such momentous interests have been imperilled or such bewildering and confusing issues raised. He who can enter into such a war with a light heart must surely want a well-trained head.

Pathetic as it is that the wise are grave and apprehensive as they face this uprising strife, it is even more unfortunate that the majority are so lamentably unprepared. The battle is a surprise to Londoners. They did not expect it, and they do not even yet see its real character. The combatants have been sleeping securely in their tents, and as they hear the bugle calling to the arena, they are not perfectly sure as to who are their real foes or what is their strength. Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, compares the theological controversies of the fifth century to a battle in the night, where each party from ignorance of the exact meaning of the terms used, numbered amongst its

adherents foes and friends fighting on the same side. It is likely we shall not escape that mistake in the forthcoming encounter. For twenty-four years we have dwelt under our School Board vine and fig-tree, only very occasionally startled by the winds that disturbed their branches. The "Cowper-Temple clause," it was admitted, was not flawless perfection; but it met a difficult problem in an entirely English way, and went far to solve it, if not on its theoretical, yet on its practical side; and then the stipulations of the London School Board—(1) that portions of the Bible should be read by the children; and (2) explained in a manner suited to the capacities of the children; and (3) that the teachers should not in *letter* or *spirit* introduce any formularies or catechisms of a distinctive denominational character; and (4), finally, that their work should be subjected to the inspection of trained minds—all this constituted so moderate, sensible, and just a policy, that we had begun to think that an educational settlement had been satisfactorily accomplished. Now and again we heard that the relations between the supporters of "Voluntary Schools" and the advocates of the New Nationalism in education were often strained and sometimes laden with menace, and perilous comparisons were instituted between the solid advances in efficiency and in popular favour of the Board Schools as against the somewhat hesitating and reluctant improvements in the denominational schools; but still no one anticipated a year ago that the whirlwinds of religious strife were to be let loose with such unparalleled fierceness and fury. In fact many felt that Lord Shaftesbury was, after all, quite right about the "religious difficulty," when he said in 1870: "There is no religious difficulty. The whole argument turns upon the supposition that the education is meant for persons of mature age—people with a sort of insatiable appetite for dogma of every description."

Of course, Roman Catholics did not acquiesce in the arrangement; but Nonconformists, though not regarding the "compromise" as ideally perfect, and always maintaining that it was not theoretically just, or in accord with their conviction that the State, whilst swayed in all its action by principles of righteousness and justice, should not concern itself with the teaching of religion; yet felt that their opposition had been conquered, and they were so generally co-operative with the method that the solitary voices which were lifted up in favour of the exclusion of Bible instruction from our National Schools seemed a little belated. Nor have educationalists hesitated to speak well of its operation, or inspectors to signalise its efficiency, and parents have been so content that the "Conscience Clause" has been employed in a most sparing degree. In short, and speaking generally, the nation had accepted Sections VII. and XIV. of the Education Act of 1870, together with the resolution of March 8, 1871, of the London School Board pro-

viding for Bible-reading as the working basis of its primary education. This moderate and reasonable policy had worked so admirably that we were beginning to look back on the Forster epoch in our national education as one of the brightest periods of our history, and as Mr. George Russell, M.P., says: "We were moving along in the comfortable assurance that the London School Board was doing its duty, and quietly, harmoniously and progressively doing the work committed to it by the Education Act of 1870."

Who, then, has broken the national quiet, stopped the nation's work, and summoned the forces of the storm? Three years ago not a hint was given of any crusade against the "compromise," nor was there a whisper of dissatisfaction with its working. Election addresses and candidates were eloquent about the necessity of not injuring "Voluntary Schools," of avoiding extravagance, of the folly of purchasing pianos to teach musical drill, the establishment of swimming baths in crowded districts, and, last of all and chiefly, of the stolid apathy of the whole electorate. But there was not a shadow of a mandate from the constituencies in 1891 to make war against the "compromise." The parents were content with it. Managers were rarely, if at all, disturbed by any infraction of it. The teachers worked satisfactorily under it. The churches voiced no protest. But one eager, resolute, restless, and aggressive Anglo-Catholic, who had found a place on the Board as a defender of "Church Schools" and a bitter enemy of "undenominational" Christianity, convinced himself of his mission; and as the *Church Review* of February 22, speaking of the agitation, says, "This result, as we all know, has been brought about by the band of Churchmen on the Board led by Mr. Athelstan Riley. It has been left to the High Church party on the Board to represent and defend Christianity."

Not immediately though did Mr. Riley persuade his colleagues of the need for his revolutionary work. At first they did not take his action seriously. He and Mr. Coxhead stood alone, and Canon Bristow himself arranged to move the "previous question." The Canon failed to keep his promise, remained in his seat, and the fight commenced; but so lately as March 2, 1893, the Board decided by 28 to 16 "to adhere to the scheme of Biblical and religious teaching which was settled by the first Board, and has remained in force down to the present time." Canon Bristow was one of the twenty-eight.*

But the entire history of the acrimonious contest within the Board, the story of its defence and exposition before the English Church Union and in the Press, leaves no room to question the reiterated assertions of the *Guardian* and the *Church Times* that Mr. Athelstan Riley has the distinction of being the sole, though assisted, author of this

* For an account of the controversy at the Board and the votes of members, see "The Case against Diggleism," pp. 18-25. London: Alexander & Shephard.

entire movement; and that to his strength of conviction, inflexible pertinacity and unsubduable will, it owes its present notoriety and power. Therefore, it is imperative that reasoning men in estimating accurately and fully this movement, in its contents and drift, character and aim, shall not only take account of technical changes in bye-laws, and the declarations of "circulars" but shall also examine the speeches, acts and personality of the creator of the revolution.

Now one of the chief reasons assigned for this sudden and menacing change is that the "compromise" has become inoperative. Twenty-four years have tested it and revealed its weak places. Applicable as it may have been at the commencement of a new epoch in primary education, it fails to meet, it is alleged, the exigencies of the present time. It allows too much liberty to the teacher, and accredits him with a sort of "divine right" as an expositor of Scripture. The teacher is absolute master of the situation. He may teach error. He can omit a fact he does not understand or disbelieves. He may insinuate doubt. He may fail in reserve. In fact, it was such "reserve" in instructing *infants* that formed the starting-point of the agitation against the "compromise,"* and that suggests, if it does not prove, that the real *cause* of the opposition to the "compromise" was not in the "case" itself, but in the pre-judgments and purposes of Mr. Riley and the Rev. J. J. Coxhead.

But this doctrine of the "divine right" of the Board School teacher to do or not do as he pleases will not bear the search-light of fact. First of all, the teacher is limited in the direction of "religious catechisms and formularies distinctive of any particular denomination." If he is a Baptist he is forbidden to give his interpretation of New Testament baptism, and he knows it. Again, he is controlled by the Board. Caprice is excluded as to the passages of the Bible he may read. The syllabus, drawn up with great skill and discrimination for each standard, is before him, and he must keep within it: and his explana-

* Cf. *Guardian*, November 16, 1892. Letter by the Rev. J. J. Coxhead: "I have been, this morning, present in one of these Board Schools during the *vuva voce* examination of the children by the teachers. In the first room to which I entered I heard these questions, 'What was the name of the mother of Jesus?' 'What was the name of the father?' Every child that the teacher called upon answered 'Joseph.' Not a word was said to imply the existence of His divine nature. The teacher was a head mistress of an infants' department."

Observe (1) that the pupils are in the *infant* class; (2) that the lesson was from Luke ii. 48: "And when they saw him they were amazed; and his mother said unto him, Son, why hast thou thus dealt with us? behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing"; (3) that the rules of the Board direct that such explanations shall be given as are suited to the capacities of children; (4) that even Mr. Riley's notice of motion retained the clause enjoining the adaptation of expositions of Scripture to the capacities of children. It ran: "That the teachers of the Board be informed that when the religious instruction for the day is given on passages from the Bible which refer to Christ; the children are to be distinctly taught that Christ is God, and such explanations of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity are to be given as may be suited to their capacities"; (5) Who that has any experience of children of six or eight years of age, would anticipate anything but confusion in any endeavours to explain to them the relation of the statement in Luke ii. 48 to the affirmations of the Nicene Creed?

tions must be such as are not beyond the grasp of youthful auditors. Moreover, inspectors are appointed to see that all Board School instruction is given efficiently and in accordance with the provisions of both the statute and the bye-law. And lastly, the "managers" who have the appointment of the teachers can judge his character, inspect his work, and deal with any infraction of the laws. With such provisions as these, surely it cannot be taken for granted that the Board School teachers have failed in faithfulness to the "compromise." It must be proved, and fully proved.

In investigating the work of the teachers we naturally expect to discover, in so large a body, and in such an age, a few open to suspicion. When we think of the intellectual difficulties of the time, of the shiftings of thought, the activity of criticism, the divergences of opinion as, for example, in a Farrar and a King, a Haweis and a Gore, a Francis Peek and Viscount Halifax, we anticipate that some of the 8000 Board School teachers may have caught the infection of scepticism and have failed to retain the faith of their early days whole and undefiled. But if the verdict of competent witnesses is allowed, then the combined testimony of Archbishop Benson, Rev. C. J. Ridgeway, Mr. Henry Gover, and the inspectors, constitutes an undeniable refutation of the charge that the "compromise" has failed. Witnesses of greater authority, and evidence of stronger cogency, can hardly be produced for any cause;* and in the face of the nearly complete absence of rebutting testimony, the conclusion is abundantly warranted, that in

* This evidence is so comprehensive and convincing, that it is desirable to set it out with some detail. Cf. Letter from the Primate: "I believe the Christian religion to be very well taught in many Board Schools. I have heard Board School teachers called the evangelists of some huge districts." And again, he says (speaking at the Canterbury Diocesan Conference on July 18 last), "I went to a very large and magnificent Board School some time ago, and I think it was like other Board Schools. I went to give away the prizes or something of that kind, or I had heard of some inspection going on. As I went upstairs, there was a very cheery elderly lady, and she said to me, as a matter of casual conversation, 'All the teachers are Church people, and good Church people too.'"

The Rev. C. J. Ridgeway says: "The teachers have conscientiously striven to give the children a Christian education," and he adds: "the complaints about bad religious training are reflections cast upon our training colleges."

Mr. Gover cites the words of Lord Halifax, uttered whilst presiding at a meeting of the English Church Union, on the 14th of July: "It was clear," he said, "that that compromise was only tolerated by many people, and the great mass of Nonconformists, on condition that the religious instruction given under it treats the central truths of the Christian religion as open questions." He stated his dislike to the Cowper-Temple clause and the compromise, and that undenominational religious teaching was a delusion and a snare, not merely anti-Christian, but a contradiction of common-sense, and that the real issue was whether the compromise should be used merely as a veil for Socinianism and infidelity. There is not, says Mr. Gover, a word of truth in this accusation. We on the Board know very well that the teaching in our schools is nothing of the sort, and if it were, what have all the very large number of clergymen on the successive Boards been about all these years? But as these statements are also a heavy indictment against the teachers of the Board, I determined to write to every head-teacher in the division of Greenwich which I represent, to ask whether there was any truth in Lord Halifax's charges, so far as their own schools were concerned. I have had a reply from every school; and of those replies, and of letters from the chairmen of managers confirming them, I have sent a copy to his lordship, and also now enclose one as a verification of my statements. These replies unanimously deny the charge of teaching Socinianism and infidelity in their own schools, and many also deny it from experience as

institutions protected by such instruments as this "compromise" there is not one that shows such a satisfactory record as the London School Board. Who would dream, for example, of comparing it with the wide diversities and violent contradictions that proceed with unchecked energy in the English Church under the compromise offered in the Book of Common Prayer; or with the differences of belief and practice exhibited in the wide domains linked together under the "compromise" of the Papacy? As a matter of fact, the School Board regulations have been severely tested in the heated fires of experience, and have been proved to be made of pure and good metal to such a surprising degree that it appears to have been nothing less than the sheer wantonness of a misguided and miscalculating wilfulness that has exposed our Board School system to utter wreckage on so shallow and unsupported a plea.

Nor can it be forgotten that if the "compromise" and its instrumental adjuncts have not been worked with complete faithfulness; if at any point in this vast metropolis they have broken down, it is apparent from the replies given to Mr. Gover's questions on the one hand, and the statement of Archbishop Benson on the other, that it is in a direction which leaves Mr. Riley and his colleagues of all others the least right to complain. Whatever denominational gain has accrued it is not questioned that it has gone to the Church of England. That Church has the magnetism of status and prestige. The forces of wealth and fashion are on its side. Seventy per cent. of the teachers are trained in its Colleges. Young men and women seeking a "career" leave Dissent to secure the advantage of having passed through their curriculum. The "managers" are chiefly composed of clergymen and Anglican laymen. It is the "predominant partner" of the "compromise" and receives its dividends accordingly.

Whilst, then, it is not admitted that there is any such collapse of the "compromise" as to justify in the slightest measure the conspiracy against it, or to call for more than the exercise of ordinary

to Board Schools generally. But nearly two-thirds of them do not stop with negatives. They word their replies in different ways. They say they have always taught (a) the Christian religion; (b) the doctrines of Christianity common to Churchmen and Non-conformists; (c) the doctrine of the Trinity; (d) the divinity of Christ—many state that they are Churchmen or Churchwomen, and (e) that they have been taught in Church training colleges; (f) that they have been teachers in Church schools or training colleges, and now teach exactly the same as they then did, except the Church catechism; (g) that the religious instruction is better than in the generality of national schools; (h) that out of 3000 or 4000 children under their care only one in each case has been withdrawn from the religious instruction, or (i) that there has been no case, or only one case, in which a child who had passed under their hands had afterwards embraced infidelity. They are confirmed by the chairmen of the managers, some of them clergymen, others Nonconformist ministers. Of the clergymen one says that during twenty years, and over the whole of the schools of the Board in London, there have only been one or two cases of an attempt to teach infidelity or Socinianism, and the other that he has known of only one case, and that was stopped by the managers. Both these gentlemen speak from experience in other divisions besides Greenwich. The latter gentleman very justly adds that if Lord Halifax's statements were against a body with whom an action for libel would lie the result would be a verdict with heavy damages."

care on the part of those in charge of the schools, it is also maintained that even if there were any infraction of the law it would, under existing conditions, bring advantage only to that very Anglo-Catholic party which is solely responsible for this unhappy and disastrous strife.

Another mode of setting forth the objects of the revolutionary majority is that which declares that they are seeking to provide for the inculcation of "definite Christian teaching" in Board Schools: or, as it is not infrequently expressed, to get rid of "undenominationalism," and of the legislation and bye-laws on which it rests.

The demand for definite dogmatic teaching was made at the outset of the controversy and has not been lost sight of at any moment. It was the impulse that secured the addition of the word "Christian" as a defining epithet of the "principles of religion and morality" the teachers are to expound; and it was due to its influence that the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation played so large a part in the formation of the "circular." The same purpose is expressed with continuous iteration in such papers as the *Guardian*, *Church Times* and *Church Review*, and is never absent from the advocacy conducted by the English Church Union. The craving for it has led some leading Evangelicals to suppress their inherited antagonism to Romanism, and, whilst lamenting the rapid Romanising of the English Church, yet to co-operate with Romanists in School Board work. The loud chorus of delight which welcomed Mr. Athelstan Riley at the Exeter Church Congress was due to the conviction that he had been a stalwart and unconquerable champion of "definite Christian teaching," and it is not unlikely that the same trained antagonism to vagueness about the doctrines of the religion of Christ induced the Bishop of London to accept the responsibility of sharing in what he himself called "the creation of a new sect," by carrying over the immense weight of his position to the majority.

It is therefore important to weigh this plea with the utmost care, understand its exact meaning, and appraise its value in relation to an effective teaching of the principles of the Christian religion and morality on the one hand, and to our new National School system on the other.

When "undenominationalism" is spoken of by Mr. Riley he leaves us in no uncertainty as to what he thinks or feels. His language may sometimes lack grace and refinement, but it rarely fails to show the intensity of his emotions. At a meeting of the English Church Union (June 15, 1893) Mr. Riley described "undenominationalism" as "a nasty, ugly, mis-shapen beast," and stated that "he constantly heard when he first went on to the School Board that the School Board instruction was infinitely better than anything to be had in the Voluntary Schools, because in the Voluntary Schools you get sect-

arian teaching, but in the Board Schools you get pure Christianity straight out of the Word of God without any mixture whatever," and he contended, "that if you did not teach doctrine it was not the Christian religion," and that "people must be awakened to the fact that undenominationalism meant no Christian religion." Moreover, in a letter to the *Church Times* of December 11, 1893, Mr. Riley said, "Undenominationalism is the biggest humbug the wit of man ever devised." Clearly then "undenominationalism" is the system of Bible education which has been in force for the last twenty-four years: the practice of teaching "pure Christianity straight out of the Word of God," without the addition of any religious formulary or catechism or "circular" or creed.

It is thus seriously and sincerely held that the Bible, which is the source of all that we know authoritatively concerning Jesus Christ and His revelation, is not "definite" enough in its statements about Christianity, and that therefore it is unsafe to allow it to speak for itself, and without the aid of some defining authority. The *Church Times* accordingly looks with profound pity on Canon Trench and the Bible Education Council because they have nothing more definite to offer than the "open Bible."

In such a library of literature as the Bible there are "some things hard to be understood," but the portions chosen by the School Board Scripture Committee for different standards of pupils are not from the middle of the Apocalypse or from the Book of Leviticus, but consist of "simple stories from the Book of Genesis," "leading facts in the life of Christ," "the history of the youth of David," "the Lord's Prayer," the Sermon on the Mount, the Ten Commandments, portions of the Book of Proverbs, the Parables, and John xiv. Surely there is no haze about the Parable of the Good Samaritan; nor is it difficult to teach a child the golden rule. Prayer is not vaguely enjoined in the words, "Ask and it shall be given you"; nor is our duty to our God and our neighbours "indefinitely" expressed in the words in which Jesus sums up the tables of the law, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The Founder of Christianity Himself might be trusted when He says, "Ye search the Scriptures because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which *bear witness of me*"; and nowhere else than from His lips can we learn that "God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life." Is not that very definite Christian teaching which says, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled." Can words more conclusively set forth the character and person of Christ than His utterances, "I am the light of the world"; "I am the bread of

life"; "I am the true vine." Is sanction for confessing Him made known with greater strength anywhere than in the words, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven"? Well may Prebendary Eyton exclaim, "Surely we are not afraid of letting the Bible speak for itself on such questions."

To be sure, the Bible is not sharply definite on such themes as "Baptismal Regeneration," "Apostolical Succession," "the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Lord's Supper," the definition of the Incarnation upheld by the English Church Union, and the points stated with such fulness and energy in the Athanasian Creed; but then, however serious and significant these subjects are to mature, reflective, and trained minds, they are certainly not matters a young child can understand, or should be invited to study in a Board School.

The Editor of the *Church Times* said in a recent issue :

"The real matter in dispute between 'the minority' and the Church party is whether the minds of children shall be instructed in the fundamentals of the Christian religion in a manner best adapted to their understanding, that is, in a concrete, crystallised form, easy of comprehension, or in that abstruse, intangible manner which imbues the childish mind with a painful sense of vacuity. Churchmen of all schools of thought are united on this point, except those few who have allowed their prejudices to run away with their reasoning faculties, and are, as a consequence, playing into the hands of the opponents of all religion."*

There is the line of cleavage between Nonconformists and the Anglo-Catholic and Roman Catholic parties. The former maintain that the most effective organ for teaching the Christian religion to children is the Bible, and not "concrete, crystallised forms," such as the theological creeds contained in the circular. They hold that the "Word of God is living and active, quick to discern the thoughts and intents of the heart," effective in rousing the conscience, and nourishing to a sense of duty; and they anticipate more for the youth of London from their contact with the quickening teachings of Jesus and His apostles, the songs of the Psalmist, and the social and political ethics of the prophets, than from all other agencies that touch their lives; save those which are clad with the divine strength of a pure personal experience of the love and grace of God. Nonconformists stand frankly for Bible teaching, that is, for the use of the very words of Scripture in Board Schools, and the explanation of their meaning in ways suitable to a young child. They trust the Bible fully. No creed is superior to it. No creed is allowed to have authority with it; in fact, they suspect "creeds," even the best, of derogating from the authority of the "Word of God," hindering the progress of truth and closing the minds of the young to the entrance of that light which giveth understanding to the simple.

* *Church Times*, September 25.

Not that they are unaware of the immense value of theology, or forgetful of the service of the "creeds" as landmarks in the history of human thought and appropriate material for theological professors and students. To them theology is the Queen of sciences, and the debates of Church councils, speculations, and controversies in which the Christian Church has been involved since it came into touch with Greek thought and life, are luminous illustrations of the efforts of Christian philosophers to translate the facts and ideas of Christianity into the reasoning life of the time. The Incarnation is the core of Christianity, integral to Christianity itself, and indeed to religion; and, as Dr. Fairbairn told the International Congregational Council, "theology is now in a degree that a generation ago would have been inconceivable, most intensely Trinitarian." But the fact remains, Board Schools are not theological halls, and "concrete crystallised forms" of statement concerning the Incarnation and the Trinity are as much out of place within their walls as the differential calculus. Dr. Butcher, Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh, fairly states and vindicates our position when he says:

"The Bible, as a vital growth, has nourished the spiritual life of successive generations, and has seen the death of creeds and sects, the crumbling away of systems of theology, which are mere abstracts and digests of truth, and not the living food. It is the one book which appears to have the capacity of eternal self-adjustment, of uninterrupted correspondence with an ever-shifting and ever-widening environment."*

Again, this insistence upon dogmatic forms in teaching the young is made in ignorance of the enormous revolution which has taken place within this century in the methods of instructing children. The venerable error that confounded a stocked memory with an alert and drilled mind is banished, or only prolongs an attenuated existence in the stagnant marshes of mediæval souls. Goethe says: "We learn a thing soon, but are slow to discover its truth." Forms are quickly committed to memory; but educationalists have discovered that they hinder thought instead of helping it, and produce a delusive content with the shadow, where you want to inspire an eager search for the eternal substance. We are beginning to understand what education really is: what is, and what is not, intelligible to a child; by what ways to close a child's nature to knowledge, and by what to rouse it for the quest and attainment of both knowledge and culture. We see that words are rarely more than half understood, that definitions and "rules" are hindrances or fetters, not food or help, whilst things, objects, pictures, and histories can be apprehended by children, studied with zest, and used for mental growth. The Kindergarten method with its appeals to the senses and its provisions for exertion, holds the key to the infant class; for, as Emerson says, "action is education," and the conceptions of a child are formed more by the

* Dr. Butcher's "Some Aspects of the Greek Genius," p. 200.

eye than by the ear. Professor Huxley opens the world of biological research with the study of a single cray-fish: and he would teach geography by starting with the boy's garden, pass from it to the village; from the village to the town, from the town to the country, and from the country to the empire and the world. Are we then, forsooth, to ignore this fundamental change in educational processes, solely because we are teaching the principles of religion and morality? Remember the warning given by one of England's most capable and original teachers—the Rev. Edward Thring, Head Master of Uppingham School—when describing a picture of what was going on in the school-world. He says:

“It is useless pumping on a kettle with the lid on. Pump, pump, pump. The pump-handle goes vigorously, the water pours, a virtuous glow of righteous satisfaction and sweat beams on the countenance of the pumper; but—the kettle remains empty, and will remain empty till the end of time, barring a drop or two, which finds its way in unwillingly through the spout.”

Thus, the use of these “concrete crystallised forms” for children is condemned by wise and experienced educationalists. It is a bad method. It puts a lid of words on the mind and prevents the entrance of the water of everlasting life. It is creative, as I can testify from a long experience, of antagonism to the Christianity of the New Testament, by compelling pupils to identify the conclusions of philosophical theologians with the contents of the revelation of God. Carlyle, in his story of Frederick the Great, pictures the way in which the princely youth was instructed in religious matters by his tutor, Noltenius. He says, the worthy man thought he could clear up all the abstruse points in the universe by the compilation of a catechism in which was contained a perfect scheme of doctrine; and the seer, as is his habit, breaks out: “Oh, Noltenius! take away your catechetical ware; and say either nothing at all to the poor young boy, or something that he shall find to be beyond doubt when he comes to think of it.”

Condemned by science, “concrete crystallised forms” find no support in the example of Christ. The first disciples did not start with the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Trinity; they sat at the Teacher's feet and felt the spell of His character, heard His words of fathomless wisdom, and had their curiosity stirred and their minds roused; walked with Him in the lanes of Galilee; saw Him in conflict with the traditionalists and priests; and so gradually came to feel the love for Him that many waters could not quench and the devotion that no persecution could destroy. This at least must be allowed for the Board School plan, it is in keeping with the method of Jesus; it makes the children familiar with His wonderful ministry, His acts of healing pity and redeeming love, His beautiful parables and prophetic miracles, His revelation of the Father and of man His child. The

following witness speaks with the authority of scientific education as well as with that of religion when, claiming to represent the laity of the Church, he says: "The laity want the Bible to remain a familiar book in the cottages; they believe of teachers and scholars that the more they know the Bible the more they will value it; and they believe that a simple, unspeculative, childlike religion will be the result of such a use of the Bible. They would like to see Church and Dissent shake hands over this policy."*

The same authority says, "It is perfectly certain that in our Board Schools denominational Christianity will not be taught;" and then Archdeacon Wilson raises the question whether the undenominational teaching is worth having. His answer is that of long experience as Head Master of Clifton College, and of wide observation; and it is as unhesitating as it is explicit, and ought to be as weighty as it is clear. He says:

"I am quite certain that the undenominational teaching and examination of Scripture is a reality, and practical teachers of all ranks will agree with me. . . . I do not of course say that the teaching is the same thing as that which comes from a heart overflowing with faith and love; but that sort of teaching can be secured by no examination, and by no test; it can be secured in no profession, and is rare in any rank of teacher, whether ordained or unordained, trained or amateur, day or Sunday. Though it is not the same thing it is a very valuable thing. It is given in general with reverence and consideration if not with profound spiritual earnestness. It conveys knowledge, and this is of great value; it lays the foundation on which more may be built. Apollos did good service in Corinth, even though his scholars 'knew not as yet that there was any Holy Ghost.' To deny this is to fly in the face of all experience of secondary education."

The Nonconformist communions confirm this witness. As teachers of Christianity to the young in the Sunday-school and day-school, in church and home, they have ever maintained the immensely superior educational effectiveness of the Bible over any and all "concrete, crystallised forms," and their policy is vindicated in their continuity and progress, and in their contributions to the progressive life of Great Britain and to missionary work throughout the world. In the light of this double experience Church and Dissent ought to find some way of shaking hands.

And for this additional reason. If there is to be "definite Christian teaching" somebody must be the defining authority. If we are to have "concrete crystallised forms" of belief some one or other of the many schools of thought must direct and control the crystallising process. It is in vain to say we are agreed or can agree on theological definition. Why cherish illusions? Enduring institutions cannot be built upon them. The widest agreement we can get is that we shall make the Bible the universal text-book, expressly shut out

* "Voluntary Schools and State Education": a Charge delivered by the Ven. J. M. Wilson, M.A., Archdeacon of Manchester, April, 1894, p. 22.

all distinctive formularies, secure qualified and reverential teachers, and appoint inspectors of their work. We cannot go further. Cardinal Vaughan says : " It is clear that whatever changes may be made in religious instruction in Board Schools, such instruction can never be acceptable to Catholics so long as it is based upon private interpretations of the Bible given by school teachers whether trained or untrained." Neither Catholics nor Evangelical Anglicans will accept the theology of the London School Board. Mr. Gore, one of the leaders of the newer critical school in the High Church section, writing in "*Lux Mundi*," announced the doctrine, " The Church to teach ; the Bible to prove."* But at present this principle does not penetrate far within the areas of Anglo-Catholicism ; and when Mr. Gore proceeds to the task of definition, he shows at once how impossible it is even for many in his own Church to agree with him. Speaking of " Undenominationalism," he says :

" By this name I refer to the theory which represents men as first becoming Christians by an act of individual faith, and after that combining into Christian societies, greater or smaller, as suits their predilections. This, you observe, is the opposite of the theory that men become Christians in the first instance by incorporation into the one Christian society, and, then, after that, are bound to realise individually their Christian privileges." †

The efforts of the London School Board are less reassuring. I saw the " crystallising " process which issued in the " circular " at several stages, and anything more distressing to a student of theology I cannot imagine, nor could I see how " religion " could possibly gain by it, least of all, the simple practical religion of Jesus Christ. Sometimes the scenes recalled the speech of Constantine at the Council of Nicea, when he urged the importance, not of arriving at truth, but of abolishing discord amongst Christians, lest the integrity of the empire should suffer. More frequently I was reminded of the physical force Assembly at Ephesus, in 449, that won by its violence the distinction of the Robbers' Council. Canon Bristow does not commend School Board theological definitions to our confidence when he says of the circular :

" That that document is not perfect the majority are quite ready to acknowledge ; but every effort to improve it so as to avoid the charge of Tritheism, or aught else, was so pertinaciously and unscrupulously thwarted by the minority that we were obliged to be content with what we could pass after months of weary jangling and bitter recrimination on the part of our opponents." ‡

" Definite Christian teaching " shaped in such an atmosphere and under such formative influences does not augur well either for a clear and full expression of truth or for aid in practical religion. But it must be so. The London School Board is as unfit to supply " con-

* "*Lux Mundi*." Tenth edition, pp. 282-4 ; " Bampton Lecture," p. 191.

† Gore's "*Mission of the Church*," p. 22.

‡ *The Guardian*, September 19, 1894.

crete, crystallised forms " of theology as the Royal Academy to produce a pharmacopœia.

Hence it is not so surprising that the demand for the withdrawal of the "circular" should be heard on all sides, as that its creators should withhold every indication of willingness to abbreviate its mischievous career and actually threaten to resist every attempt on the part of the minority to reopen the discussion upon it as the "infliction of a grievous wrong on the consciences of men." "Withdrawal, indeed!" It is intended to push further in the same direction. The Bishop of Oxford strongly protests against the law which forbids the use of formularies distinctive of denominational belief, goes back upon the whole settlement of 1871, and supports the party that is agitating for the elimination from our National School system of the very qualities and forces that distinguish the Board School from the Denominational School. Lord Halifax, with singular audacity, says: "We cannot, for example, as instructed Christians, accept a system of so-called education which ignores baptism, and leaves the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ an open question." Still more frankly does one of the papers of the majority lay bare their animating motive. "As Churchmen we frankly admit that we do not intend to rest content with the issue of the circular: our aim is to obtain Church teaching for Church children by Church teachers. We shall be content with nothing short of this." *

"Nothing short of this!" Mr. Riley is not the man to stay his hand. He is sincere and strongly convinced. He does not care for peace. He will go forward though the Bible has to go out of the Board Schools. The "minimum of dogma" will not content him. The "circular" involves and necessitates, if it is not expelled, further theological wrangles. Victory at the polls will be the occasion for fresh demands in the direction of "formularies" of faith and the domination of the Board Schools by the High Church section of the Anglican Church.

It is admitted to be a fight for the Church of England. The *Guardian* says: "Even if there were something to be said against Mr. Riley's tactics from the point of view of the London School Board, it would still be the duty of Churchmen to support him, because he is fighting there the foe which threatens the very existence of the Church of England." It is sheer blindness and folly to question that the defence of the "Church" is held to demand the destruction of the Board School. The policy is one of "Thorough." Whatever distinguishes the Board School from the Church School is to be ejected. The Board School is based on the Cowper-Temple Clause. That clause must go. The Board School uses the Bible as its chief and exclusive instrument in religious teaching. The Bible must be superseded by a creed and interpreted by a priest. The Board School imposes no test of the theological opinions of teachers. The "circular" recovers and re-

* *West London Chronicle*. April 21, 1894.

furbishes that old sword of bigotry and intolerance. The Board School is broad-based upon the people's will—democratic, universal; it is to be converted into a training ground of a particular section of the State Church, on the specious plea of safe-guarding the parents' interest in perpetuating their own religious belief.*

"Nothing short of this" will satisfy the aspirations of the clerical party. Already they have an overwhelming majority of the training colleges for teachers, and obtain by far the larger portion of their income for them from the taxpayer,† and receive from the same source for their denominational schools near upon £2,000,000 per annum;‡ but all this avails nothing so long as the Board School is not subordinated to their purposes. Mark Pattison reminds us that the Tractarian movement began in the effort of Newman to convert Oriel College into a priestly seminary instead of retaining it as an agent of the University of Oxford. If Londoners are not alert, Board Schools, instead of supplying a sound and serviceable education to the children of the people, will be turned into seminaries in which boys and girls will be trained for Church ends, and taught to treat the interests of the clergy as the supreme law of life. Dr. Ellicott declares "Sacerdotalism is digging the grave of the Establishment." If we are apathetic, divided and selfish, it will also dig the grave of our national education. The citizens of the metropolis are therefore called upon to maintain the integrity and efficiency of that Board School system which has proved itself a powerful weapon against vice and crime, a useful engine of economical progress, and an impulse to intellectual and moral well-being.

Who will respond? The Carthaginian maidens cut off their raven ringlets that they might be braided into bow-strings for Hannibal's archers. The maidens of Tyre sacrificed their golden hair for cordage for the Tyrian navy. What sacrifice will Londoners make for the sake of saving their own Board Schools from destruction and promoting the real interests of the most precious treasure they possess—their own children?

JOHN CLIFFORD.

* One writer lays down the somewhat perilous dictum, "Justice demands a correspondence between the dogma of the school and the dogma of the individual parent." (Rev. Hensley Henson, "The Church of the People," p. 3.) To say nothing of the difficulty of effecting this correspondence, or of the fact that many parents have no "dogma," and others are opposed in dogma, it ought to be enough that the parents have already expressed their approval of the Board School system as worked from 1870. They have not attacked the "compromise." They have defended it. Not from them has come any abuse. They have appeared to uphold it. Let the will of the parents have free play. Do not override it by the intrusion of "Kilburn Sisters," or defeat it by priests, and the issue is not doubtful.

† Out of an income of £179,624, no less a sum than £130,000 was found by the Government.

‡ The Duke of Devonshire said as far back as 1876: "It is now no longer a condition that voluntary support should be given. In fact, the word voluntary ought, in this matter, now to disappear altogether. These schools may be maintained entirely through the fees paid by parents or by Parliamentary grants. They are denominational schools, but they are not voluntary schools."

“THE MANXMAN”—MANX LIFE AND MANXLAND.

“THE Isle of Man lies in lat. 51 N., long. 4 W. It is thirty miles long by about twelve broad. There are four towns—Castletown, Douglas, Ramsey, Peel. It is the seat of a bishopric and a considerable fishing trade, &c. &c.”

Thus “The Gazetteer.” An unimportant little place : we dismiss it, and pass on to Manaer, alphabetically, or anywhere else. “The Gazetteer” does not betray the Manx secret. This little island is a perfect seed-plot of romance ; who would have thought it ? Not Chaloner, not Waldron, not the eighteenth-century Feltham, not the nineteenth-century Train, not, in our own time, Professor Ryce, or Professor Boyd-Dawkins. For the matter of that, no Manxman has ever taken himself or his island so seriously as to guess at the *suppositi cineres* of a soil volcanic mentally, if not physically. From Camden to Walpole Englishmen have snuffed and poked about the Island and its constitution. The graver students have explored its laws, or dug its barrows, have discovered remains of a political system clearly Scandinavian, or of a race almost reprehensibly brachycephalic. The lighter lances have done something in folk-lore ; but, for the most part, the Manx people have been silent. They don’t seem to have suspected that they were so rich in the materials of imaginative literature. No one suspected it, and now there seems likely to be a rush to the insular diggings. The ordinary visitor, or tripper, if we may venture so to call him, has hitherto regarded “th’ oil o’ Man” as a very “tip-top place for a spree,” as the native seat of fresh herrings and “rumpy” cats. When he returns he takes home with him a confused kaleidoscope of public-houses, palaces, piers, promenades, and a miscellany of brother trippers more or less interesting. Possibly he has observed that the natives were not black or barbarous, and that the policemen

were fussy, but not implacable, the magistrates careful, but lenient and facetious. Meanwhile, of this romance, this world of fashion—this Manx world—this world that thrills and heaves, sensitive to every touch, nervous, electric—your tripper has not the slightest idea. How should he? The very best class of tripper—the Professors, the *Boyd-Dawkinses*, the more permanent class—the Governors, the Bishops—have no idea beyond the general knowledge that the human being is about the same everywhere, and that, as long as he does nothing to bring him under the eye of the law, he can safely be neglected, and certainly does not deserve to be studied as an object-lesson of anything.

But, in the midst of this *consensus* of neglect—behold Mr. Hall Caine! He stamps on Barrule or Sulby, and instantly the whole scene lives: the dry bones come together, bone to his bone, and they stand on their feet an exceeding great army. The fact is that Mr. Caine has faith in humanity—humanity everywhere, in man or in Morocco—and this is his reward, this book which now comes before the public with all its freshness, and the power of something like a revelation.

For Mr. Hall Caine has revealed the Manx people to themselves, if to no one else—to themselves specially, and by a divination almost prophetic. And he has done this in the most obvious way imaginable, simply by being Hall Caine. That is, Mr. Caine is Manx on his father's side, Cumbrian on his mother's. The blend is significant. On both sides the same yeoman stock, the statesmen of Cumberland and the quasi-freeholders of the Isle of Man. This secures the emotions; the heart is sound, deep, and full; and over it presides an intellect that is of no place or time, dramatic, pure, capable of analysis, though not given to that process, synthetic rather, and eminently productive.

And here are the products. Mr. Caine's Manx works have been "The Deemster," "The Bondman," and "The Manxman." Add to these, "Captain Davie's Honeymoon."

In the first two the author was approaching the Isle of Man. He saw it afar off, looming through the mythical haze in which the old Manx king is said to have enfolded the sacred soil. It is interesting to observe how Mr. Caine, in all his works before "The Manxman," has shrunk from grappling with the present. In "The Deemster" we see the Isle of Man of 1700, in "The Bondman" we are presented with the conditions of Manx society in the early years of the nineteenth century. The same hesitation to deal with contemporary life we have noticed in all Mr. Caine's books before "The Manxman," not only in those the scene of which is laid in the Isle of Man, but also in such novels as "The Shadow of a Crime" and "The Scapegoat." Time or space has been removed to a distance, time in the whole series,

space in "The Scapegoat," time and, to a certain extent, space in "The Boudman." This it is which hitherto surrounded Mr. Caine's romances with an air of aloofness, of only half-ventured realism. We have held back because the author was not certain of his tread, did not incorporate himself with his work by an absolute conviction. The conviction which he did not himself possess he could not impart to others. A disadvantage not quite compensated by the greater elevation. You are caught up into a higher atmosphere, but you miss the solid ground on which you and your guide alike can walk securely. But here, in "The Manxman," Mr. Caine has no doubts, no tremulous, asymptotic approaches. He embraces his theme with all the fiery energy of his soul, and we follow him with confidence.

Now the reason of this is clear. Mr. Caine has gone and lived in the Isle of Man. Probably none of us could do better, though many might find it inconvenient. It may be whispered too that the mere living in the scene of your romance is of very little use. You must live, and love; and the love must be native, sweet, racy of the soil. Of all people in the world, we should say, the Manx are the most impossible to assimilate; they are Protean, elusive. You cannot even imitate the accent; it is hopeless. The attempts to do so on the English stage, metropolitan or provincial, have been terrible failures. But we suppose this is universally admitted, or we must despair of human modesty. Extremely sanguine must the novelist be, or extremely immodest, who will back up his puppets as adequate representatives of a race, we had almost said of a class, which is not his own. It is true that certain types of character are conventionally accepted, and their language and names pass muster. The "Courtier," the "Philosopher," the "Fop," the "Lover," are of these types. The "Clown," the "Rustic"?—that is doubtful. Shakespeare's rustics, are they Warwickshire or Gloucestershire rustics? And did not George Eliot feel on surer ground, and make her readers feel it too, in "Silas Marner" than in "Romola"? The English rustics of Sir Walter may be tolerated, but they will hardly be relished even south of the Tweed. The question is, we believe, practically allowed to drift haphazard, but it becomes pressing when a novel like "The Deemster," or "The Manxman," is dramatised. How about the "Manx Rustic"? Mr. Hall Caine knows him well; but what are the actors to do? It would seem that the safest thing is to speak with the accent of the county to which the actor himself belongs. This is but a makeshift, and, probably, all Londoners are *ipso facto* excluded from the cast of such a play. But no κοινή διάλεκτος has yet been invented which will hang up the Manx *cantilena* beside the Lancashire caw and the west country syllabub of Barnes and Hardy.

We have spoken of Mr. Hall Caine as approaching the Isle of Man, but now he has lived there for upwards of a year, with the result

which might have been expected. So sympathetic a nature, with its Manx aptness, its capacity of giving pledges to the happy and communicative people with whom he associates upon such intimate terms, has ensured a fidelity to local conditions, a felicity of local colour, which have never yet been attained by any Manxman, nor, perhaps, by any artist dealing with a social life, however special or familiar. In fact, the only objection which we can imagine being made is to the excessive richness of the work in this particular. Mr. Caine has omitted no trait, has spared no detail. There is not a Manx proverb, a Manx anecdote, a Manx jest, a Manx situation, which will not be found in "The Manxman." All Manx men are in it, all Manx women. It sweeps like a trawl-net the whole bottom of the Manx waters, and gathers within its meshes every living creature that inhabits the depths which are so fertile and so unexplored. One cannot help asking whether Mr. Caine has not exhausted the ground. Is it possible that he can ever return to it, and dredge after himself? His attack has been so omnivorous that we doubt whether it can be repeated. "Voracity" is the only word by which we attempt to describe the keenness, the energy, the appetite, and the completeness with which the Manx novelist has revelled in the banquet. This is the secret of his strength and of his success—a vigorous, healthy gourmand set down to his own table. He has discovered his *patria*, the natural feeding-ground of his imagination, and the true, unquestionable realism.

Is Mr. Caine a Manx Zola? Certainly not. A realist he is, but of a very different sort. Mr. Caine loves his Manxmen. Does M. Zola love his Frenchmen? If so, he has a very peculiar way of showing it. The "Rougon-Macquart" series owes its origin to no such motive. It shows the basest side of French character, relentlessly, horribly. It deliberately selects from rustic life in France all that is most loathsome—real, no doubt, but detestably real. Anywhere you can get this stuff, but who cares for it? the midden-heaps of grossness, the *sentina* of the social sewage. Not so with Hall Caine. On every side of him lie the quagmires of foulness, but he moves through them with a step that never falters, never deviates into the impure. He is a passionate writer, and he has been accused of coarseness! But passion is not necessarily coarse; essentially it is the reverse. We must not press the metaphorical use of a word, but surely *coarse* involves the idea of texture. Now apply to the passion of Mr. Hall Caine the most powerful psychological microscope, and the texture will be seen to be of the finest. It can hardly be said to have texture, grain, or substance; it is transparent, elemental. In Hall Caine's hands passion is a flame, not in the sense of the old amorists, but in a far loftier sense, a flame, a splendour.

He that does not recognise the quality in the passion of Kate

Cregeen either uses an imperfect instrument, or is himself a blind microscopist. At these elevations ethical blindness is not uncommon, and the sufferer is generally unconscious of his defect. Not the less is he æsthetically incapable. The passion of so highly strained a creature as Kate, a creature so immediate, so elemental, may well be used as a test to ascertain the degree of delicacy in which the reader possesses the sense of moral vision. And this consideration is one which we recommend to all those who may have been alarmed by what has been called, especially in the Isle of Man, the coarseness of the "Manxman." Let them suspect themselves and the coarseness of the extremely rudimentary ethical sense which is the source of their perplexity. Let them put the saddle on the right horse. Above all, let them remember that the "Manxman" bides *Auf den Höhen*, and is not amenable to Troglodytes. Their Kate is not Hall Caine's Katè, but a Kate of their own invention, not to say their own seeking. *Castis omnia casta*, a venerable maxim, nowhere more applicable than in the case of Kate Cregeen.

Kate is the daughter of a miller, publican, farmer, Methodist local-preacher. The combination is unusual, perhaps not unprecedented, but to be classed among the anachronisms of a book which, it must be confessed, is not free from anachronisms. Cæsar Cregeen wears knee-breeches; no Methodist preacher, publican or not publican, has worn knee-breeches in the Isle of Man for at least sixty years. Is not this dreadful? But, more, the whole story is anachronistic. It is not merely a question of knee-breeches, and of Kimberley, of diamond-kings, and old-world customs, the whole *einkleidung* is a mixture of the archaic and the modern. Mr. Caine might have avoided these anachronisms, and, for Manx readers, he had better have avoided them. He is the last man to escape into the unconditioned, to float into the sphere where the absence of *chronos* gets rid of anachronisms. And, to Manxmen, they are like snags in the bed of a great river. To the general reader, they are imperceptible, so great is the force and volume of the current. But natives of the island feel uncomfortable. At every turn they encounter these snags, and are disturbed by the shock, flung out of their insular bunks prostrate on the floor, the dead level of contemporary experience. Poor natives! Meanwhile, Mr. Caine has no misgivings, because Mr. Caine is voracious. Voracity, we have already said, is the characteristic of our author's method. Economy of means is out of the question. Mr. Caine will have everything. Here is a Methodist—lots of good stuff to be got out of Methodists; here is a miller—no end of copy, since Chaucer's time, to be made out of millers; a publican—ah, a publican—yes! yes! (after a moment's hesitation) undoubtedly a publican; and he shall wear knee-breeches, certainly he shall. There is something grotesque about knee-breeches, and

Mr. Caine, at this stage, and no wonder, has conceived of Cæsar as grotesque. Yes, and he shall be a hypocrite (a dark shadow steals across Mr. Caine's forehead), classical type of the comic stage, and a humorist (fun twinkles in the eye of Mr. Caine) for the nonce. Hold hard! the man will be everything.

But Cæsar Cregeen is a character that will live. An *omnium gatherum*, if you will, but, as we can testify, apart from his plurality of avocations and his quaint dress, a character true to life, and moving with all the complex reality of a man-in-the-next-street. As a hypocrite, he is *ménagé*. Mr. Caine repented of the hypocrite, and yet Cæsar is a hypocrite—and yet he is not, though he quotes so much Scripture, and is so prone to fall upon his knees. He can say brilliant things, wise things; he can stand up like a man; and if he is constantly "making a fool of himself," he is, as constantly, winning our respect, and even our affection. Such a Methodist preacher is, no doubt, a possibility of the past, not an actuality of the present. They do not grow like blackberries, even on Manx "hedges," these Cæsar Cregeens. Seldom have the ingredients that make up a *pot-pourri* of character—the old goose, the old rogue, the old saint, the old sinner, the old Pharisee, the old publican, altogether the old and absolutely delightful improbability—been mingled with more subtle and continuous effect. One hardly knows in what electuary the parts are compounded. A certain Celtic warmth and sweetness of humour, a glow of inward cohesion, we imagine, strong, binding, is the central charm of a personality which we feel it hard to define, but obvious to enjoy. Mr. Caine has a right to this Cæsar of his. In the depths of his own semi-Celtic soul he has effected the transfusion of what seemed inconsistent materials. We may try to separate them, but we cannot: analysis is powerless before a combination which has already passed into a substantial form and refuses to give way to the acids of criticism or the alkalies of dulness.

We have mentioned the humour which pervades the character of this marvellous "local." But humour permeates the whole book, and this is a very remarkable development, for Mr. Caine hitherto has shown but little of the humorous faculty. Here, however, it is in full swing. This is because the author has at last found his rest-point: Happy, at home with his surroundings, he has soaked himself in his Manx bath; and no man, certainly not Mr. Hall Caine, could do that without the perception and assimilation of humour. It is Manx humour, and it has worked within him a thorough transmutation. The stern, sad moralist is not absent, but the bright and jocund humorist is there too. Nor is the humour a thing of spurts and patches; it is incorporate, and of the essence. It has got into Mr. Caine's blood and bone: probably it was always there, and has only been elicited by the congenial circumstance of his year's residence in

the Isle of Man. In that case, "The Manxman" is a revelation of the author to himself, as well as of the Manx life and genius to Manxmen and to the world; and Mr. Hall Caine is to be congratulated upon this discovery of what is more than a new vein in his mental endowment. Humour is a gift of the noblest, one of the widest scope and most frequent emergence. We have heard of men who in mature age have discovered themselves to be poets, painters, musicians, never before having had the slightest notion that Nature had granted them such powers. The men who have been thus surprised by themselves have not always been successful in winning others to an accordant estimate, and the result has been an amiable but somewhat exacting boredom. But Mr. Hall Caine need not fear this. The humour, the phosphor-gleam, that almost runs riot through "The Manxman," is as acceptable as it is unexpected.

But humour is not necessarily light and buoyant; it can be sad. The first kind is often laid on, or brought in as a relief. The gray and the gay interchange. The reader is supposed to be getting too serious—turn on the humour! This mechanical succession or interposition is not the divinest purpose to which humour can be applied. Mr. Caine makes the freest use of what we may call the humour of relief. But there is a humour which streams with melancholy sweetness over the surface of things sad, or, rather perhaps, is in the things themselves, or in our way of looking at them. *Sunt lacrymæ rerum*, but, by an inscrutably delicate concatenation, there is also a *risus rerum* which haunts the lips of sadness. The humour of Pete, in "The Manxman," is chiefly of this kind.

Pete does not begin very well. Mark Twain presides over his childhood. As he gets older, he talks slang which would be quite impossible in the mouth of a Kirk Maughold boy. "S'long," for "good-bye!" is an instance of this which must grate terribly upon a native ear. His smartness both with his father, Peter Christian, and his master, Cæsar Cregeen, smacking as it does of the *larrakin agrestis*, strikes us as unnatural. But love works one of its miracles in Pete, and he becomes very lovely. Is he too lovely? Perhaps so—too delicious, too custard-like, hardly articulate in his tenderness, he is in danger of palling upon the taste. It is one thing to be harrowed by harshness and suspicion, it is, in effect, almost the same to be surfeited by sweetness and unresisting fluidity. Pete is always up to the mark, that is, take him when you will, you can always rely upon the masticability of the dish: your fork will go through him like a pudding. Even, as a pudding, is he overdone? We love the old creature, but we want something more solid. And yet Pete has robustness, nor, in his unappeasable appetite of self-sacrifice, is he without resource and an ingenuity which is heart-

rending. Humour he has, abundant humour, it is not gum-like, sticky, but flows with a perennial flow, serene and functional. But, suppose the novel to be dramatised, and it is easy to indicate the melodramatic tendency. Of course, melodrama, though popularly and at present a term of reproach, is really nothing of the kind. There is good melodrama as well as bad melodrama. But we venture to say that the preponderance of the lachrymose in any drama is likely to reduce it to a condition of spinal debility, possibly to eliminate a spine altogether, or at any rate subject it to a fatal curvature. The part of Pete should be carefully handled, subordinated, not co-ordinated. Even in the novel it is, we think, made too much of. Laughter and tears may spring from adjacent fountains, or the same fountain, but the perpetual overflow of this luxury is dangerous to the novel & the play. Should an actor "spoon" the part of Pete, wholly surrender himself to it, sink down into the depths of its possibilities, that actor will infallibly make a mess of the drama. He will spoon and spoon, he will greatly enjoy himself, but the audience will not be moved, certainly not for long. He will exhaust the part, and he will exhaust himself, but unquestionably he will exhaust the public. Human nature soon recovers from these fainting-fits, and sits erect, and demands to know what it's all about, and a gush of tears is no answer.

The fact is, that Pete is not the hero of the book. We think that the author was very nearly making him so—that is, very nearly yielding to a weakness, very nearly making a huge mistake. Pete had become so interesting that we can well believe Mr. Hall Caine had fallen in love with him, felt that he could not have enough of him. But no doubt a time came to Mr. Caine, as it came to all the readers of the serial, when he started up from this dream. Pete had become too engrossing; the book would become too much of the *Pete-Pety*, and the author had to summon to him all his self-denial, and all his masculine energy, in order to restore the work to its true polarity.

There is no hero in the book, and there need be none. But there is a heroine. We have already put Kate Cregeen in her true place. Is she a Manx girl? Absolutely so, a Manx girl sublimated, a *feu-follet* of the Curragh, an exhalation, an incarnate passion of the mountain and the sea. Who has not loved the Highland girl of Inversnaid? Who has not longed to know the after-history of her whom the Poet loved, and "blessed her with a human heart"?

"God shield thee to thy latest years!
Thee neither know I nor thy peers,
And yet my eyes are filled with tears."

These are the true tears, the tears of the poet, not those of the senti-

mentalist. And her history might well have been that of Kate. Kate loves, and will possess, that is her fault. She is a coquette, that is, she likes admiration. But now a passion takes her, a genuine passion, a flame that burns throughout her whole nature, unquenchable, supreme. Modesty or immodesty, laxity or prudery—these things do not touch her; she is a creature of the elements, and knows no limitations. But Manx girls are so modest. Of course they are, and good, and nice, and amenable to Mrs. Grundy. But this Manx girl is the crowning apex of Manx girlhood, and the native aspiration is not towards an apex of Grundyism, but rather towards something very different. Passion is the very essence of the Manx nature, passion often chastened into the most exquisite forms, but capable of infinite dash and impetus. And passion-based characters are the rule, not the exception. To steer them straight is no light task. As regards the gentry and professional folk of the Isle, the ordinary guarantees of society, family traditions, and barriers of custom, are tolerably effectual, more effectual, in all likelihood, than any small restraints established by an incipient culture and an imperfect education. But in the class to which Cæsar Cregeen is supposed to belong, the traditions and customs are rather the other way, and the culture and education are nowhere. *Sourreyn*, or courting of an exceedingly liberal kind, has always been an institution of the island. There is an admirable specimen of it in "The Manx-man," chap. ix. Of a passion so brilliant and intense as that which Kate cherishes in her breast the average country girl in the Isle of Man is just as incapable as the average country girl in Warwickshire. But Kate is not the average; she is the impersonation of Manxland in all that it has of weakest and strongest, the full-blown type of Manx womanhood at its climax, ripe, and irresistible.

Philip is no lover for Kate, yet he is precisely the sort of person she would fall in love with—he is so nice! Ross Christian was "swell," but not nice, very far from it. Kate had good taste, and always showed it in everything. To become a great lady may have entered fitfully into Kate's plans; but, on the whole, she had no plan, nothing but a fixed and desperate purpose to get Philip. And she gets him. It is a game for high stakes. What does she get? So weak a man that, whatever she may think, we are constantly on the point of giving him up altogether. No, Philip is not a hero to us, though he might well have been so to her. To us, his shilly-shallying and terrors about "what Society will say" are simply intolerable. But Philip is a Manxman, and the Society in question is Manx. The narrow area exaggerates such terrors. We cannot doubt that Philip ought to be regarded as submitted to an enormous pressure, a pressure which can scarcely be estimated aright by those who move in the spaces of a larger society. And hence the pathos. Kate is a creature illi-

mitable and fearless, and she throws herself upon the *chevaux-de-frise* of insular prejudice without a thought. Perhaps this is hardly Manx; perhaps she transcends her Manxness. This *élan* is not normal—of course not. Self-suppression, timidity, caution, would be far more natural in a Manx girl. But given Kate Cregeen such as she is, given Hall Caine's Manx girl, compounded as she is toned, as she is, and you have her orbit traced with an almost infallible accuracy. She must and will act as she does. And Mr. Caine has looked after this; she is his creature, dowered with his dower. We accept the conditions; we do well to accept them. They exist, not commonly it is true, in the Isle of Man; and accepting them, we can predict, and we must accept, the logical issue.

"The Manxman" is not "a tale of still life." Possibly we looked for a tale of that kind when we knew that the scene was laid in the Isle of Man. A tale of still life may be very sweet and soothing, very quaint, too, and humorous. But its key must always be low-pitched, and its incidents will be ordinary incidents. It might indeed have been supposed that the Isle of Man was, by the nature of the case, doomed to this happy mediocrity of interest. Hall Caine knows better; he knows his Isle of Man, and feels his Isle of Man. He listens to the native pulse, he marks the "catches on the cogs," he fathoms the possibilities, he sympathises, he yearns; *nihil Nonense ac se alienum putat*, and the drama proceeds like a fate to its inevitable close.

The close might have been different? We think not. Let any one consider how, after all his degradation, Philip could be made respectable, and even beyond measure pathetic. It was a daring thing on Mr. Caine's part to bring the character of Philip so low. To raise it again is little short of a triumph; the profoundest pity accompanies him as he deliberately humbles himself. This could not have been effected by any means less vigorous and drastic. The spookery business, even if it be removed from the vulgar category of *delirium tremens*, could not have saved him. We see yet another Philip emerging from depths hitherto concealed, but always there. On the level of his sad and chequered life he is weak; but, pressed down to the point of recoil, he even becomes great. Admitted that the means are tremendous, the application is magnificent, and those who compare the last scene in this "strange eventful history" to the confession which ended "The Silence of Dean Maitland," show no grasp of the situation. The accepted doom is overwhelming, though it is shared with Kate—an element of the most thrilling pathos. She is worthy of the highest compliment he can pay her, she is worthy to go with him. And so the solution is perfect; no other ending could have disentangled the strands of such a *nodus*, and obtained the verdict of acquittal. They pass forth, and "the rest is

silence." We see that Mr. Hall Caine has been blamed for a somewhat feeble following in the footsteps of Mr. Hawthorne, in "The Scarlet Letter." Surely this is unjust. In any case it is not a feeble following; but consider the difference. Both books end with a confession; but the psychological treatment is not the same. The remorse of Arthur Dimmesdale is worked out by the hatred of Roger Chillingworth, who knows all; the remorse of Philip Christian is developed by the blind love of Kate, who knows nothing. It is conscious malice as against coals of fire. In this triangular drama one of the three persons is kept out of the secret; unconscious of the tragic mischief, he elicits the catastrophe by the emotion of love. This lifts the avenger of wrong-doing from the person of a man (the injured husband) to that of God Himself. And surely the moral significance of Philip's confession is truer. Dimmesdale goes up to the scaffold only when his life is at its lowest ebb. His confession is with his last breath. He dies, and leaves Hester to the old burden. But Philip takes up the burden of Kate. He is in the prime of life, and he goes out to the future with her hand in his hand. Besides, it is impossible to compare a work which describes so fully the temptations by which the sin is brought about with one which keeps those temptations out of view. The one is explicit; the other implicit; the one is more awful as it closes, the other more satisfactory. But, as a matter of fact, all such comparisons are fatuous and futile.

"The Manxman" abounds in admirable bits of description, delicately touched, never over-elaborated, always springing from or returning into the web of the story. The quick, energetic style is sometimes almost too short and snapshot; but excludes prolixity of description. Glimpses like this of Kate's chamber are frequent—brief, yet so suggestive. "The moonlight had crept up to the foot of the bed, and now lay on it like a broad blue sword speckled as with rust by the patchwork counterpane" (p. 42). Similar instances will be found on almost every page.

But the great point is the energy, the true *ἐνέργεια* of the ancient critics. Possibly Mr. Caine is too energetic; literary energy is not spasmodic or breathless. But Mr. Caine, though never spasmodic, is sometimes too breathless. There is not an otiose line in the book. We are hurried on with a powerful compulsion. We may cry out for an *arrêt de cinq minutes*, but we are not allowed it. The train cannot stay, *En voiture, messieurs, en voiture!* And yet the little island is full of beauty, beauty of outline, of colour, which might well invite us to dwell upon its scenery. The hills are really mountains, that is, relatively. In some states of the atmosphere, and from some points of view they have a majesty which altogether transcends their pretensions as indicated by height above the sea-level. The glens have a knack of opening out

in V-shaped distances upon the sea. Those on the north side of the island, the side chiefly affected by Mr. Caine and his story, terminate primarily in the great Curragh which was the scene of the fierce fight between Ross and Philip. Here we have the willows, the turf, the "atmosphere of flowering gorse and damp seraa and brine," which Mr. Caine hints at, but abstains from describing. Acres of bog-bean, the hum of innumerable bees, the voices of cuckoos by the score, have made this flat ground the chosen haunt of many a naturalist and many a dreamer. The sea is beyond, though hull down, as Jack would have it. Mr. Caine loves a fight, and he seldom fails to bring one off. The thing is in the air just now, and even our lady novelists will not be denied their very amateurish bouts of fisticuffing. The field of this battle is thrown in with a few dashes of bright colour; and Mr. Caine is energetic, and, upon such an occasion, rightly so.

Still we could do very well with a little more word-painting; if, indeed, it did not straggle abroad into the descriptive guide-book, and suggest the "advertising of the Island." This, we understand, is the rage in the Isle of Man at present. Those who care least about Mr. Hall Caine's works admit that they are "a splendid advertisement of the Island." *Proh pulor!* But that the charming story which we now lay down with regret may subserve the baser uses associated with gaudy posters and flagrant puffs is an accident, a sign of the times in which we live, and a drawback not to be imputed to the distinguished author of "The Manxman."

T. E. BROWN.

THE NEW SYRIAC GOSPELS.

I BELIEVE it was Mr. Goschen who once expressed the fact that trade and commerce were reviving throughout the country by saying that money was beginning to trickle downwards in the community from those persons who had it to the more numerous class who were not unwilling to enjoy it. I quote him from memory, but "trickle" must surely be the right word, whatever may be the accuracy of the rest of the quotation, or of the theory of gravitation as applied to currency.

Now, knowledge is something like wealth in its tendency to diffusion whenever it becomes the subject of increment. It will not easily rest in moulded heaps. Fresh facts fast become public property, and even fresh hypotheses, which ought to move more slowly, trickle nearly as rapidly as fresh facts. "What I tell you in the dark," the Master said, "will be proclaimed in the light"; and this holds good of new scientific developments as well as of the unfoldings of religious truth. So I suppose I may take it for granted that some indication of the character of the Gospels discovered by Mrs. Lewis on Mount Sinai in the spring of 1892, the Syriac text of which has just emerged from the Cambridge University Press, will not be altogether unacceptable to the world at large. And in making this communication, I do not mean to assume that the world is becoming hungry and thirsty after textual criticism in the same way that it covets coins and commodities; on the contrary, the mere details which make up the greater part of the estimate of the value of a text, the painful discrimination between manuscripts and between readings, are and must be caviare to the general. They can never be quite tasteful even to the experts themselves. But the pages of this

REVIEW are in evidence that Criticism does not always stay in the recesses of the gloomy forest where she carries on her secret craft; she is welcomed from time to time when she emerges with her results—fragments, perhaps, of a disintegrated Old Testament, a Book of Ecclesiastes in the yellow robe of Buddhism, a truncated copy of Job, and the like; and why not in the present case, when she carries in her hand a version of the Four Gospels so venerable in antiquity and so original in character, that one of the first questions asked will be, “Why have you not done it at once into English?”

It is not my intention to relate the story of the fortunate discovery—that has already been done by Mrs. Gibson, the sister of the discoverer, in her little book “How the Codex was Found”—nor to furnish an account of the portions of the Gospel which have been liberated from their palimpsest prison, whence they looked out upon their discoverer with wan and ghost-like faces from behind the bars of a later and much less valuable writing: the detailed description of the text may be found in the preface to the published volume. It is sufficient to say here that those who have assisted Mrs. Lewis in the recovery of the text—viz., the late Professor Bensly, and Mr. F. C. Burkitt (who were the first to determine the affinities of the text), and myself, have been able to restore from the actual MS., with the assistance of Mrs. Lewis's photographs, the greater part of the Four Gospels from the faded writing in which they appear, and this we have done often for whole pages without the loss of a word or a letter; and I take this opportunity, the first editorial occasion that I have had in connection with the MS., of expressing to Mrs. Lewis my gratitude for placing in my hands from the first a large part of her photographs of the text. We have, therefore, a transcript of the Four Gospels in Syriac, dating from a very early period, say the fifth century, and representing not unfaithfully a translation which must have been made far back in the second century. Examination shows that it is closely connected with the Syriac version, of which portions were published by Cureton in 1859, and which is called after his name. There is not the least doubt that, as far as Syriac Gospels are concerned, a text has been recovered superior in antiquity to anything yet known, and one that often agrees with all that is most ancient in Greek MSS.; a text which the advanced critics will at once acknowledge to be, after allowance has been made for a few serious blemishes, superior in purity to all extant copies, with a very few exceptions; and, at the same time, a text which, by its dogmatic tendencies, will arouse the interest of theologians of every school of thought.

It is the omissions of a MS. that first attract the attention of the scientific reader; and in these the new Gospels are peculiarly rich (if a wealth of omissions is not too Hibernian a phrase). Not only

is it marked by the absence of such passages as are deficient in the majority of early texts, such as the story of the Adulteress in John vii. 53—viii. 11, but there are other omissions which are only certified by a few authorities, such as the last twelve verses of St. Mark, together with a number of passages in the last chapters of Luke, which are omitted by the latest editors, often on the sole authority of early Latin copies. There are, in fact, very few cases where our new MS. does not lend its support to the shorter texts: and the total number of verses which it omits is not trifling. A few of these cases may be accidental, but the hypothesis of accident breaks down in view of the large number of cases that occur, and we are forced to admit that a substantially shorter text than the majority of extant documents has been brought to light.

When we pass from omissions to the additions and peculiar readings, we find that the excellence of the text is confirmed by the almost entire absence of such passages as are generally held to be interpolations; there is nothing contained in it like, for example, the story of the man working on the Sabbath in the Codex Bezae. It does not seem to have been amplified by the addition of whole passages from collateral documents, though we must not assume too hastily that such influence is wholly absent. For the main body of the text the reader will be struck by the constant agreement of the MS. with the best uncial authorities, as well as by the occasional occurrence of readings which are either wholly new, or are only supported by scanty testimonies or by allusions in the writings of the Fathers.

It is impossible to give in this place any detailed account of such readings: probably the one which will interest most people is the form of Pilate's question to the Jews in Matt. xxvii. 16: "Which will ye that I release unto you? Jesus Bar-Abba, or Jesus that is called Christ?"—a reading which was already known from a few MSS., and which, in view of the admitted prevalence in Palestine of the name Jesus that is applied to the two prisoners, is not in itself impossible, and adds an antithetic force to the question, making Pilate say: "Which Jesus will you have? Look on this picture and on that! The anarchist, or the saint?"

Another very curious reading, which I do not remember ever to have seen elsewhere, will be found in John xi., where the command of Christ to take away the stone from the grave of Lazarus is followed by a question on the part of Martha: "Why are they taking away the stone?"

But the most original feature in our MS., and perhaps the most archaic of its peculiarities, is the suggestion in its very first page of another version of the birth of our Lord, by readings which definitely and designedly assign to Joseph, the husband of Mary, the paternity of Jesus.

When the passages which contain this astonishing statement are translated into English we have the following story, in which I have italicised such parts as demand especial critical scrutiny.

MATT. i. 15-25.

15. Eliud begat; Eleazar : Eleazar begat Matthan : Matthan begat Jacob :

16. Jacob begat Joseph : *Joseph* (to whom was espoused the Virgin Mary) *begat Jesus*, who is called Christ.

17. All these generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations : and from David to the Babylonian exile fourteen generations : and from the Babylonian exile to the Christ fourteen generations.

18. Now the birth of the Christ was on this wise : when his mother Mary was espoused to Joseph, when they had not come together, she was found with child from the Holy Ghost.

19. But Joseph her husband, because he was just, was unwilling to expose Mary ; and he was minded that he would quietly divorce her.

20. But while he was meditating on these things there appeared to him an Angel of the Lord in a vision and said to him, Joseph, son of David, Fear not to take Mary thy wife, for that which ^(is) born _(will be) of her is from the Holy Spirit.

21. *She shall bear thee* a son, and ^(thou shalt) _(she shall) call his name Jesus : for he shall save his people from their sins.

22. Now this which happened [was] that there might be fulfilled that which was spoken by the Lord in Isaiah the prophet, who had said,

23. Behold, the Virgin shall conceive and shall bear a son and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which is by interpretation, our God with us.

24. But when Joseph rose from his sleep he did as the
angel commanded him, and took his wife, and she
25. *bare him a son, and he called his name Jesus.*

The divergencies which this text shows from all texts hitherto known are certainly very decided, and a closer study of them by the side of the earliest copies and versions will not diminish the impression of archaism which they produce. Whether the MS. has preserved in any of these details the primitive form of the Gospel, or whether it exhibits a depravation of that first form, its tradition is in every respect venerable, and its readings demand the closest and, I need scarcely say, the most conscientious study.

For the MS. before us furnishes a new vantage-ground for criticism, from which we have glimpses not merely of early variations in the text, but of conflicting opinions with regard to our Lord's nativity, such as we know to have existed in the second century. We see the Gospel either in the process of formation as the sources are gradually combined until they reach the final orthodox form, or in the process of primitive contamination under the influence of the earliest perverting hands.

Such a text, then, is not to be summarily disposed of by the application of favourite formulæ of criticism, nor is the evidence which it offers on a great dogmatic question to be tried merely by the touchstone of preconceived opinions. We must examine the document in order to determine whether we have really got behind our previously extant authorities, and if so, in what points consists the superior antiquity of this new text.

We may not, for instance, discount these readings by quoting the prince of modern textual critics, to the effect that heretical sects exercised no influence over the transmitted text,* for we shall be able to show the influence of the newly found copy on other texts which were accepted in early Christian circles whose orthodoxy has never been doubted.

Neither may we settle the age of our text relatively to the accepted Greek tradition, by classifying it with the group of authorities popularly termed Western (which would, perhaps, be better described as Syro-Latin) on the ground that these are now recognised as forming a much less trustworthy body of evidence than what is furnished from other quarters. We shall be able to show that if our document belongs to the corrupt Western group, it certainly is older than every other known member of the family in question; and, to put it briefly, even a Western text has a right to a just trial. As one is in the habit of saying over things that make a fair outward show, that all is not gold that glitters, so also we are obliged to keep a proverb in

* Hort, "Notes on Select Readings," p. 66.

counterpoise for such cases as are deficient in credentials, that all is not brass which appears so.

It would be easy to set the new evidence aside, on the ground of the unreasonableness of the idea that the true reading, in such a numerous attestation as that of the documents containing the Gospel, should have been preserved in only a single copy, and that copy not in the original language. It might be said that the rule concerning the mouth of two or three witnesses ought at least to apply to a case where it is easy to find two or three thousand testimonies on the opposite side. What is one Syrian against so many Greeks?

But students, at all events, will hardly need to be reminded that progressive criticism of the New Testament has long since abandoned the practice of counting heads, and although most critics will feel, as Dr. Hort once said, that it is extremely unlikely that the true text should be preserved merely in a single version, they will also reflect on the number of cases in which readings are accepted on the authority of a single Greek uncial, or a couple of Greek uncials, flanked by a solitary version, in which cases the disappearance of a single Greek copy, or a couple of Greek copies, would throw the attestation of what is considered the correct reading upon the shoulders of their solitary supporting version. The Syriac MS. from Mount Sinai is not, therefore, to be considered necessarily wrong because it stands alone; if it has not the good fortune to be "in the right with two or three," it may be an "Athanasius (!) contra mundum" in the world of MSS.

We concede, at once and heartily, that the new readings shall be impartially considered; for if the question is going to be settled by the prejudices of opposite theological schools, both sides will win, and either party has triumphed already. Any school of dogmatists can employ critical canons to support *a priori* positions. It is not so long since that one of Griesbach's canons was in circulation to the effect that "that reading, amongst others, was to be preferred which seemed to favour an unorthodox opinion"; numbers of people, without thinking of Griesbach, will involuntarily apply the rule in question to the document before us, in which case our Sinai MS. at once carries the verdict for originality. But I need scarcely say that every serious scholar holds Griesbach's canon to be immoral; and in fact, modern textual criticism knows very little of canons, or of orthodoxy, or unorthodoxy; its chief object is to classify variant and aberrant testimony so as to determine the causes and sources of error; and its only formula is the practical one that "when the cause of a variant is known the variant itself will disappear."

We warn off the ground, therefore, all persons who profess, like the Roman epicure with his dish of oysters, to tell the origin of variants, *primo morsu*.

Let us then examine the relation of the new document to other existing authorities, and to the collateral evidence furnished by the history of the Church. The first inquiry will give us an idea of the place of the MS. in the genealogy of the copies and versions; the second will tell us the antiquity of any peculiar opinions reflected in the MS.

As soon as we write down the verse Matt. i. 16 in the language of our Sinai Codex, the critic will see that we are not dealing with an isolated textual phenomenon; and the student of Church history will recognise that he cannot detach the passage from dogmatic considerations.

We will first show, what we have already suggested by italics in the transcribed verses, that the novel reading is not solitary in the actual MS. under discussion, but is one of a series of readings, all betraying a similar tendency, and probably the same hand.

We will then show that it is not an isolated phenomenon among the MSS. of the New Testament, but that the type of text which is here represented is genealogically anterior to a large body of extant and early witnesses.

And in the third place, we will show that this fluctuation in the text of the Gospels of the Nativity corresponds to a historically attested divergence in the opinions of the early Christian Church.

First we demonstrate the existence of a network of changes from the texts commonly received :

(a) In Matt. i. 16, we are told that

“ Joseph, to whom was betrothed the Virgin Mary, begat
Jesus Christ.”

Very slight changes in the Syriac would make this into,

“ To whom was betrothed the Virgin Mary and bare Jesus Christ.”

We have only to remove the added word “ Joseph,” and make a trifling modification in the verb, and the sentence is in the form which it takes in the Curetonian, and is become orthodox. But the addition of the word “ Joseph ” betrays the intention of the scribe; he *meant* to say “ Joseph begat Jesus,” and we must not remove the word from his text. That this was his intention appears further,

(b) from the addition of the Syriac word “ to thee ” in the announcement made by the angel (i. 21) :

“ She shall bear *thee* a son,”

with which must be taken

(c) a similar change in (i. 25) where we find :

“ And she bare *him* a son.”

Here the Curetonian text has, by a very slight transposition of letters, made the reading into :

“ And she bare Him, (viz.) the son.”

We say the Curetonian version has made the change, for in this version, the 21st verse still stands with the added “ to thee ” as in the Sinaitic text.

(d) In Matt. i. 25, the words “ And he knew her not until she brought forth a son ” are wholly wanting in the Sinaitic text, and are replaced in the Curetonian text by the peculiar substitute, “ And he was living with her in purity until she bare a son.”

No one will pretend that the Curetonian reading is the original. Every one recognises that it is a modification and it may be a product of tendency on the part of some scribe or editor; but it can hardly be a change made on the common Greek reading, to the force of which it adds nothing. It is, however, quite a natural supplement, perhaps made by memory, at a recognised chasm in the text.

(e) Probably with this group of readings should be taken the words (i. 25)

“ *He* called his name Jesus,”

for these words emphasise the paternal rights of Joseph in the naming of the child, as against the reading of the ordinary Greek text, and of the Curetonian.

The translation of this clause might have been, however, a result of the ambiguity of the Syriac in v. 21, which may be rendered either :

“ Thou shalt call his name Jesus ”

(which is the common Greek reading), or

“ She shall call his name Jesus.”

If interpreted in the former sense, the change to “ he called ” would be natural enough. These changes of the text are, however, too numerous to be all accidental.

On every ground we are entitled to say that we are dealing with a network of allied variations and not with a single error, nor with an isolated primitive peculiarity, such as might be natural in a document made up out of a register, where the father's name was

customary. And it is worthy of notice that the corrector who is revealed to us in the pages of the Curetonian text as undoing the mischief which he imagined that he detected in the old Syriac Gospels, has gone further with the rectification of the text than was necessary for his object; in his zeal for the virginity of Mary he has altered passages where we are accustomed to see nothing wrong: in i. 25, he objects to the words "took his wife," and alters them to "took Mary"; and in i. 20, the words of the angel are altered from "fear not to take to thee Mary thy wife," to "fear not to take to thee Mary thine espoused." Here the Sinai text has the support of the Greek, and is certainly the more ancient. Again, in Matthew i. 19, the expression "Joseph her husband" is reduced to "Joseph" in the Curetonian.

Without deciding, then, as to the relative priority of the Greek text and the Syriac preserved in the Sinai MS., I think we must recognise that the Curetonian text is of the nature of an orthodox revision, speaking in general terms, of the text of the Sinai Gospels.

It will throw some light upon the disputes which attached themselves to these passages if we transcribe some patristic comments on the verses which we are studying.

For example, Severus tells us that "When Joseph is called the husband of Mary, and Mary the wife of Joseph, it causes no slight disturbance and perplexity; but we shall find the solution of the words from the Scripture itself, which is accustomed to call those who are betrothed to one another man and wife: so it is written in Deuteronomy."

Chrysostom says, "When you hear the words 'husband of Mary,' you are not to think of Christ as born by the common law of nature, for notice how he adds words to correct this opinion."

Again, "He called her wife according to custom; for so they used to call the betrothed maiden, even though not yet in wedlock."

Again, "Fear not, &c.; he added 'fear not,' showing that he had been afraid lest he should offend God, through having an adulteress to wife, and he said 'thy wife,' because she was not polluted, but he calls her wife from the fact of the espousal."

Again, "Thou shalt call his name, for though thou shalt contribute nothing to his generation, nevertheless thou shalt call his name, even though the offspring be not thine, but thou shalt play the part of a father to him. . . . He did not say 'she shall bear *thee* a son,' but 'she shall bear one,' in order that no one should suspect from this he was his father, and because she did not bear a son to him, but to the whole world."*

It is difficult to read these comments without coming to the con-

* Notice the Curetonian reading in this connection: "He shall *save the world* from their sins."

clusion that the Infancy section in Matthew was a fertile ground of misunderstanding, and that its text was at a very early period encumbered with various readings. What significance it adds to the reading of the Sinai MS., "She shall bear *thee* a son," to be told by Chrysostom that Matthew did not say this, for fear of its arousing a suspicion as to the paternity of Joseph. Was the writer opposing not merely a hypothetical reading in the manner common to preachers, but one which already existed and had actually carried the inference which he wished to be avoided? In the light of such comments, the tendency of the Sinaitic readings must be admitted; they run side by side with a belief in the paternity of Joseph.

The tendency of the changes in the Curetonian version is also obvious enough; they have been noticed by many writers (Renan, I believe, among the rest), who pointed out that their object was to emphasise the virginity of Mary: only, by not suspecting the character of the text in which these changes have been made, it has been sometimes suggested by critics that they were made in the interests of the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary. Accordingly, a recent writer contributes to the latest edition of Scrivener's "Introduction to the New Testament" the statement that they were meant to antagonise the heresy of the Helvidians. Such a fine disregard for chronology in the manufacture of second-century variants to crush fourth-century heresies is one more illustration of the truth that in the criticism of the New Testament "we are still at the beginning." No! not Helvidius, but some worm lying much nearer to the root, some *Cerinthus odibilis*, or *Carpocrates infructuosus*, or *Nazaræus anonymus*, is the creature that is antagonised in the Curetonian reforms.

We have now demonstrated the existence of a network of various readings in the Lewis Gospels, which are in character, to say the least, non-Catholic; and we have illustrated the disputes as to the use of the terms "husband," "wife," and "espoused."

Before leaving this point it must be noticed that although the new Codex Sinaiticus employs the term "espoused" in Matthew i. 16, in the Gospel of Luke, where it is a part of the canonical text, the same MS. rejects it and definitely says "wife": "To be taxed with Mary his wife," is his reading of the passage. Unfortunately, the greater part of the opening chapters of Luke has not been recovered, so that we cannot tell whether this Gospel would have shown similar aberrations to those which we detect in Matthew; it is lawful, at least, to suspect as much. But the suspicion is negatived, though not finally, by the absence of any decided change at the beginning of the genealogy, which reads, "Jesus, being thirty years old, is, as he is called, the son of Joseph."

Our next duty is to prove that the body of readings to which we

have referred was in the line of ancestry of a great variety of MSS. We shall do this by showing the diffusion of the secondary readings which they have provoked.

Their existence in the old Syriac has been made clear enough by the comparison of the Curetonian version with the Sinai Gospels; and the evidence brought forward is supported by the Tatian Harmony, which shows decidedly the use of the phrase, "He was living with her in purity." Ephrem quotes the expression in his Commentary on Tatian again and again, evidently as part of his text, which he calls in one place "the Scripture," and to which in another place he adds the words, "So it is read." The correction had, therefore, been made in the copy of Tatian used by Ephrem. Now, whether the first Syriac version of the Gospel was modelled on Tatian's prior work, or whether Tatian's work was composed out of the first Syriac Gospels, it will be very difficult to deny that the Syriac version, either at its source or near to the same, was in the form which is presented to us by the new Codex Sinaiticus. If all the Old Syriac texts that have come to light show traces either of the unorthodox form or of a correction of the same, there must be unorthodoxy near the source.

When we turn to the Greek Gospels we find that a group of erratic MSS., which is commonly known by the name of the Ferrar Group (after the learned Dublin Professor who first studied their relations to one another), and which are proved to come from a common lost original, had in their archetype at Matthew i. 16 very nearly the reading of the Curetonian text, "To whom betrothed the Virgin Mary bare Jesus who is called Christ."

There is evidence, then, that the reformed reading was current in Greek as well as in Syriac.

Further, it was current in the old Latin; almost all the representatives of this old Latin text show the same tradition, reading, "To whom betrothed the Virgin Mary begat (*or* bare) Jesus who is called Christ (*or* Jesus Christ)." The Latin of the Codex Beza has the same peculiarity; nor is there any doubt that the same feature would have been found in the corresponding Greek, if the companion page had not been torn away.

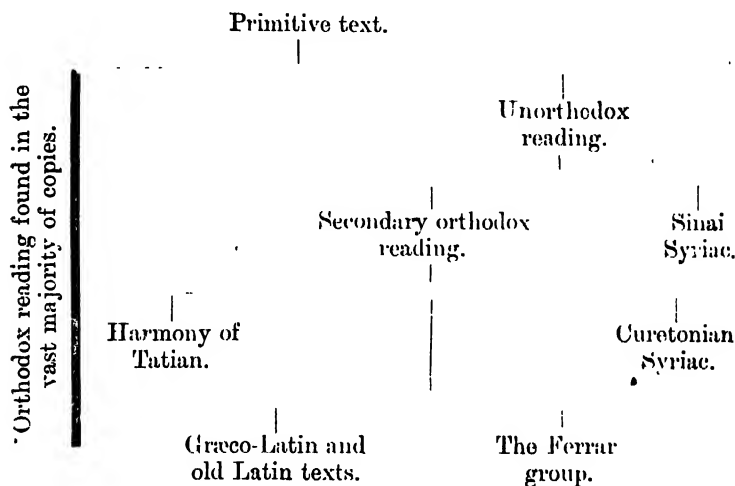
To the foregoing add that the same amended reading is current also in copies of the Armenian version, which derive their text, in all probability, from the Syriac.

We have proved that, if the Curetonian text be a reformation of the Sinai form, then the influence of the Sinai readings is to be seen in Greek, Latin, and Armenian texts. Applying the maxim that coincidence of readings implies community of ultimate origin for such readings, we may reasonably believe that the ancestry of the group of new readings which we have been discussing coincides with

the ancestry of a great variety of MSS. diffused in different languages.

In following these MSS. back to their source, we have little hesitation in saying that we should pass into or pass through a MS. in which the text was arranged as we see it in the new Syriac Codex.

Perhaps this will become clearer if we represent the relationship of these readings by a rough diagram :



We do not wish this diagram to be regarded as final, for we cannot classify MSS. from the study of a single passage; but it serves to express the following textual facts, that in very early times there were, as regards the first chapter of Matthew, two branches of text, one the branch which we know by the accepted and almost universal Greek tradition, the other a non-Catholic text, in which Joseph was represented as the husband of Mary in a different sense from the Catholic acceptation. The line of unorthodox tradition again divides into two, one of which carries a reformed text, more pronounced in its orthodoxy than the first divergence, and the other, which conserves the non-Catholic text, appears in the old Syriac in our Codex Sinaiticus. On the secondary orthodox side are grouped, in various ramifications which are not yet clearly made out, the other members of the dispersed family, which bear the marks of reformation from unorthodoxy. The diagram is only meant to assist the imagination, and does not carry a strict genealogical meaning; for we do not yet know whether what we have called, for the sake of convenience, the unorthodox and secondary orthodox readings originated in Syriac or elsewhere; and since there was much passing to and fro of readings in all directions we must not draw hasty conclusions as to genealogy. Let us move slowly and we shall be more likely to move safely.

We have now proved our second point—viz., that the peculiar features of the Nativity section in the Sinai MS. do not detach it from the main body of the MSS. of the New Testament, in such a way as to allow us to set the Codex on one side as merely eccentric. For it is genealogically linked with many other authorities. When there are enough people who show signs of the same peculiarity, we cease to describe them by the opprobrious term “eccentric,” because the missile is capable of being thrown back on the sender. And it is the same with MSS. as with individuals.

We pass on to the third point—viz., that this divergence which we find in the primitive evangelical tradition corresponds in its first stage with a divergence of opinion in the primitive Church.

The genealogies, of which we have a couple preserved in our canonical Gospels, but of which we have reason to believe a larger number than two to have been primitively current, are mere fossils belonging to certain strata of belief. They were alive once; they are dead now. They are the drift-wood of early controversies carried down in the gulf-stream of the evangelical literature. Every one is, I suspect, of the nature of a polemical broadside, however pointless they may seem to us to be, and probably it is only in a very narrow sense that they can be considered historical. They were compiled to confirm existing opinions, rather than to produce beliefs. The final appeal in such cases was not to the Gospels, which had scarcely attained their canonical form, and certainly took time to acquire ecclesiastical authority, but to the ancient Scriptures to which the Gospels adhered as a pendant. This was necessary, because the first questions of the Church had to be discussed in the synagogues, and the debates were, of necessity, Rabbinical in character. The dialogue of Justin with Trypho is a favourable specimen of the kind of discussion that must have prevailed. The value of the genealogies consists in their disclosure of the opinions which called for their production, and not in the genealogies themselves; and it is quite possible that every school of thought, Christian or Judæo-Christian, had its *Sepher Toledoth* or Book of Generations.

When we look at the extant fragments of historical evidence with regard to the beliefs concerning our Lord's origin, we find, over and above the Catholic belief, distinct traces of other opinions; and these are chiefly the following:

(1) That He was the Son of Joseph and Mary without any suggestion reflecting upon His birth as doubtful, or any sign that it was unusual. (Cerinthus, Carpocrates and the Adoptionists generally.)

(2) There was a scandalous story, which finds favour in the Talmud, that He was the Son of Mary by some unknown person, said to be a soldier of the name of Panther.

The latter supposition is certainly late, a mere scoffing product of the second century; I arrived independently in studying this legend, which is current in the Talmud, at a conclusion which had already been announced years since by Nitzsch, that the *Panthera* of Celsus' revilings and the *Bar Panthera* or *Pandera* of the Jews are anagrams on the name of the Blessed Virgin (*Parthenos*).*

The real value of the *Panthera* story consists in the fact that it supplies early second-century evidence for the currency and general acceptance of the doctrine of the Parthenicity of Mary.† The antiquity of this doctrine may also be seen from Irenæus' statement that Cerinthus denied the virgin birth *because it seemed to him to be an impossibility*. It was, therefore, a current belief at least as early as the time of Cerinthus—i.e., at the end of the first century.

But this does not mean that such a doctrine was universally held: the statement of Justin that some of our brethren regard Jesus Christ as a man from among men, without regard to what the prophetic Scriptures say about Him, proves that diversity of opinion existed, and was to some extent and in certain circles even tolerated. If you cannot, says Justin in effect, believe Him to be God from heaven, this should not hinder you from acknowledging Him to be the Christ. And this moderate language is exactly what we should expect from Justin and those who stood with him, who derived the main support of their beliefs from the prophetic Scriptures. The order of their propaganda seems to have been to establish, first, the doctrine that Jesus was the Messiah of the Scriptures, then to declare His miraculous birth and pre-existence from the Scriptures, and, lastly, to conclude Him to be God from heaven, according to the Scriptures. But whatever order was observed in the demonstration, or whatever arguments were adduced, either from the Scriptures or elsewhere, it is certain that almost every stage in the demonstration is marked by the rise of a school or the growth of a heresy; and of all schools and heresies, the most prominent, if we may judge from the evidence of Church history, is the Adoptionist school, composed of those who placed the advent of the Divine Nature in Jesus at the time of the Baptism, and not at the Miraculous Conception. This did not necessarily involve a disbelief in the pre-existence of Christ; on the contrary, it almost requires such a belief wherever any power, æon, or the like, was said to have descended; but certainly did involve an unqualified belief in the natural birth of the Lord Jesus from human parentage.

* Any objection which may be made from the fact that the name *Panthera* is found written in Hebrew with a hard *t*, or with a *d*, may be dismissed, for we have the Greek form of the name preserved, and it is certainly Panther; if this could be derived from a Hebrew form *Pantera*, there is nothing to prevent the converse process—viz., the manufacture of the Hebrew *Pantera* out of *Panthera*, or out of the *Parthenos*.

† She must have already acquired her ecclesiastical title of the Blessed Virgin, if her name was to be the subject of literary by-play.

Accordingly, when Epiphanius tells us that Cerinthus and Carpocrates attempted to prove from the genealogy in their Gospel of Matthew that Christ was of the seed of Joseph and Mary, I do not see that we need hesitate to say that our newly-found Codex, which certainly supplies material for such arguments as are indicated by Epiphanius, ought to be described as an Adoptionist MS., or at least as a MS. coloured with Adoptionist views. It need not be the very Gospel used in Cerinthian circles, but it is certainly sufficiently like to it to share with the Gospel spoken of by Epiphanius in a common designation.

We shall confirm the accuracy of our description of the Sinai MS. as Adoptionist by drawing attention to another reading of a similar tendency.

We premise that the emphasis of Adoptionism is laid upon the occurrences at the Baptism, which is regarded as the time of the Election of the Christ. Its proof-text from the Old Testament is the verse in the second Psalm, "Thou art my Son: this day have I begotten thee." As is well known to students, there are traces in the New Testament of the intrusion or extrusion of this verse; when, therefore, we look for Adoptionist readings, the chief places to look are the accounts of the Baptism. The question then is proposed, whether our MS. shows any traces of such Adoptionist readings, and whether, if it does so, it stands sole or in a linkage with other early MSS., after the manner which we described in the discussion of the new readings in Matthew.

Now, it is certainly remarkable that in our Gospel of John (i. 34) we find in place of the current text, "I saw and bare record that this is the Son of God," the variation, "I saw and bare record that this is the Chosen of God." Moreover, when we turn to the old Latin texts, we find that three of the best representatives of the Latin tradition have as follows: *electus filius dei* (Cod. *a*); *dei filius electus* (Cod. *b*); and *filius electus dei* (Cod. *ff*²); where the variation of the order is sufficient of itself to lead us to suspect that there has been a correction of a primitive form—"the Chosen of God" to the Canonical "Son of God." It will be noticed, again, that the Syriac reading is, in its simplicity, earlier than the old Latin tradition, and preserves the form with which the Canonical text has, in the Latin, been combined. Here, then, we have a distinct trace of Adoptionism, exactly parallel to the readings in the genealogy of Matthew; and it will be very difficult to credit the Fourth Evangelist with the expression.

We have now established our third point—viz., that the divergence of the Sinai text in certain notable readings of the first chapter of Matthew and elsewhere from the current texts of the Gospel run parallel with the division of the early Church into Adoptionists and Incarnationists. We will illustrate this fundamental divergence of

belief by a single glimpse at the methods employed by the two opposing schools when in controversy one with the other.

The general procedure of the orthodox school was to quote and comment upon certain testimonies from the Old Testament.

The main text was Is. vii. 14, "A virgin shall conceive," which was so effective a demonstration that the Jews were obliged to introduce a new Greek version in the time of Hadrian in order to displace the conclusions drawn from the rendering of the LXX. in this passage. Those who have estimated the extent to which the Septuagint was employed in Jewish circles, and in all probability in Jewish synagogues outside of Palestine, will comprehend the controversial exigency of the situation.

A second text which was employed at a very early time was the verse in Daniel (ii. 34), "A stone was cut out of the mountain without hands"; the identification of Christ with the Stone of prophecy (for to the early commentators He was not merely the spiritual Rock of the desert wandering, but every other piece of Biblical petrology reflected Him and His mission) was a commonplace of the first and second centuries, and the words "without hands" were readily interpreted to mean "without human intervention" — *i.e.*, from the Virgin directly.

It is interesting that we know in this case the reply of the party which did not accept the doctrine of the Virgin Birth. It has been preserved for us by St. Ephrem who, in his Commentary upon Tatian, records so many opposite opinions, and answers them in so many inconsistent ways, as to lead incautious readers to believe that the work is not really his, but a series of strata of extracts from different writers. St. Ephrem quotes the passage from Daniel ("Cut out of the rock without hands"), and then says, "This is not the same idea as 'Look to the mountain and the valley,' where he intimates the male and the female, for here he says, 'Without hands.' For as Adam in the creation of Eve filled the part both of father and mother, so did Mary in the generation of our Lord."

The editor of Ephrem's Commentary was puzzled as to the meaning of this passage, and failed to identify the alternative verse which Ephrem quoted. The passage is not difficult to recognise. It is Isaiah li. 1, which is interpreted to mean the male and the female. A reference either to the actual text, or better still to Ephrem's commentary on Isaiah *in loc.*, will show this with perfect clearness.*

The objector's reply is now intelligible enough; for the stone cut from the rock, he suggests a stone hewn out of the mountain and

* The comment is: "Look to the mountain whence ye were cut out, and to the ditch from whence ye were called; reminding them of Abraham their father, indicating him by the name of the 'mountain'; and of Sara, their mother, depicting her by the name of the valley (or ditch)."

digged out of a valley, implying, as St. Ephrem says, by this symbolism the male and the female.

The illustration gives an idea of the lines on which the popular discussion was conducted. It was not quite the method of modern theology, but it has a historical interest of its own, and cannot be neglected by the student.

Here, then, as so often happens with St. Ephrem's polemics, we are taken back into the early days when the verse quoted was a party watchword, and are enabled to see from a special instance the way in which little people with Rabbinic methods tried to solve great questions. And it is pretty clear that even down to St. Ephrem's day they were not all of one mind as to the solution.

Now that we have established the three points which we essayed to prove, the existence of a group of what for convenience I may call Cerinthian readings, the influence of the Cerinthian text, and its correspondence with the known historical fact of a Cerinthian or Adoptionist party in the early Church, we must return to the question of the genuineness of those readings as against the common and orthodox Greek text.

I do not here name them Cerinthian in order to condemn them, but only for the sake of distinguishing them from the received readings. The question is whether in these new readings we find ourselves at the back of all previously existing readings or not. At first sight there may seem to be some plausibility in the supposition; we are certainly behind Ephrem's copy of Tatian, and we seem to have a concurrence of evidence in various languages whose point of derivation must be at a very early period. But this multiplicity of evidence is more apparent than real.

Of the texts which diverge from what I call Cerinthus, the Ferrar group has recently been the object of special study at my own hands. In a lecture delivered at Mansfield College, Oxford, in last November,* I pointed out that the ancestor of this group of MSS. had undergone influence from a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, and established a theory, which I propounded several years ago in my notes on the Tatian Harmony, that the peculiarities of this group of MSS. are due to re-translation from the Syriac. So that the evidence of the Ferrar group does not add anything to the known fact of the existence of the Cerinthian and the reformed Cerinthian readings in Syriac.

The same thing is true in regard to the more obscure evidence of the Tatian Harmony. I feel pretty sure now that this Harmony was made out of actually existing Syriac MSS. of the Gospels. The proof is not simple, nor suitable for the pages of a review, but I will give one instance to show what I mean.

* "On the Origin of the Ferrar Group." London: C. J. Clay & Sons.

One of the most characteristic readings of Tatian has been held to be the expression of Mark (viii. 26), preserved in the Arabic Harmony, where we are told that the Syro-Phenician woman, upon whose daughter the Lord showed compassion, was a native of Emesa (or Homs) of Syria. The reading has, at first sight, every appearance of being an addition to the information in the canonical Gospels. If it is really a part of Tatian's text, I can prove, however, that he was working on Syriac Gospels. The proof is as follows: the Persic version, which was made from a Syriac text, says the woman was "*from Phenice of Syria—i.e., from Homs,*" from which we suspect that Homs of Syria in Tatian's text is merely an explanation of "Phenice of Syria." And this is confirmed by the dictionary of Bar Ali and a number of other authorities, who tell us that "Phenice of Syria is the city Homs." If, then, Tatian's text had "Homs of Syria," it is explanatory of an earlier text "Phenice of Syria," and this text must have been a translation of the troublesome Greek word "Syro-Phenician." The collateral evidence for the existence of such a translation is abundant. Tatian was therefore working on translated Gospels. It appears, therefore, that his evidence also, as might have been expected, runs back into a Syriac source; and in so far as he is in evidence for the reformed Cerinthian reading, the evidence is Syriac evidence.

We come next to the Latin texts, which certainly had the reformed Cerinthian reading at their source. The close agreement between the old Latin and old Syriac texts has long been matter of remark, and various theories have been proposed to explain it, such as that the Syriac had drawn on the old Latin or the old Latin on the Syriac, or both on a modification of the Greek. The discussion of the matter is yet incomplete; but, as far as it has gone, it is perhaps more favourable to a belief in the direct influence of the Syriac upon other texts than to any other hypothesis. Probably we shall see our way more clearly in this matter before long. Meanwhile the matter stands thus: the evidence for the Cerinthian and reformed Cerinthian readings is largely, and perhaps wholly Syriac evidence. But in any case the original group of Cerinthian readings is behind the whole body of witnesses which are called "Western" in the parlance of textual criticism.

We have now placed the group of new readings in its right setting among the authorities for the text, and in its right place in the history of belief; and we will conclude by saying something on the question of their relation to the archetype of Matthew, and try to answer the question, "Are they valid against the Greek?"

The first objection to the priority of the new Syriac readings lies in the use of the expression, "the Virgin Mary," in Matthew i. 16. It is a late expression relatively to the New Testament. Even in

the Apology of Aristides, which is one of our earliest witnesses for the Virgin Birth, she is simply "a Hebrew Virgin"; so that, if we were to receive the words, "Virgin Mary," or "Mary the Virgin," as a popular and understood title, into the earliest form of the Gospel, we should be guilty of an anachronism.

We recognise this instinctively in the Curetonian readings and in the old Latin texts, where the occurrence of the words has even led to the belief that they formed part of an attempt to colour the text in the direction of the dogma of the perpetual virginity. These words, at all events, never formed part of the primitive text in any book of the New Testament, nor should we be nearer to the first form of the Gospel of Matthew by editing them in place of the received text.

The next objection, a far more serious one, lies, as our readers have probably observed, in the inconsistency of the Sinai narrative as a whole; while the received story is miraculous and consistent, the new account is miraculous and inconsistent: it represents our Lord as the direct offspring of Joseph and Mary, but introduces a miraculous descent of an angel to explain what was, on its own hypothesis, a natural phenomenon. It omits the passage in which we are told of Joseph

[οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως] ἔτεκεν,

presumably implying the reverse of this statement, and yet it announces the birth as supernatural. Nor can these inconsistencies be removed, except by withdrawing the whole section concerning the angelic vision. If the angel remains, the theory of the normal generation must go, or the visit of the angel must be reduced to the annunciation of a non-miraculous event.

Try and accommodate the incident of the angelic vision to the definitely expressed paternity of Joseph, and you will be obliged to erase the statements that Mary was with child before marriage, that the conception was from the Holy Spirit, that the prophecy was fulfilled that a virgin should conceive, as well as the clause actually absent in the Sinaitic text (οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως). Even the casual remark that Joseph was a just man would have to be removed, as being, on the hypothesis of the accuracy of the Sinaitic text, inconsistent with his conduct before the vision and the meditated divorce which was prevented by the vision. We should have to reduce the Infancy section to shreds before it would satisfy an Adoptionist hypothesis. And we can, therefore, only conclude that this section of the text was, in the first instance, not an Adoptionist, but an orthodox product, from which it follows at once that the Adoptionist variants which occur in the Angel section are deprivations. And to conclude thus for the verses in question, in view of the fact that these new readings which we have been studying form a connected group of a similar tendency, is to throw the gravest doubt on the genuineness of

the variant, "Joseph begat Jesus," in the genealogy proper.

It appears, then, that the writer who has come to our knowledge in the variants of the Sinai MS. is not the original composer of the text, but some later person, very near in date to the first hand, who has attempted to make the story non-miraculous by a series of inadequate incisions and excisions in an already existing text.

If the preceding sketch of the new text be a just one, and the arguments brought forward valid, we are entitled to say of the leading changes of text which appear in our copy that "an enemy hath done this," and to apply the adjective Cerinthian to the readings, not merely by way of recognition, but as an indication of bad faith in the transmission of the Gospel.

The inquiry made in these pages is a preliminary one; we have not professed to exhaust the critical side of the question, nor to enter upon its more distinctly theological issues. All that we have tried to do is to demonstrate the existence of a bifurcation in the primitive text of the New Testament from the remarkable evidence which has recently come to light, and to show which of the two branches has the greater claim to be considered the primitive text.

To the devout readers it may, perhaps, seem that this cold-blooded criticism of vital questions is wanting in due reverence. I can, however, assure them that such is not the case. Upon two separate occasions I have taken off my shoes in the Chapel of the Burning Bush on Mount Sinai, although in the habit of regarding

"Earth crammed with heaven,
And every common bush afire with God."

Should we, then, fall short of adorations in the Convent Library, or in the study of MSS. of the Scriptures, veritable bushes of fire, common or uncommon? Nay! I hope that, whatever may be the outcome of our studies, and apart from the question of their furtherance of orthodox theology, we may always belong to the order of discalceate friars.

J. RENDEL HARRIS.

SCHOOL SUPPLY IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE Conference on Secondary Education which met at Oxford last year, followed by the Royal Commission presided over by Mr. Bryce, has called the attention of the public once again to the deplorable deficiency of the supply of public secondary schools throughout the country. The last time at which public attention was strongly called to this matter was in 1867, when the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission was published. According to the admirable summary of this Report, given in a paper by Mr. Godfrey Benson, M.P., in Mr. Acland's "Studies in Secondary Education," there were in 1865-6 some 800 secondary schools of all grades, including a large number little, if at all, above the merest elementary schools (as elementary school was then understood), and many of these decrepit and on the verge of extinction. That number was no more than one secondary school for every 23,750 people among the then population of 19,000,000. There are no authoritative returns to show whether the efforts of the Charity Commission, the Science and Art Department, the Board of Agriculture, and more recently, the great outcrop of schools due to the expenditure on technical instruction by the County Councils, have kept the supply of schools and secondary education level with the enormous increase of population since 1866 to its present 30,000,000. But if these manifold, though sporadic, agencies have succeeded in keeping the supply level with the population, that is about all they have done. The supply is still, probably, as far below the demand as it was in 1866, and the demand is still as far from being as great as it would be if the supply, not only of schools, but of instruction in the schools, were better. England not only lags behind France and Germany, where the State is all-powerful and all-interfering in the matter of secondary education as in other matters, but is far

behind Scotland, where the State has not meddled or muddled much more than here. The most striking evidence of this is to be found in the marked difference between the class of students who form the bulk of the undergraduates at the Scotch universities and those in the English universities; the difference between a democratic and a plutocratic assembly; between an institution which appeals to the masses and one which is devoted to the classes. This difference has existed ever since the Reformation. It is due to the difference between the way the Reformation was conducted in the two countries.

It is a salient instance of the disadvantage of a revolution conducted from above, as it was in England, as compared with one from below, as it was in Scotland. The aristocratic Reformation in England destroyed to a large extent the public provision for the advancement of education, while the democratic Reformation in Scotland only transformed and modernised it.

There is not the smallest doubt that the provision for secondary education was far greater in proportion to population during the Middle Ages than it has ever been since. Education was, if not a first charge on the endowments of the Church, at all events a well-recognised part of the duties for the performance of which the endowments were given. During the whole time from the introduction of Christianity to the Reformation, education was an ecclesiastical concern. It was conducted by the clergy, and was a matter of cognizance in the ecclesiastical courts. From the university to the village school, every educational institution was an ecclesiastical one, and those who governed it, managed it, and taught in it were ecclesiastics. Every village parson was, or ought to have been, an elementary schoolmaster: every collegiate church kept a secondary school: and every cathedral church maintained in early days a small university, and, to the last, afforded instruction in what was regarded as the highest faculty, theology. The result was that as the Church was ubiquitous, so education was in some form ubiquitous, if not universal. As a consequence, secondary schools were found in almost every place in which they were required. Though the Middle Ages extend over some 800 years, and there was probably as much difference between the age which saw the foundation of the Cathedral School of York in, say, 730, and that which witnessed the opening of Winchester College in 1393, as there is between the age of William of Wykeham and our own, yet it is within the truth to say that there were, throughout the period, more secondary schools in proportion to the population than there have ever been since. Even when progress was overwhelmed by such devastating catastrophes as the Danish invasions and the Norman Conquest, no sooner had the deluge abated than the schools reared themselves again, as under Alfred the Great and William Rufus. Even when the

Church had begun to neglect its duties in the matter of education, as in most other respects, and when the increase or the shifting of population had rendered the supply of schools inadequate, new founders stepped into the breach and the foundations of laymen supplied the deficiencies or neglect of the clergy.

We are not here concerned with elementary education, but it is certain that it was well provided for. The English Council of Clovesho in 817 prescribed that "every mass priest shall always have in his house a school of learners," who must have been mainly elementary scholars. As late as 1295, Bishop John of Pontissara, in a synod at Winchester, orders that parish priests are to see that "the sons of their parishioners know the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Salutation of the Virgin; and to induce the parents to let the boys learn to chant as soon as they know how to read their Psalter, lest after they have advanced farther they have to go back and learn it, or, through ignorance of it, are less able to understand divine service."

Secondary education was given through divers institutions. In the largest cities, the cathedral schools, or where the cathedral churches had been handed over to monks, as at Winchester, the episcopal schools, as they would more properly be called, supplied the place of the modern public school. In the towns of secondary size, such as were then Beverley, Wolverhampton, Warwick, the grammar schools attached to collegiate churches occupied practically the same position, and did exactly the same work, as the grammar schools of such places at present. In towns where there was no collegiate church, grammar schools were found attached to or maintained by three different forms of institution: corporations or guilds, hospitals, and chauntries. In the later times before the Reformation, not merely the towns but many country villages were found possessed of grammar schools, where the pious founder had stepped in and provided an endowment to adorn his manor, or to commemorate the place of his birth, without any very precise regard to the chances of success and the requirements of the population.

A few examples of each class will suffice to show the widespread character of the provision thus made, after giving which we will attempt to make an estimate of the provision of schools in proportion to population. The earliest school in England of which we have definite information is precisely where we should expect to find it, viz., in the earliest ecclesiastical foundation in the country, the Cathedral School at Canterbury. This school was, no doubt, started as soon as there were sufficient Kentish parents converted to Christianity, whose children could be got together for instruction. Its recorded fame, however, dates from Bede, who tells us how the Greek priest, Theodore, who, like St. Paul, came from Tarsus in Cilicia, was persuaded to exchange

the half-moon tonsure of the Greek Church for the full-moon tonsure or "crown" of the Roman Church, and to become Archbishop of the English. By the accident of this selection it happened that not merely the Roman, but the Greek culture, was brought here, that the scholars of Canterbury, like Bede himself and Aldhelm, the founder of Malmesbury Minster, learnt Greek as well as Latin; and thus England embraced a wider range of learning than any other country in Europe. The English at once sprang into the front rank of scholars; and Englishmen like Wilibrord and Winfrid (or Boniface), the apostle of Germany, Archbishop of Maintz, and Englishwomen like Lioba and Walburga were exported to Germany and France to enlighten their darkness, not only in religion but in grammar. Nor did the North lag behind the South. Bede's name of course stands now, and stood in his own lifetime, which began within a century of the coming of Augustine, far higher than that of any scholar of his age. The Cathedral School of York had become so famous under its successive masters, who in turn became archbishops, that in 780 its master, Alcuin, was bribed away by Charlemagne to found the celebrated Palace School at Aachen. Thus the two earliest cathedral cities—which, be it remembered, became bishops' sees because they were cities and did not become cities because they were sees—took the first place in education as well as in religion. Nor were the other cathedral cities far behind them. There is a letter written about 785 to Offa, King of the Midlands, Emperor of England at that day, by Alcuin, when he was teaching at Aachen, in which he says he is sending one of his pupils (an Englishman no doubt) to start a school for Offa. The place is not mentioned; but as Offa procured the elevation of the Mercian See of Lichfield into an archbishopric just at this time, there is every probability that this marks the first creation of the Lichfield Cathedral Grammar School, the existence of which in the thirteenth century appears from the Cathedral Statutes.

It is unnecessary to multiply examples. Every book that is published on the history of cathedral churches shows the song-school under the precentor and his deputy the succentor, taught by the song-schoolmaster, confined almost entirely to the choristers, who never exceeded a dozen in number; and the grammar school, a great public school for the city and the district in which the cathedral lay, open to laity and clergy alike, taught at first by the chancellor of the church (not of the diocese), an older official than the dean, and one whose earliest title was schoolmaster, and in later days by the deputy appointed and paid by him, the grammar-schoolmaster.

The Chapter Act Books, or registers of the proceedings of the canons of our cathedrals, do not go farther back than the last ten years of the thirteenth century, the bishops' registers no farther than the end of the twelfth century. But everywhere where the

original statutes, or fragments of them embedded in later statutes, appear, there is evidence of the grammar school. The "Black Book" of Lincoln Cathedral, recently published by Canon Christopher Wordsworth, contains evidence of this kind as to the original statutes of Lincoln, made in 1091. In the year 1321, in an ordinance as to the distribution of the offerings of the faithful "at the head and shrine of the glorious Confessor, Blessed Hugh, and the tomb of Blessed Robert," we find that the grammar schoolmaster gets 5s., while the residentiary canons get 6s. 8d., to the non-resident canons is given only 3s. 6d., and to the song-schoolmaster only a shilling (at that date a shilling is, at least, the equivalent of one pound), thus showing that the grammar schoolmaster, though he had fallen from the highest rank of churchmen, still occupied the second place.

So in Mr. Hingeston-Randolph's "Episcopal Registers of Exeter," also lately published, we find Bishop Broudescombe in 1276 sanctioning the establishment by the dean and chapter of a boarding-house for the choristers in the song-school, under the governance of the succentor. The unpublished register of Bishop Grandison in 1320 shows how the Bishop deposits £3 (=£60), with Master John of Seven-ash, "Master of the School of our City of Exeter" (which I must here assert is shown from other cases to be equivalent to saying the Cathedral Grammar School) to pay for a certain volume of St. Augustine's sermons which he was buying. When the same Bishop carried out his predecessor's bequest for a boarding grammar school in St. John's Hospital, at Exeter, to feed Exeter College, Oxford, the master of the Cathedral Grammar School was to examine and help to elect the scholars.

The cathedral cities were then, what they are not now, the great towns of England; London, York, Lincoln, Exeter, of course, were so still in the seventeenth century. But as late as the fourteenth century even Salisbury and Chichester were important cities, and in 1377 Wells was still bigger than Southampton or Derby. The great towns then were supplied with schools of the first order. The rest of the large towns, which were ancient, were supplied by the grammar schools of the collegiate churches. The collegiate churches were, equally with the cathedrals, by canon law bound to keep grammar schools. Thus at Beverley, which, even as late as 1377, ranked eleventh among towns, and was still nearly twice the size of Hull, the "Chapter Act Book" of the Minster, extending from 1269 to 1340, contains repeated mention of the grammar school, and the appointment of its master by the chancellor of the church. At Leicester the grammar schoolmaster is mentioned in 1242. At the collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary, in Devonshire, in 1399, we find Bishop Stafford assigning the distribution of certain moneys bequeathed by two London

citizens. The canons in residence are to have 2*s.* 6*d.*, the school-master 10*d.*, the vicar's choral 12*d.*, the schoolmaster (*i.e.* the song-schoolmaster) and eight choristers between them, 2*s.*

At Oxford there were crowds of grammar schools. One was attached to the earliest college there, that of Merton, by its statutes in 1274, and that attached to Magdalen College, of which Wolsey was once head-master, still flourishes. But these were only two among many. There was a regular faculty (or sub-faculty) of grammar, and degrees were given in grammar. Some of the grammar schoolmasters were married men, living in private houses, but they were all under the supervision of two "Grammar School Delegates," as they would now be called. It is probable that it is the existence of these grammar schools which accounts for the reputed early age at which mere boys took their degrees, and may explain the different ages at which the university was entered, and illustrate the discrepancy between the statute against playing marbles on the school steps, which seems aimed at boys, and the lines quoted by Dr. Furnivall in his "Babees' Book":

"Quod Reason, in age of 20 year
Go to Oxenford, or learn law."

Exceptionally clever boys from the Oxford grammar schools would take their degree much earlier than the ordinary youth who came up from the country after he left his native grammar school. The collegiate churches numbered not less than 200, probably a good deal more, and were provided not only in large but in small towns. By the fifteenth century very few important manors belonging to the bishops were without them, and successful churchmen founded them in their native places, like Chicheley at Higham Ferrars, Scot at Rotherham, and Wolsey at Ipswich.

In those towns where there was no collegiate church there was, nevertheless, nearly always (probably always) a grammar school maintained; most often by a guild, often by or in connection with a hospital, failing that by a charity created for the purpose. At Stratford-on-Avon it appears, from the late-published minutes of the Privy Council, that in February 1552 the school where Shakespeare learnt little Latin and less Greek, had been maintained by the guild, which dates certainly up to 1270, and perhaps much earlier, long before the Reformation, and the inhabitants were kindly allowed to buy back their own guild grammar school, almshouse, and bridge, "which all were before maintained by the same guild, being now dissolved." At Ludlow the Palmers' Guild kept a grammar school in the thirteenth century. When Bishop Stapledon of Exeter in 1314 founded a grammar school at his native place, Ashburton, he entrusted it to the Guild of St. Lawrence, and the tower and spire he built for it still form one of the prettiest features of the town. At Pocklington

in Yorkshire the Guild of Christ and St. Nicholas, the patron saint of schoolboys, maintained a grammar school in the fifteenth century.

Grammar schools were also frequently kept in connection with hospitals, meaning thereby almshouses, which were then under clerical government. Thus, in London, the Hospital of St. Anthony maintained a grammar school (in which in later days More and Latimer, and perhaps Colet, the founder of St. Paul's School, are said to have been educated) as early as 1231, being founded for a master, two secular priests (fellows or chantry priests), a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. The boys, from St. Anthony's patronage of pigs, rejoiced in the name of "Tanthony's pigs." The present Exeter Grammar School traces its descent from the school founded in the Hospital of St. John to feed Bishop Stapledon's college at Oxford, in 1332. When De La Pole, Duke of Suffolk, wished to be charitable to the people of his manor of Ewelme in 1437, he founded an almshouse and a grammar school in it, which still subsists. At Reading a disused leper's hospital, or almshouse, was converted into a grammar school in 1486.

Of chantry grammar schools it is unnecessary to give instances. Nine-tenths of the grammar schools of Edward VI.'s foundation (so-called) were continuations of pre-existing chantry schools.

Sometimes it would seem that the corporation, or governing body, of the towns maintained a grammar school directly, without its being, so far as can be seen, attached to any religious or quasi-religious body. Thus, at Nottingham, the exceptionally thorough way in which the municipal authorities have treated their town records enables us to trace the grammar school there with some detail in the end of the fourteenth and through the fifteenth centuries. The notices consist mainly of entries in the records of the borough courts, and the glimpses they give are naturally casual. But they show us the school as a going concern in 1382, when William of Adbolton, master of the grammar school and vicar of St. Mary's (the principal church in Nottingham, in which Robin Hood is depicted as having tussles with the sheriff whenever, like the American cow-boy, he wanted a day of town dissipation and enjoyment), receives a grant of a house on the Pavement, probably by way of endowment for the school. In 1390, the same master's executors, with the vicar, grant a house in St. Mary's Gate. In 1401, his successor, Robert Fole, chaplain, comes to the court, as a trustee, to have a deed enrolled. In 1429, Thomas Rydley, "clerk, and master of Nottingham School," is sued for 4*d.*, part of a rent of 7*d.* of "a house called Scolehouse." Again, in 1432, the same T. Rydley is sued for part of a rent of 26*s.* 8*d.* by the warden of St. John's Hospital, for a mansion belonging to the hospital, which was apparently the master's house. Two years later we have evidence that the school was sufficiently large to demand

more than one master, as Robert Goldsmith, late usher of the grammar school, is fined 2s. Then follows a long gap in the Nottingham records, which, oddly enough, we can partially fill from those of Southwell Minster, in the same county. For in the Chapter Act Book of that college there is entered, in 1472, "a friendly agreement" between Master Thomas Lacy, master of the School of Grammar at Nottingham, with Sir William Cowper (the "Sir" only means that he is a cleric who is not an M.A.) of Wollaton, whereby "the said William is to be allowed to teach twenty-six boys, or men, the art of grammar in the township of Wollaton, and no more." This represents the compromise of a quarrel in which the grammar schoolmaster had been suing before the chapter, or the chancellor, of Southwell against a rival, for infringing his monopoly. Five years later Master Thomas Lacy is himself removed from office by the chancellor of the Minster, after a trial by jury, for negligence and long absence from teaching school, and Thomas Blackburn, B.A., is appointed by the chancellor, and admitted by the chapter, in his place. Then the Nottingham records take up the tale again. Twenty years after, in September, 1496, this same Thomas Blakebourne, "scolemaister," sues Robert Oldham, "sherman," "for that on the 6th of May last he promised to pay, by the hands of his wife, 6*d.* for the tiling of the almshouse, and had not done so." Blackburn must have died soon after, as, in 1504, in the town chamberlain's accounts appears, "paid unto Richard Tykkerd, for the Scolemaister, Dason, 6*s.* 8*d.*," which looks as if the town paid part of the master's stipend. It may have been the fact that there was no definite or independent school endowment, which made Dame Agnes Mellars, in 1512, found her new "Free School of one Maister and one Usher perpetually to be kept in the parish of our lady in the Town of Nottingham," with an incorporation of "two chamberlains, wardens, keepers, and surveyors," of its possessions, and place the nomination of the master and of the chamberlains in the town council; an augmentation of their power which probably induced the town council, two years afterwards, to allow part of the common lands of the town to be enclosed for building a new school.

It is noteworthy, by the way, how even the good Dame Mellars, who describes herself as "widow and vowed to perpetual chastity," adheres to the religious object of education. She appoints the parson of Biburgh her first schoolmaster; she is very particular that the boys should say the whole Credo (creed) in school every morning, while on the translation of St. Richard, June 16, master, usher, scholars, governors, and town council are all to attend St. Mary's Church to celebrate the obit of her deceased spouse, Richard Mellars.

A very different tone, however, is shown in an order made by the burgesses of Bridgnorth in Shropshire at their Great Court, in 1503, that—

"There shall no priest keep no school, save only one child to help him to say mass, after that a schoolmaster cometh to town; but that every child to resort to the common school, on pain of forfeiting to the chamber of the town, 20s. of every priest that doth the contrary."

It was not only, as we have said, in large towns that grammar schools were found. In the last county for which the Chantry Returns, on their suppression in 1547, have been published, that of Somerset, we have such entries as this at Crewkerne:

"The Free School there, sometimes called the 'Chantry of the Trinity,' clear income £8 1s. 3d., besides £2 from copyhold of the manor (copyholds were excluded from the Act), held 'to the use of the Trinity and maintenance of the said School,' by Sir Henry Paulet and another as Trustees. John Bryde, Schoolmaster there, a man of honest conversation, well-learned and of good judgment, doth much good in the country in virtuous bringing-up and teaching of children, having at this present 6 score or 7 score scholars, received the whole profits for his wages. And the inhabitants there be most humble suitors to have the said Free School continued with augmentation of the said Schoolmaster, his living.

In another entry we are shown the way in which many schools disappeared. At Bruton "the inhabitants made humble request unto the commissioners," showing how the school had been endowed with £12 a year,

"for the virtuous education of the town of Bruton, as of the whole country; now decayed, by reason that Hugh Sherwood, late Schoolmaster there, surrendered the said lands into the King's Majesty's hands 6 or 7 years now past; who, endeavouring himself rather to live licentiously at will, than to travail in good education of youth, according to the goodly foundation of the said School, found the means by his said surrender, to obtain by Decree out of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of the Crown for term of his life, one annuity or pension of £5, and the Schoolhouse garden and 4 acres of land, discharged of any further free teaching or keeping of School there, to the great decay of learning, and also of the inhabitants, of great relief that came thereby";

from which we may perhaps infer that the school was a boarding-school as well as a day-school, and the inhabitants missed the money spent in the place for provisions.

Again, the great nobles kept grammar schools in their households to teach the young lords and gentlemen who were being brought up with their sons. Thomas à Becket, when chancellor, kept such a school. In the Percy Household Book in 1511 is included "The Maister of Grammer," and there are "Liveries for the Master of Grammar in Household; Item, $\frac{1}{2}$ a loaf of household bread, a bottle of beer, and two white lights." Schools such as these last, however, probably did not affect the mass of the people.

It is clear from the examples given of the various classes of schools, which are only a few out of scores that might have been given, that there was most ample provision made for secondary education

throughout the country. It may be said broadly that wherever there was a cluster of houses which could be dignified with the name of town, there was a grammar school in the midst of it. Indeed, a grammar school might almost be taken as the test of that corporate, or quasi-corporate, activity which justified a place in calling itself a town. It was an institution without which no community could consider itself respectable. Very different is the state of things presented by the Schools Inquiry Report: "In at least two-thirds of the places in England named as towns in the census, there is no public school at all above the primary schools, and in the remaining third the school is often insufficient in size or in quality."

It is difficult to arrive at a precise estimate of the proportion of schools to population, because, while it is difficult or impossible to ascertain the exact number of schools, it is equally difficult, and perhaps impossible, to ascertain the population of England at any given date in the Middle Ages. Professor Thorold Rogers sets the population of England and Wales at not more than a million and a half before the Black Death of 1349, and says that "it is certain that the rate of production precludes the possibility of its being more than two and a half millions." Turning to the year 1377, up to which time, owing to successive plagues, it is pretty certain that no increase of population had taken place, the poll-tax levied in that year on all persons 14 years old and upwards, gives an indirect census of the population of England. The laity and clergy are assessed separately; all classes are included except manifest paupers among the laity, and the professed paupers—the friars—among the ecclesiastics; but Durham and Cheshire are excluded, having, as counties palatine, separate collectors. 1,376,412 lay people and 29,161 ecclesiastics paid the tax. It is assumed, in estimating the population, that one-fifth of those who ought to have paid did not (a very large proportion indeed); and that one-third of the whole population was under 14, and therefore exempt. This would give just over 2½ millions, which it is pretty certain would be an over-rather than an under-estimate.

Forty-two towns are given which, in modern parlance, ranking as county-boroughs, were assessed separately from the counties they were in. They had a total population of 166,000. Of the 8 most populous towns, 6 were cathedral cities; and the whole of the cathedral towns mentioned amount to 17. Each of these had its cathedral grammar school. London, with 44,000 people, had at least 6 grammar schools that we know of, with probably more that we do not know of. York, with 13,500, had its cathedral school, with its abbey boarding-house and smaller schools in St. Leonard's, and the Trinity or Fossgate Hospitals. Bristol, with 12,000, had its school kept by the Kalendars' Guild, besides one in Redcliffe Church,

and there is evidence that there was one in connection with St. Nicholas Church. All the other towns had a population under 10,000; and 26 of them had a population under 4000. Yet, with the possible exception of Dartmouth, with its petty 949 people, every one of these towns, which would not make a decently sized nineteenth-century village, had its grammar school — some of them, like Canterbury and Worcester, certainly two or three. Nor is there any doubt that the numbers attending these schools were large. Whenever we get any numbers mentioned, they are (outside the cloister or novices' school of a monastery) reckoned not by units but by scores. Even in a tiny little place like Wollaton, near Nottingham, we noticed that the master was to teach 26 scholars only, and no more; and at Bruton there were 120; while a small place like Kynnersley in Herefordshire had 60.

To take this single county. The population of Herefordshire was some 25,000: that of Hereford city 3568, and of Ludlow (then seemingly reckoned in Herefordshire) 2198, or, say, in round figures, 30,000 in all. Hereford had its cathedral grammar school; Ludlow its guild school; Ledbury its collegiate church grammar school. Besides these there were 14 grammar schools in the county at the time of the suppression of colleges and chauntries, of which only three or four survived. That is, there were 17 grammar schools for a population of 30,000. Where should we find in 1877, or 1893, a population of 30,000, or even 60,000, with 17 grammar schools at its command?

The supply of schools in Herefordshire may have been rather over the average. But taking one county with another, the number of grammar schools per county was certainly not less than 10. This figure would give in 40 counties 400 schools for 2,250,000 people (a probably too high estimate of population), or one grammar school for every 5625 people. Moreover, at least half, and that the most important half, of these schools were not confined, like modern schools, to an endowment of fixed amount, but having to be adequately maintained by the collegiate body, or the guild, to which they were attached, could, and did, draw on their endowments at large. These endowments were confiscated by the State, and many still line the pockets of the descendants of the statesmen of the day. Private munificence has done but little to repair the loss. In any case, the contrast between one grammar school to every 5625 people, and that presented by the Schools Inquiry Report, of one to every 23,750 people, is not flattering to ourselves. Not justly, in regard to secondary education, can we echo the Homeric boast, that we are much better than our forefathers.

ARTHUR F. LEACH.

THE EASTERN HINDU KUSH.

PUBLIC attention has of late years been turned very frequently to the Eastern Hindu Kush region, numerous expeditions have crossed and re-crossed the great table-lands and valleys to the north of the main range, and a voluminous, if occasionally sketchy and unsatisfactory, literature has grown up round the Pamir question. The country to the south of the Eastern Hindu Kush is not so well known generally, although it has been exhaustively explored. It is about this portion of the Hindu Kush region, included in the limits of the Gilgit Agency, directly under its influence, or indirectly connected with it, that I shall treat. For detailed information I would refer any one who cares to pursue the subject further, to my predecessor in Gilgit, Major Biddulph's exhaustive work, "The Tribes of the Hindu Kush," and to my friend Mr. Knight's most interesting book of travel, "Where Three Empires Meet." I must premise my remarks by pointing out that it is of course impossible for me to enter into the discussion of military and political questions.

To the region in question, which embraces Chitral on the west, including Yasin, the Gilgit valley from Gakuch in Punyal to the Indus at Bunji, Hunza and Nagar to the north, the Shin republic of the Indus valley as far as Sazin to the south, the Kohistan i Malazai, and a portion of the Indus valley, Kohistan, has been applied the name of Dardistan. A misleading title, for there is no such country as Dardistan, and there is no one united race to which the name of Dard could be applied. It is said that the people living on the left bank of the Kandia river are called Dards by their neighbours, but after five years of residence in the country, and repeated journeys from one end of it to the other, I can safely say that I have never heard the term used. What were the exact limits of the country

inhabited by the Dards of the ancient geographers it is probably impossible to say; the name was most likely applied to the races occupying the Indus valley from Ladakh to the Punjab. At present the name has no scientific value.

Many languages and dialects are spoken throughout this region, and many castes exist in it, of which only the most important can be mentioned. Their distribution seems to point to successive waves of conquest. The races are one and all believed to be Aryan, the people of Hunza and Nagar presenting a strikingly pure type. Burishki, the language of the Yeshkuns, is spoken in the inaccessible Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys; Shina throughout Astor, Gilgit, Punyal, and the lower part of the Ghizr valley; from the Indus valley through Gilgit to Ghizr the proportion of Shins varies from 90 to 35 per cent. of the population; off the main line of advance in Astor, Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin, the proportion is reversed, and the Yeshkuns preponderate, driven back by the advancing tide. The northern portion of the Hunza valley, called Gujhal, is inhabited by immigrants from Wakhan to the north of the Hindu Kush. In Chitral, as Biddulph says, the population is a curious and intricate ethnological puzzle. The bulk of the people appear to belong to an aboriginal race speaking Khowar; the ruling class, the Adamzada, would seem to be drawn from tribes which held Badakshan, Shignan, Wakhan, and Roshan. These ethnological questions, however, are too intricate to enter into here.

To the west of Chitral lies Kafiristan, of which I cannot speak. Soon I trust that my friend, Mr. G. S. Robertson, will give to the world the wonderful story of his successful exploration of a great part of that fascinating country. For the best part of a year he lived amongst the Kafirs: he is the only European who has ever penetrated the mountain fastnesses of that most interesting race, the only white man who has crossed the Mandal (or Minjan) pass, has traversed the country from the Hindu Kush to the Kunar valley, and who has visited Veran, the most important village in the heart of this hitherto unexplored country. Putting aside Kafiristan, the region of which I am speaking is still of great interest. It is some 200 miles in width from the Dorah pass, leading from Chitral into Badakshan to the Indus at Bunji, and 150 miles in depth from the crest of the Hindu Kush to Sazin, where the Indus takes its great bend to the south. Numerous passes from the Shimshal on the east to the Dorah on the west lead into it over the great mountain barrier, and from it roads run to India through the Kunar and Indus valleys, and to Kashmir by Astor and the Gurais valley, roads along which centuries ago flowed the great tide of Buddhist pilgrimage, and caravans of the merchandise of Central Asia. The region may be roughly divided into two main water systems—that of the Chitral river, which, uniting

the waters from the Baroghil, Arkari, and Dorah valleys, falls into the Kabul river close to Jelalabad, and joins the Indus above Attock—and that of the Gilgit river, which, after receiving the waters of the Yasin, Ishkúman, and Hunza valleys, falls into the Indus at Bunji. The Indus drains the whole region. The water-parting between these two systems is the range joining the Hindu Kush to the Hindu Raj, the latter being the northern watershed of the Indus valley, between Bunji and Chitral.

It is difficult for any one who has not traversed the country to realise what a road in the heart of the Hindu Kush means. When I first visited Gilgit, five years ago, there was not a yard of what we should call a road in the whole region, and only one permanent bridge, that over the Chitral river at Chitral itself. Narrow paths, so narrow that often while the rider's boot on one side brushed the cliff, his outer foot overhung a precipice, followed the course of the streams. Often in the course of one short march the path ascends a thousand feet or more to avoid crossing some precipitous cliff, and the repeated ascents and descents render riding a weariness to the flesh. Frequently the path is carried across the face of a cliff on roughly constructed galleries, upheld by shaky timbers jammed into interstices in the rock. In many of the valleys, when the summer sun melts the accumulations of snow, and the mighty glaciers pour down their flooded torrents, the lower paths become impassable for animals. For months at a time all animal traffic is suspended, and men on foot alone, following giddy tracks skirting gigantic precipices, can with difficulty find their way from valley to valley. Three years ago, for instance, when an impending attack by the Hunza Nagar tribesmen on Chalt, our frontier outpost thirty miles north of Gilgit, forced me to move troops to the frontier, it was impossible for me to take a mule battery through with the infantry. The road runs along the Hunza river, through one of the wildest gorges in the Hindu Kush, great cliffs rise sheer out of the water, and tower thousands of feet above you. The heat in June, when we passed through the gorge, is terrific; it always seemed to me a fitting approach to the gate of hell. Eight times in one march had the mules to be unladen, and guns, ammunition, and baggage carried across cliffs by the men. One cliff presented such difficulties that even unladen mules could not cross it, and we were forced to swim them over the river below it, and to re-cross them above it. Again in March last, when moving reinforcements to Chilas in the Indus valley, two marches were impassable to unladen mules, and I was obliged to move down the guns on coolies. Such were the roads all through this region five years ago. Now a good mountain road is complete to Gilgit, the Indus is bridged at Bunji, a passable road leads to Chilas, and the communications generally are improving.

But if the roads are wild and unpleasant for riders troubled with nerves, the scenery to which they give access surpasses in grandeur any that it has been my lot to admire. Gilgit is in the heart of the region where the mountains attain perhaps the greatest average height in the world. Within seventy miles are eight mountains with an elevation of from 24,000 to 26,000 feet, while range after range averages from 18,000 to 20,000 feet. As a rule, however, the wonderful panorama is hidden from sight, for the valleys in which the roads run are very narrow, and the lower hills shut out the view of the great mountains behind. From Gilgit itself the great Rakapushi, 25,000 feet high though it is, and distant but a few miles, is invisible, and only three peaks of lesser importance, "three silent pinnacles of aged snow," relieve the monotony of the view. To one accustomed to the comparatively pigmy hills of Europe, and to the beauty of outline and exquisite variety of colouring of the Swiss and Italian mountains, this portion of the Hindu Kush at first causes a feeling almost of disappointment. The Kashmir mountains, through which the traveller passes on his way north, are clothed in grand fir forests, are covered with vegetation, and are generally soft of outline, compared to the mountains bordering the Indus. The traveller, after leaving Kashmir, each day gets into a more barren region, till at last, with the exception of the patches of cultivation in the valleys, and the scattered forests which begin at an elevation of 7000 feet, no sign of vegetation meets the eye. On all sides rise bare precipitous mountains, wild in outline, depressing in colouring, repeating with a deadly monotony the same tones of dull grey and yellow, darkening to browns and purples in the shadow. It is only on the rare occasions when rain falls that the colouring, which is obliterated by bright sunlight, shows out. Then the mountain sides are clothed in delicate reds and browns and soft shades of green, and, through the light veil of falling rain, range after range stretches away with exquisitely softened outlines; and, when the dark storm-clouds in spring sweep down the valleys, lurid reds and great washes of purple glorify the silent hills.

Gradually the feeling of vastness gains upon one, as the eye almost tires from ever following from base to crest the severe lines of the enclosing hills, above which occasionally a solitary peak of snow rises majestically into the blue. Splendid panoramas unfold themselves to the traveller crossing some high pass, such as the Banok La, 16,000 feet high, over which the road from Astor to Skardu passes, and around him stretch endless circles of eternal snow. But the height to which it is necessary to ascend generally dwarfs the great peaks, and it is only when from some favourable point a view is obtained of a great mountain, complete from foot to summit, that one realises the colossal scale on which Nature has here worked.

Then, indeed, the grandeur is overpowering, and the impression of immensity stamps itself indelibly and almost oppressively on the mind. Finally the eye becomes habituated to the vast proportions, and so accustomed to dwelling on bare and gigantic outlines and monotonous colouring, that the traveller on his return through Kashmir finds that the scenery which had enchanted him on his outward journey with its wild beauty, the valleys through which the road runs hemmed in by cliffs hundreds of feet high, and by fir-clad slopes, the rushing rivers flowing under banks clothed with thickets of white lilac and hazel, all seem modelled on a scale of fairy-like minuteness, and the eye wanders in almost startled pleasure over the ever-varying scene, the changing colouring, and the delightful verdure of the landscape.

There are but few points from which the exceptional views of the greater mountains can be obtained. The finest I have ever seen are those of Nanga Parbat from the Bunji plain, of Rakapushi from Hunza, and Tirich Mir from the Arkari valley in Chitral. Seen from the Bunji plain, Nanga Parbat, 26,000 feet high, fills up the southern end of the valley. The dead grey sloping plain, the bare precipices of hill to right and left, lead up to the narrowing head of the valley hemmed in by fir-clad and snow-tipped hills, and, above all, towering thousands of feet over the Hattu Pir, which itself rises in the foreground in one precipitous wall, 6000 feet sheer out of the plain, majestic and solitary, with no other mountains near to dwarf it, looms the grand mass of Nanga Parbat, 15,000 feet of unbroken snow and ice.

The view of Rakapushi from Hunza is again superb. Standing below the picturesque fort you look across the valley, barely a couple of miles wide, the river running a thousand feet below in a deep gorge. Direct out of the valley in one magnificent sweep of 18,000 feet from the river rises Rakapushi, the lower sweep for thousands of feet bare as usual, covered at their base only by terrace after terrace of cultivation, by endless orchards of apricot, apple, and pear, above them a few patches of dense forest, and then in summer 12,000 to 14,000 feet of snow in one vast pile, below which huge glaciers push down almost into the valley. A sight once seen never to be forgotten.

If the country is interesting, so are the people. The Shins, I believe, are a dying race, the Botogah Glen in Chilas, which fifty years ago is said to have turned out 1200 fighting men, lately furnished a sixth of that number; in the Indus valley they are decreasing in numbers, and seem to be in danger of being gradually supplanted by more vigorous immigrants from the lower Indus valley; in Gilgit they strike one as unenterprising and wanting in stamina. Throughout the whole region under review I should say

the races, with some exceptions, are naturally peaceful. There is none of the fiery dash of the Pathan, their inter-tribal fights have never been very costly in life. But as I always expected, and as we found in the Hunza Nagar expedition, they are stubborn and gallant foes when entrenched. Good cragsmen, with a natural talent for making the most of a defensive position, which centuries of fitful warfare has perfected, they are difficult enemies to deal with. That they can "take a licking," as a boy would say, and bear but little malice, that they appreciate fair play, and can recognise the desire we have to prevent oppression, is shown by the state of Hunza and Nagar. Not a single shot was fired after the final engagement which broke the power of the tribesmen, officers traversed the country from end to end with nominal escort, and within a few months Mr. Conway's party wandered unguarded through the country.

Except in the Indus valley there is no fanaticism. In Yasin, Punyal, and Hunza, the people are chiefly Maulai, belonging to that heretical Mohammedan sect, the head of which till lately was H. H. Agha Khan, of Bombay. Inheritors, I believe, of the tenets of the "assassin," the followers of Richard I.'s opponent, who was, if I remember right, in our school days, called "the Old Man of the Mountain," these schismatics are looked on with horror by orthodox Mohammedans. They scoff at the Koran, say no prayers, drink wine, practically worship the head of the sect, and are said only to be bound to thorough obedience to their "Pirs" or priests. Their religion, such as it is, sits but lightly on them. The Nagar people are Shiabs; in Chitral both of the great Mohammedan sects are represented, the rulers being Sunni. But nowhere do you find bigotry, except in the Indus valley, which was converted by Mullahs from Swat. I well remember my old friend the late Mehtar of Chitral soundly rating one of his sons, who was Governor of a province, for attempting to interfere with the religious views of some of his subjects. He held, from motives of self-interest only, the broad view that, so long as his subjects were law-abiding and paid their dues, their religion was no business of his.

The people as a rule are cheery and pleasant. Only in Chilas, that home of rascally cut-throats, whose raids and brutal murders were the curse of the border until they filled the cup of their iniquity by a treacherous attempt to destroy my friend Mr. Robertson, who was visiting Gor at the people's invitation—an escapade which led to the posting of troops in Chilas itself—only here do you find scowling faces and a semi-Pathan inclination to murder.

That the rulers have been bloodthirsty is unfortunately true; it must be so in semi-savage Mohammedan States. Sir Alfred Lyall's well-known lines in "The Amir's Soliloquy" always used to ring in my head when talking to the old Mehtar of Chitral :

“The virtues of God are pardon and pity,
They never were mine,
They have never been ours in a country
All stained with the blood of our kin,
Where the brothers embrace on the warfield,
And the reddest sword must win.”

The old Mehtar was a typical mountain chief, tall, handsome, distinguished-looking, with a princely bearing, and a dignified courtesy to his guests; he was relentless, cruel as death, a past-master in dissimulation, and steeped to the lips in the blood of his brothers and relations. But he ruled his country. I remember, when there was a delay in some posts reaching me, his tracing out the culprit, and what difficulty I had in preventing his selling the wretched man and all his family into slavery. There was no such thing as robbing the king's guest with impunity. I and others repeatedly travelled through the country without escort, and generally unarmed.

The Chitralis, the sons of “the land of mirth and murder,” as we christened it, in opposition to “the land of gold and apricots,” as the Nagar people call their country, are a short, active race, devoted to polo, passionately fond of dancing and of song, and seem unable to pass a flower without gathering it and sticking it in their small turbans. Their rulers, having no gaols, as one of them explained to me, habitually sold any evildoer into slavery. As slaves the Chitralis were much valued across the Hindu Kush for their often proved fidelity. To this day our friend and ally, the Amir of Afghanistan, has, I believe, in most trusted positions, immediately about his person, Chitrali retainers. The Chitralis, and indeed all the Hindu Kush people, will sit up all night listening to the maddening monotonous music of their pipe and drum bands, watching the dancing boys, joining in the dance themselves; and the infliction it is to be camped near one of their chiefs must be endured to be fully appreciated.

The Hunza people much resemble them in character, but are of finer physique, and probably better men. The Nagar people are more subdued: this they and their neighbours attribute to the depressing effect of their climate in winter. Crushed under the great range which rises to the south, their side of the valley is almost sunless for weeks at a time; the cold is terrible, so they spend nearly all their time during the winter in their dark and gloomy homes, and the dreariness of such an existence reacts on their character.

Throughout the whole region there is not one single town, and no bazaars in the Eastern sense, with the exception of a small one at Gilgit and another at Astor. The little trade that exists is done by pedlars, chiefly men from Koli and Palas in the Indus valley. Except in Gilgit and in one or two instances in Chitral, the people live in

fortified villages—an arrangement till lately necessary owing to the unsettled state of the country. These forts are of very solid construction, the outer walls from 10 feet to 15 feet thick, being built of stone and mud strengthened with solid timbers. The houses are huddled together within them, in many cases built one on the top of the other. There are as a rule no windows; light comes in by the door, and when that is closed, through a square hole in the roof, serving the double purpose of chimney and window. There is a certain amount of rude carving, which has a very good effect, on the doors and uprights which support the roof.

Cultivation is dependent on irrigation, for the tract below 8000 feet is practically rainless. Much ground has, owing to the constant wars and consequent depopulation, fallen out of use, and it has been one of our most grateful tasks to increase the facilities for cultivation of the people by opening disused water channels, and in Hunza and Nagar by constructing new ones where the engineering difficulties were too great for the people to surmount.

Travelling constantly from end to end of this region, as a warden of the marches is bound to do, I have had many opportunities of observing the people, and of hearing strange and old-world tales. I found that the banshee wails round the towers of a fort in Chitral before the death of the king, that fairies are still seen floating through the air in troops of horse and foot to their home in Tirich Mir, horses are hag-ridden and found with witches' stirrups in their manes, children are carried off, men have passed days in the fairies' company, and that two generations ago a Mehtar of Chitral married a fairy bride. Old age comes to the fairy folk, and some of them, as in Europe, have their feet set on the wrong way. In Chitral they are converted to Mohammedanism and have a praying-place where, on Fridays, they assemble, and the belated Chitrali hears a ghostly call to prayer and the murmur of a great host joining in the prescribed devotions. But in other parts, where the prophet's religion has only been observed for a few generations, they are still unregenerate; and surely their state is the more gracious. Fairy drums are, or were till lately, on the roof of every chief's castle and sounded to war. Fairies inspired women, and under their influence these seers foretold the fate of dynasties and the results of wars. In the Bagrot valley, twenty miles from Gilgit, I was present when a Dainyal—for so these women are called—after inhaling the smoke of the sacred cedar, went through her mystic dance and prophesied smooth things for the British rule. The ceremony of initiation I did not see—luckily, perhaps. When a woman announces that she is inspired by the fairies, she is made to go through the usual dance with an acknowledged Dainyal. Then a goat is brought in and decapitated, and the novice seizes the neck and drinks the pumping blood. If she can do

this she is received as a Dainyal ; if not, no attention is paid to her prophecies, and the people tell you that she invariably goes mad.

Relics of dead faiths abound, curious ceremonies usher in the new year and the seasons of seedtime and harvest. The ruler turns the first furrow, scatters the first handful of seed mixed with gold-dust in token of plenty, and offers sacrifice to the gods. Traces of tree worship meet you ; the cedar, sacred in Kafiristan, is sacred throughout the whole region ; you are incensed with its burning twigs on entering remote villages, the women still cast its boughs in offering on the deserted altar of the half-forgotten village god. Sacred fires blaze on the mountain-sides at certain seasons, and recall the fact that the home of the so-called " fire-worship " was but across the Hindu Kush.

Buddhism has left its mark : there is a Buddhist tope not far from Gilgit which I never had time to explore, Buddhist altars by every path, a great Buddha in the preaching attitude is carved high on the face of a rock three miles from Gilgit, and at the foot of the flagstaff, on which now flies the British flag in the garden of the Residency at Gilgit, lies the pedestal of a statue with the socket holes for the feet. But there is an entire absence of sculptured inscriptions throughout the whole region. We have searched far and wide, but not one solitary inscription has been found except one in Chitral, which was copied by Sir W. Lockhart's party, and had reference to a Chinese invasion. That a higher civilisation prevailed in Gilgit formerly the Buddhist remains attest, and the long lines of deep square-cut holes in the rock, in which must have been inserted the supports for large water channels, probably of wood, from which water was drawn to cultivate the hundreds of acres of terraced land which now lie hopelessly dry and barren, far out of reach of the life-giving supply. The present inhabitants of the country have neither the tools nor the skill to undertake such a work, but it is not too much to hope that an era of peace and prosperity is dawning for them in which such works will again be undertaken with success.

I think I have said enough to show that the southern region of the Eastern Hindu Kush is one full of interest. For five years I have lived in it in peace and war, the fascination of its desolate grandeur is still upon me, the memories of solitary days spent in the heart of its glorious mountains can never fade, nor can the kindly feelings towards the cheery and manly inhabitants of its sequestered valleys.

ALGERNON DURAND.

A NEW THEORY OF THE ABSOLUTE.

I.

THERE can be little doubt among those qualified to judge, that Mr. Bradley's "Appearance and Reality," published last year, is the most important metaphysical work which has appeared in England since the publication of Green's "Introduction to Hume" in 1874. It is so, in the opinion of the present writer, not because its conclusions are likely to become assured possessions of philosophical thought, but because of the intrepidity of the treatment and the singularly stimulating quality which belongs to all that Mr. Bradley writes.

The author modestly says in his preface that his book does not design to be permanent. It is his contribution to the sceptical discipline of the English mind, from which he is not without hopes of seeing "a rational system of first principles" emerge. And it is true that the book is hardly likely to take its place as a classical treatise in the literature of the subject. The highly abstract character of most of the discussion, suggesting at times a delight in logic for logic's sake, the unadorned dryness (for the most part) of the style, and the seemingly deliberate perversities of manner which mar it at times, seem to forbid such a destiny. But the brilliant dialectic of which the book is full, the thoroughness and sincerity with which it sifts the most vital questions, its ruthless criticism of conventional solutions, ensure for Mr. Bradley's latest volume an important influence upon the thought of his contemporaries.

Mr. Bradley's courage is also to be commended in publishing a book which throughout deals avowedly and in set terms with "the Absolute." What a shock to the precisians of Agnosticism and the puritans of the empirical tradition! This particular "bogie," so potent in the middle of the century, has apparently lost its terror

even for the English mind. As soon as men began to reflect a little on what was meant by the term, it became evident that the ultimate object of philosophy always is and must be the Absolute. Mr. Bradley's remarks in his short introduction on the unavoidableness of metaphysical inquiry, the necessity of a new metaphysic for each fresh generation, and the utility of even an imperfect knowledge of the Absolute, may be commended to the candid reader who is still unconvinced, or perhaps a confirmed sceptic, on those points.

The chapters of destructive criticism, which form the first part of the book, are largely in Hegel's manner, and the influence of Hegel is unquestionably predominant throughout. But in spite of this general indebtedness, the book is distinguished by an independence of style and treatment not usual with followers of this master, or indeed of any master. But Mr. Bradley has always insisted on calling his soul his own. Whatever else this volume may be, and whatever criticisms we may have to make upon it, it is certainly no easy reproduction of another man's thoughts: in the sweat of his own brow its author has conceived and executed it.

This independence of treatment will prove of good omen, it may be hoped, for the future of philosophical discussion among those who may be regarded, in a general way, as carrying on the traditions of Green and representing the influence of Hegel, or at least of German Idealism, in British philosophy. In this connection, Mr. Bradley's book may be said, perhaps, to mark the close of the period whose beginning was signalised, twenty years ago, by the publication of Green's work already mentioned. When we think of the Hamilton-Mill controversy in the sixties, it is obvious that serious study of the Critical Philosophy and German Idealism had yet to begin. Only the outworks of the Kantian scheme had been mastered even by the accredited leaders of British thought; while Hegel, or at least his strangely refracted image, was simply the philosophical "bogey-man," useful to frighten back the unwary wanderer into the fold of empiricism or the Philosophy of the Conditioned. Yet Hegel was probably the richest mind that had been devoted to philosophy since Aristotle, and, whatever judgment may be passed on his system as a logical whole, had done more than any other man to mould the thought of the century in all the humanistic sciences.

The publication of Dr. Hutchison Stirling's "*Secret of Hegel*," in 1865, first removed the reproach of ignorance and indifference, or worse, from British philosophy. It was published in the same year as Mill's "*Examination of Hamilton*," and in the noisy, multitudinous echoes of that controversy, the accents of the new voice were partly drowned. But they penetrated, like tidings of a land that is very far off, to ears fit to receive them. While Mr. Spencer's philosophy gradually established itself as the persuasion of the average man, the

majority of serious thinkers in England were devoting themselves to the study of Kant and Hegel; and Green's "Introduction" was the first noteworthy symptom of this new direction of thought at the universities. The movement thus inaugurated has been growing in volume since then, and, as was to be expected, it has somewhat changed its character; and Mr. Bradley's book may perhaps be found in this respect to mark the end of the period of absorption or assimilation. During these *Lehrjahre*, English writers have repeated too anxiously, and with too minute exactitude, the formulæ of a foreign master, treating them rather as oracles of truth than as utterances of finite wisdom, and showing too great a reluctance to submit them to legitimate criticism. But of late a calmer and more critical tone has been noticeable, and a more catholic spirit has shown itself. Other names have claimed attention, such as Lotze on the one hand, and Schopenhauer on the other (to mention only these two). As Mr. Bradley puts it in his preface, "the present generation is learning that to gain education a man must study in more than one school." And the result of this wider range can hardly be other than to diminish the somewhat partisan zeal of the so-called neo-Hegelian party for the *ipsissima verba* of Hegel's theory, and to set them upon a more independent handling of the subject itself in accordance with the genius of their own time and nation. Then the *Lehrjahre* and the *Wanderjahre* will be ended and the *Meisterjahre* will begin. For disciples, as Bacon puts it in a well-known passage, do owe unto masters only a temporary belief and a suspension of their judgment till they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation or perpetual captivity. Though Germany once possessed the hegemony of Europe in matters philosophical, that time is past, and the fact that it once existed constitutes no reason why we should remain in perpetual tutelage to German masters. "I have a high opinion," says Mr. Bradley in his preface, "of the metaphysical powers of the English mind," and his book is conceived throughout in the spirit of intellectual freedom.

The author describes his work in the preface as "a critical discussion of first principles." "The chief need of English philosophy," he tells us, "is a sceptical study of first principles, and I do not know of any work which seems to meet this need sufficiently." The object of his own work is, therefore, "to stimulate inquiry and doubt"—doubt or scepticism being understood to mean not doubt or disbelief in any particular tenets, but "an attempt to become aware of and to doubt all preconceptions." This is in Mr. Bradley's mind—and not without good reason—the first and all-important condition of sound work in metaphysics. The short Introduction puts unanswerably the necessity and the utility of metaphysics. As it is impossible to abstain from thought about the universe, "the question

is merely as to the way in which this should be done. . . . Metaphysics takes its stand on this side of human nature, this desire to think about and comprehend reality. And it merely asserts that, if the attempt is to be made, it should be done as thoroughly as our nature permits." On the second count, he maintains, as we have seen, that even a "miserably incomplete" knowledge of the Absolute must have its usefulness. But in a passage of characteristic frankness and force he contends that, even if metaphysics has no positive results, it would still be highly desirable that it should continue to be studied :

"There is, so far as I can see, no other way of protecting ourselves against dogmatic superstition. Our orthodox theology on the one hand, and our commonplace materialism on the other (it is natural to take these as prominent instances) vanish like ghosts before the daylight of free sceptical inquiry. I do not mean, of course, to condemn wholly either of these beliefs; but I am sure that either, when taken seriously, is the mutilation of our nature. Neither, as experience has amply shown, can now survive in the mind which has thought sincerely on first principles. . . . That is one reason why I think that metaphysics, even if it end in total scepticism, should be studied by a certain number of persons."

But, while thus insisting on the indispensable function of metaphysical inquiry, Mr. Bradley is not the man to magnify his office as metaphysician unduly. And in the Meredithian extracts from his note-book which conclude the Preface, he characteristically turns the shafts of his irony against his own occupation. "Metaphysics," it is there written, "is the finding of bad reasons for what we believe upon instinct, but to find these reasons is no less an instinct." From the other glimpses vouchsafed into this note-book, its aphoristic treasures would appear to be of a highly various and piquant description. They cannot but awaken an unchastened curiosity in the heart of many students, which it is to be hoped the owner of the note-book may take measures to satisfy.

Mr. Bradley starts with a threefold general definition of metaphysics. "We may agree, perhaps, to understand by metaphysics an attempt to know reality as against mere appearance, or the study of first principles or ultimate truths, or again the effort to comprehend the universe, not simply piecemeal or by fragments, but somehow as a whole." These three definitions are plainly intended to be taken as equivalent, but, though the third is probably the most satisfactory of the three, it is the first which gives the title to Mr. Bradley's volume, and it is the contrast between appearance—or, as he calls it here, "mere appearance"—and reality that explains the two parts into which it falls. The first book, entitled "Appearance," is a sceptical or destructive criticism of the phenomenal world as inherently self-contradictory and incomprehensible, and therefore, in Mr. Bradley's use of the word, unreal. The second book, entitled "Reality," though

also abounding in negative criticism of obnoxious "preconceptions," is the constructive complement of Book I., intended to describe the nature of the Absolute, in which the contradictions of phenomena must be somehow reconciled or overcome. It is important at the outset for the understanding of Mr. Bradley's argument, especially in its negative or sceptical aspect, to note the equivalence, or at least interchangeableness, of these different formulations of the metaphysician's task, even though his procedure and conclusions should turn out to be unduly dominated by the first. Reality is used by Mr. Bradley throughout in the sense of ultimate reality, so that Reality and the Absolute are convertible terms, and he means by both "the universe" comprehended "somehow as a whole." Appearance, on the other hand, is applied to the whole of the phenomenal world. Appearances, of course, *exist*, as he repeatedly tells us, but they are not real, in the sense of being independent, self-contained, and self-explanatory. We fall into hopeless contradictions if we attempt to take them so. Every finite or phenomenal fact betrays its character of "mere appearance" by the "ragged edges" which stamp it as a part torn out of its context. The self-contradiction of the part taken as the whole, the phenomenal taken as the real, is most obvious in the infinite progress upon which it launches us—a species of treadmill exercise, best exemplified in the case of such notions as time, space and causation.

The contradictions of the finite are, accordingly, the theme of Mr. Bradley's first book, in which he sets out to criticise the chief "ideas by which we try to understand the universe." Taking up first the popular scientific proposal to find the reality of the world in the primary qualities, he has little difficulty in showing that the line of thought which undermines the reality of the secondary qualities can be used with equal effect against the primary. The primary qualities cannot be conceived or presented without the secondary; and, further, we cannot think of extension without thinking at the same time of a "what" that is extended. Extension is, therefore, simply the abstraction of one element from the rest, from which it is in reality inseparable—an abstraction scientifically convenient, but metaphysically indefensible, when it puts itself forward as an ultimate account of things. •

The distinction of "substantive and adjective"—the grouping of the world's contents into things and qualities—is next taken up (chap. 2) and declared to be "a clear makeshift." If we lay stress on the unity of the thing, then the plurality of its attributes is in no way explained; they lie side by side in mere distinctness one from another as so many independent co-existences.

"The thing with its adjectives is a device for enjoying at once both variety and concord. But the distinctions, once made, fall apart from the

thing, and away from one another, and our attempt to understand their relations brought us round merely to an unity, which confesses itself a pretence, or else falls back upon the old undivided substance which admits of no distinctions. . . . The whole device . . . consists in saying to the outside world, 'I am the owner of these my adjectives,' and to the properties, 'I am but a relation, which leaves you your liberty'—and to itself, and for itself it is the futile pretence to have both characters at once" (p. 23).

The next chapter (chap. 3) analyses the ideas of quality and relation. Qualities depend upon the relation of things to one another; unrelated reals would be qualityless. But, on the other hand, "nothings cannot be related;" "relations must depend upon terms, just as much as terms upon relations." Consequently, all thinking that moves by the machinery of terms and relations is pronounced to be "a makeshift, a device, a mere practical compromise, most necessary, but in the end most indefensible." For there is the same attempt to bring diversity into the unity of the thing, which proves impossible except by dividing the thing altogether into an endless process of relations. Hence, "our experience when related is not true;" and any one who has grasped the principle of this chapter, we are told, "will have condemned, almost without a hearing, the great mass of phenomena." Mr. Bradley proceeds, however, to apply his principle (in the next five chapters) more in detail to the cases of "space and time," "motion and change," "causation" and "activity." In a time-honoured and somewhat well-worn argument, the aspects of discreteness and continuity in space are sceptically opposed to one another, and the conclusion is reached that "space vanishes internally into relations between units which never can exist." Precisely the same argument holds of time; hence, both are not real, but "contradictory appearances." The problem of change

"points back to the dilemma of the one and the many, the differences and the identity, the adjectives and the thing, the qualities and the relations. How anything can possibly be anything else was a question which defied our efforts. Change is little beyond an instance of this dilemma in principle. . . . It asserts two of one, and so falls at once under the condemnation of our previous chapters. . . . Change, upon any hypothesis, is impossible. It can be no more than appearance."

So with causation. If you resolve cause into identity, you eliminate the very fact to be explained—the difference of the effect from its cause. For surely the very problem of causation "consists in the differences and in their sequence in time." In fact,

"it is the old puzzle how to justify the attributing to a subject something other than itself, and which the subject is not. If 'followed by B' is not the nature of A, then justify your predication. If it is essential to A, then justify, first, your taking A without it; and in the next place show how, with such an incongruous nature, A can succeed in being more than unreal appearance."

Activity is condemned because "nothing can be active without an occasion, and what is active, being made thus by the occasion, is so far passive." Hence, "it is certain that activity implies finitude, and otherwise possesses no meaning." It cannot, therefore, be an ultimate principle of explanation. Chap. 8 deals with "things," but the preceding argument has "undermined and ruined" any meaning we can attach to the term. "The thing is a thing only if its existence goes beyond the now and extends into the past," but "it does not appear how this relation of sameness can be real." "The identity of a thing lies in the view you take of it." "We seem driven to the conclusion that things are but appearances."

So far, therefore, "our facts have turned out to be illusory," but we have been dealing up to this point with "the inanimate," and in order to complete his argument Mr. Bradley goes on in the next two chapters (chaps. 9 and 10) to criticise the claims of the Self to reality. In the first he passes in review different meanings of the Self, and in the second he concludes that the Self simply presents "the old puzzle as to the connection of diversity with unity." It will be necessary to return upon various points in these important chapters, but we must first have Mr. Bradley's main line of thought before us and the conclusion at which he arrives. It is sufficient, therefore, for the present, to note his verdict on the Self, and the ground on which the verdict is explicitly based. "The consciousness of personal identity," he curiously says, "may be supposed to have some bearing on the reality of the Self." Most people are probably benighted enough to think it has.

"But to my mind," proceeds Mr. Bradley, "it appears almost irrelevant. Of course the self, within limits and up to a certain point, is the same. . . . As long as there remains in the self a certain basis of content, ideally the same, so long may the self recall anything once associated with that basis. . . . This, of course, shows that self-sameness exists as a fact, and that hence *somehow* an identical self is real. But, then, the question is *how*? The question is, whether we can state the existence and the continuity of a real self in a way which is intelligible, and which is not ruined by the difficulties of previous discussions. Because, otherwise, we may have found an interesting fact, but most assuredly we have not found a tenable view about reality. . . . The end of metaphysics is to understand the universe, to find a way of thinking about facts in general which is free from contradiction. . . . It is this, to repeat it once more, on which everything turns. The diversity and the unity must be brought to the light, and the principle must be seen to comprehend these. But the self is so far from supplying such a principle, that it seems, when not hiding itself in obscurity, a mere bundle of discrepancies. Our search has conducted us again, not to reality, but mere appearance."

The two short chapters on "Phenomenalism" and "Things in Themselves," which conclude the first book, add nothing to this argument. They are rather of the nature of appendices, which deal

effectively with these two phases of philosophic theory, as attempts either to evade the philosophical problem altogether, or to solve it by doubling it. As I am in complete agreement with Mr. Bradley's arguments in these pages, there is the less need to dwell upon them here. So I pass at once to the opening chapters of the second book, dealing with "The General Nature of Reality," and containing the counter-stroke to the preceding negative polemic.

The first position taken up is at once important, for it alone enables a start to be made. Phenomena have been condemned as self-contradictory, but what is thus rejected as appearance admittedly still exists. "It cannot bodily be shelved and merely got rid of, and, therefore, since it must fall somewhere, it must belong to reality." Reality, therefore, "must own," and somehow include, appearance; it cannot be less than appearance. But whereas appearances, taken as real, proved self-contradictory, the absolute or ultimate reality must be "such that it does not contradict itself. This is our first criterion—a criterion which has been implicit in all the preceding negative criticism." Accordingly, we may say, concludes Mr. Bradley, that

"everything which appears is somehow real in such a way as to be self-consistent. Appearance must belong to reality, and it must, therefore, be concordant and other than it seems. The bewildering mass of phenomenal diversity must hence somehow be at unity and self-consistent; for it cannot be elsewhere than in reality, and reality excludes discord. Or, again, we may put it so: the real is individual. It is one in the sense that its positive character embraces all deficiencies in an inclusive harmony."

In short, "reality must be a single whole"—"a single system." In his second chapter Mr. Bradley supplements this "formal and abstract" definition of the Absolute by identifying existence with experience, laying down the position, almost in Berkeley's language, that existence has no meaning apart from sentient experience. Sentient experience is what we mean and what alone we can mean by existence or by reality. Any supposed fact, other than this, "is a vicious abstraction whose existence is meaningless nonsense, and is not possible." If we combine this with the former position, "our conclusion, so far, will be this, that the Absolute is one system, and that its contents are nothing but sentient experience. It will, hence, be a single and all-inclusive experience, which embraces every partial diversity in concord." Finally, Mr. Bradley proceeds to ask whether we really have a positive idea of an Absolute thus defined as "one comprehensive sentience," and he answers that, while we cannot fully realise its existence its main features are drawn from our own experience, and we have also a suggestion there of the unity of a whole embracing distinctions within itself. This we have in "mere feeling or immediate presentation," where we experience as an

undifferentiated whole, what we afterwards proceed in the exercise of relational thought to analyse into the known world of self and not-self with all its manifold objects and distinctions. Combining this primitive experience of felt unity with the later experience of known diversity, we can recognise the latter as a transitional stage, and reach the idea of a higher experience in which thought shall, as it were, return to the immediacy of feeling. "We can form the general idea of an absolute intuition in which phenomenal distinctions are merged; a whole become immediate at a higher stage without losing any richness." This view of the Absolute is developed and enforced in the immediately following chapter on "Thought and Reality" (chap. 15) which in various aspects is one of the most important in the book. As such it will claim our attention in the sequel, but it is enough in the meantime to note a little more fully the nature of the results arrived at. The position reached is simply this, that "the relational form is a compromise on which thought stands and which it develops. It is an attempt to unite differences which have broken out of the felt totality" (p. 180). It is essentially an attempt to pass beyond itself and to recapture this immediate unity. But both in theory and in practice the attempt proves unsuccessful on the basis of thought or relation; it resolves itself into the infinite progress. Thought's own ideal, therefore, can be reached only by passing beyond thought. For us "this completion of thought beyond thought" necessarily "remains for ever an other." Still "thought can form the idea of an apprehension, something like feeling in directness, which contains all the character sought by its relational efforts"—"a total experience where will and thought and feeling may all once more be one," and where consequently the distinction between thought and its object—between subject and predicate—is likewise transcended.

We have now before us one complete phase of Mr. Bradley's position and argumentation, and it is time, therefore, to investigate critically the legitimacy of the method and the value of the conclusion. Mr. Bradley started, as we saw, with two somewhat different definitions of the Absolute, and in like manner his criticism throughout the first book seems to rest upon two somewhat different principles. The one condemns phenomena because they are fragmentary; no object of experience is by itself a *res completa*, an independent and self-contained individual, strong in solid singleness, self-explaining, harmonious, and all-inclusive. Whatever fact we take proves to be infected by external relations and so carries us beyond itself, and ultimately brings in the whole context of the universe. Thus activity transforms itself into passivity because we cannot think of activity as (so to speak) a mere bolt from the blue—an unconditioned fiat out of a blank eternity. The beginning of the activity of any-

thing depends, for our thinking, upon a stimulus from beyond the nature of the thing itself; and the thing, therefore, is quite as much passive as active. This argument may be applied all round. Thought cannot rest in any finite individual but is carried beyond it in an infinite progress. So with any portion of space or time in which we arbitrarily and momentarily rest, so with things, so last of all with the finite Self. For I do not imagine that those who insist most on the reality of the Self and hold that "it provides us with a type by the aid of which we may go on to comprehend the world" are at all inclined to assert its reality in Mr. Bradley's sense of all inclusive self-sufficiency. Obviously, the Self of any individual in the determinations of its character and the occasions of its activity carries us beyond the Self just as in the case of things which are not selves; the Self cannot be torn from its environment except by a process of violent abstraction, and the environment, if we are to be exact, must be ultimately extended so as to include all time and all existence. To my mind it requires no argument to establish the position that there can be only one individual as a *res completa*, and consequently in Mr. Bradley's sense only one reality, namely the Absolute or the universe as a whole. To fail to realise this is to fail to rise to the light of reason at all; it is in Spinoza's phrase to remain at the stage of "imagination" with its blind substantiation of the individuals of sense just as we find them, or seem to find them.

In this whole line of argument, therefore—including his admirable exposure of the fallacy of a plurality of independent reals—Mr. Bradley is certain to meet with hearty acquiescence in most quarters that are worth considering. But this line of argument does not seem sufficient of itself to justify the sweeping condemnation of phenomena as "mere appearance," "illusion," "self-contradictory appearance," "irrational appearance," "essentially made of inconsistencies," and the other terms of excommunication in which Mr. Bradley indulges. Because a thing is not the Absolute, and never pretended to be, it seems a little hard to "ruin" its character by a string of bad names like this. And, as a matter of fact, the "ruin" in which Mr. Bradley involves the phenomenal is more properly the consequence of a second line of argument, which is on the whole more prominent throughout the first book. This argument is neither more nor less than the complete discrepancy of the One and the Many—the impossibility of realising in thought at all any kind of identity in diversity. Even the passages quoted in the earlier part of this article are sufficient to illustrate the constant recurrence of this idea. At the very outset, in dealing with substantive and adjective, it is referred to as "the old dilemma." If you predicate what is different, you ascribe to the subject what it is *not*; and if you predicate what is *not* different, you say nothing at all (p. 20). The dilemma is, in truth,

as old as the early Greek nominalists and sceptics who denied on these grounds the possibility of predication altogether, except in the form of an identical proposition. To say that "Socrates is good," would be to say the thing that is not: for "Socrates" and "good" are not the same, but different. "Socrates" is one idea, and "good" is another. "Socrates is Socrates," and "good is good," but that the one should be the other is quite unintelligible. We are limited, therefore, to the one kind of proposition which we never make, $A=A$. Now, strange as it may seem, Mr. Bradley's first book is, in essence, neither more nor less than a re-statement and re-enforcement of this sceptical thesis. He adopts this logic of abstract identity apparently without reserve, and because it brings him to a dead-lock, he pronounces the actual world to be "unintelligible," "inconsistent," "self-contradictory," "irrational," "untrue," "illusory." His multitudinous repetitions seem designed to leave us in no doubt that it is everywhere the same touchstone which he applies. Thus, the conclusion of the third chapter, on "Relation and Quality," is, as we have seen, that a relational way of thought is "a mere practical compromise, most necessary, but in the end most indefensible."

"We have to take reality," he continues, "as Many, and to take it as One, and to avoid contradiction. . . . But when *these inconsistencies* are forced together, as in metaphysics they must be, the result is an open and staring discrepancy. . . . Our intellect, then, has been condemned to confusion and bankruptcy, and the reality has been left outside uncomprehended" (pp. 33-4).

In the next chapter, "Space . . . is a peculiar form of the problem which we discussed in the last chapter, and is a special attempt to combine the irreconcilable" (p. 36). In the fifth chapter (in the passage already quoted) the problem of change

"points back to the dilemma of the One and the Many, the differences and the identity, the adjectives and the thing, the qualities and the relations. *How anything can possibly be anything else* was a question which defied our efforts. Change is little beyond an instance of this dilemma in principle. . . . Change, it is obvious, must be a change of something, and it is obvious, further, that it contains diversity. Hence *it asserts two of one*, and so falls at once under the condemnation of our previous chapters" (p. 45).

So in the following chapter, on "Causation":

"If the sequence of the effect is different from the cause, how is the ascription of the difference to be rationally defended? If, on the other hand, it is not different, then causation does not exist, and its assertion is a farce (p. 55). . . . *We assert something of something else*. . . . It is the old puzzle, how to justify the attributing to a subject something other than itself, and which the subject is not" (p. 57).

Having found things "go to pieces" when confronted with this test, he finds the same result on applying it to the Self.

"It is the old puzzle as to the connection of diversity with unity. As the diversity becomes more complex and the unity grows more concrete, we have, so far, found that our difficulties steadily increase, and the expectation of a sudden change and a happy solution, when we arrive at the self, seems hence little warranted. . . . You may say that we are each assured of our personal identity in a way in which we are not assured of the sameness of things. But this is unfortunately quite irrelevant to the question. That selves exist, and are identical in some sense, is indubitable. But the doubt is whether their sameness, as we apprehend it, is really intelligible. . . . Does it give an experience by the help of which we can really *understand* the way in which diversity is harmonised?"* (pp. 103-4).

The Self, as feeling, thrusts upon us, "in a still more apparent form, the discrepancy that lies between identity and diversity, immediate oneness and relation" (p. 107). If, again, self-consciousness is proposed as "a special way of intuition or perception," we are forced to ask (supposing such a "self-apprehension of the Self as One and Many" to exist) how it can "satisfy the claims of understanding." "For the contents of the intuition (this Many in One), if you try to reconstruct them relationally, fall asunder forthwith. . . . I am, in short, compelled to this conclusion, even if your intuition is a fact, it is not an *understanding*† of the Self or of the world. It is a mere experience" (p. 108). In whatever aspect the Self is taken, therefore, it does not teach us "how to understand diversity or unity" (p. 112). What we want is "a view . . . combining differences in one so as to turn the edge of criticism" (p. 114), and this we have not met with. The Self, as will or volition, leaves us involved in all "the old troubles as to diversity in union with sameness" (p. 115). In commenting on the theory of Monads, towards the close of his discussion, he repeats his old question:

"Will it in the least show us *how*† the diversity can exist in harmony with the oneness?" (p. 118). . . . "We have found so far," he says, "that diversity and unity cannot be reconciled. Both in the existence of the whole self in relation with its contents, and in the various special forms which that existence takes, we have encountered *everywhere the same trouble*. We have had features which *must* come together, and yet were willing to do so in no way that we could find. In the self there is a variety, and in the self there is an unity; but in attempting to understand how, we fall into inconsistencies which, therefore, cannot be truth" (p. 118).

The Self, he finally concludes, does not yield us "any defensible thought, *any intellectual principle, by which it is possible to understand how diversity can be comprehended in unity*. It is this, to repeat it once more, on which everything turns. The diversity and the unity must be brought to the light, and the principle must be seen to com-

* The italics in the passage last quoted are Mr. Bradley's own, and I desire specially to call attention to the emphasis, as it corroborates my contention and contains the key to Mr. Bradley's position.

† The italics are again Mr. Bradley's own.

prehend these" (pp. 119-20). The short chapter on "Phenomenalism" adds two further references to "the metaphysical problem of the Many in One" (pp. 124-25); and in the last chapter things-in-themselves are found to "offer precisely the old jungle in which no way could be found" (p. 130).

I have multiplied these references, at the risk of wearying the reader, in order to convince him, if he needs convincing, of the uniform and persistent nature of Mr. Bradley's demand. It seems to me, moreover, that Mr. Bradley's position here conditions the whole nature of the results he arrives at later. For the logic of abstract identity which he brings into the field against phenomena is fatal in the end to his Absolute also, reducing it in spite of Mr. Bradley's disclaimer—in spite of his sincere endeavour to avoid such a consummation—to the undifferentiated unity of Spinoza's Substance. According to this logic, each qualityless point remains identical with itself ($A=A$), and so does each unqualified quality, flying loose in the heaven of abstraction (red is red, a is a , and b is b). But the living synthesis of fact—the qualified thing, A that is a , b , c , d , any number of differences in unity—this, if not actually denied as in some sense existing, is yet declared to be unintelligible, hopelessly contradictory. But surely such an argument marks the very acme of logical perversity. Such an argument, in truth, imports into predication a meaning or intention of which predication never dreams. When we say "man is mortal," or "the beech has a smooth stem," we do not mean that the concept "man" is identical with the concept "mortal," or that the two concepts "beech" and "smooth-stemmed" are actually one and the same concept. What we mean is that the reality which we have already qualified as "man" or "beech" is further qualified as "mortal" or "smooth-stemmed." All predication, in short, is about facts, not about concepts—except in the special cases where we happen to be defining a word. Certainly every concept or meaning remains itself, and only itself, to all eternity. That at least is the convention on which logic stands; our terms must bear the same meaning throughout, otherwise all reasoning would be impossible. The law of identity or of non-contradiction means no more than this obviously indispensable convention—a convention which, if we are so minded, we may truthfully describe as a fundamental and necessary law of thought, so long as we see clearly its innocent and unobtrusive meaning. The law of identity says that, if we predicate mortality of man, we cannot also predicate non-mortality; it says that, if it is the nature of the beech to be smooth-stemmed, it cannot also be its nature to be rough-stemmed. But, as to the nature of predication, or as to the possibility or impossibility of a thing existing as the unity of diverse quantities, it gives no verdict one way or another. These are questions of fact or of metaphysics which lie beyond its

scope. To proceed, therefore, on the strength of the law of identity, to condemn the idea of a thing possessing qualities, or in general the idea of unity in diversity, as a contradiction in terms, is logically a complete *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*.

Now Mr. Bradley tells us that "a thing without qualities is clearly unreal" (p. 130), and in his chapter on "Phenomenalism" he proves that the opposite attempt, to rest in qualities without a thing, is equally untrue to reality. But his own doctrine is that the attempt to think a thing *with* qualities, or in general the attempt to think a unity in diversity, ends in hopeless contradiction. It looks, therefore, as if thought were brought face to face with an absolute *impasse*. The whole force of his argument appears, however, to rest on this illegitimate extension to reality or experience of a law which holds true only of concepts as concepts in the narrow sense just explained. Reality, it may be said boldly, is essentially a Many-in-One, and this holds true of any part of reality—*i.e.*, of any existent fact. This, it seems to me, was the insight that lent force and cogency to Hegel's life-long polemic against the abstract understanding and its vaunted law of non-contradiction. Against its abstract identity he held up the concrete facts of experience: there is nothing which is a mere one, an eternal self-sameness. Identity only exists through difference, unity through multiplicity. Such is the constant thesis of the Hegelian philosophy, of which Mr. Bradley is one of the profoundest students; and it was, I confess, a surprise to me to find the ancient weapon of the sceptical schools so carefully furbished up and so confidently brandished. All the more so, because Mr. Bradley himself, *aliquid agendo*—with the atomic sensationalism of the English tradition in view—gives a most impressive statement of the true position and declares in his own emphatic way that "every movement of our intellect rests wholly upon it," and that the contrary opinion is founded upon "one-sided and uncritical metaphysics," or "in short had no basis but confusion and traditional prejudice" (pp. 349–351). "There will be neither change nor endurance, and still less motion through space of an identical body; there will neither be selves nor things, nor, *in brief*, any *intelligible fact*, unless on the assumption that sameness in diversity is real. Apart from this main principle of construction we should be confined to the feeling of a single moment." Now these "*intelligible facts*" are the *very facts* paraded as *unintelligible* in Book I. Hegel no doubt gave a dangerous opening to misconception when he tried in the dialectic to apply his principle to conceptions. It is only by a sustained use of metaphor that the appearance of success is obtained, for conceptions as such are precisely what do not "pass over" into their opposites. The conception "One" never becomes the conception "Many." What is true is that every fact can be shown to combine in itself

these two aspects. It is in this way that Hegel uses the nature of reality to explode and (by exploding) to unite the fixed opposites of conceptual thought. These opposites it must be remembered *are*, and remain, opposites in the abstract world of logic; viewed, that is to say, simply as meanings, the one remains just the opposite of the other. But this opposition of the two as meanings, as concepts, tells us nothing about the possibility or impossibility of a fact to which, in different aspects, both shall be applicable. On that the nature of reality itself must decide: we must appeal to experience.

In making this appeal we have no need to go further than the fact of our own existence, which is indeed the key of the whole position. The Self is very severely handled by Mr. Bradley, though he does admit at the close that it is "no doubt the highest form of experience which we have" (p. 119). His argument consists largely in enumerating, and setting against one another, different senses in which the term "Self" has been, or is currently, used. Some of these may be dismissed as irrelevant—that is to say, we may surrender them at once to Mr. Bradley's criticism as of no particular interest. The remainder of his argument seems to me to rest partly on the first line of thought—viz., that no Self of which we have experience is an absolute or perfect or self-sufficient unity, which, again, may be fully granted—and partly on the practical difficulty of precisely defining the amount of diversity which shall be included within the unity of the individual Self. Here also many a point might be surrendered to meet Mr. Bradley's criticism. He reminds us, for example, that "in the lifetime of a man there are irreparable changes. Is he literally *not* the same man if life, or death, or love, or banishment has turned the current of his life?" (p. 79.) This is a question of degree. The wrench *may* be so great as actually, in the common phrase, to unhinge the mind; and in that case we admittedly cease to regard the man as the same. His personality is altogether suspended; he is insane. So with "the strange selves of hypnotism," to which Mr. Bradley several times refers. Such abnormalities involve practical difficulties, just like the "monsters" to which Locke so frequently recurs, or the cases where it may be difficult to decide whether an object belongs to the animal or the vegetable kingdom. But they do not touch the question of principle with which we are here concerned. It is not necessary that a Self should be an all-inclusive Self; nor is it necessary that we should be able in every case to say what is a Self and what is not a Self. It is enough if there is such a thing as self-consciousness or personal identity at all. For that self-consciousness is the living experience of unity in diversity. Now Mr. Bradley admits that "of course the Self, within limits and up to a certain point, is the same," though, as we saw, he strangely treats this consciousness of personal identity as "almost irrelevant." The

key to this utterance is found in the following page, where he adds, "This, of course, shows that self-sameness exists as a fact, and that hence *somehow* an identical Self must be real. But then the question is *how?*" (p. 113.) To this I see no answer save Lotze's retort in similar circumstances, that such a question is as unreasonable and as perfectly impossible to satisfy as the demand to know how being is made. How there comes to be existence at all, and how existence or experience in its basal characteristics comes to be what it is—these are questions which, so far as one can see, omniscience itself would not enable us to answer. The fundamental nature of experience may enable us to explain derivatively any special feature of experience; but that fundamental nature itself must itself be learned from experience and simply accepted. Now I maintain that unity in multiplicity, identity in diversity, is just the ultimate nature of universal experience. Such a unity or identity is lived or experienced in every instance of self-conscious existence; and it cannot be other than a misleading use of language to speak of our most intimate experience, the ultimate bed-rock of fact, as unintelligible or contradictory. The whole procedure of thought belies such a supposition; for, instead of stumbling over this unity and identity as unintelligible, we proceed to make it the measure or standard of the intelligibility of everything else. The thing and its qualities is a mere analogue of the Self as a Many in One; all our terms of explanation, all the categories of thought, are drawn in like manner from the life of the Self. They either reproduce it with more or less fulness or, if they do not do this, then they express one or other of its aspects. But it is our own fault if we choose to substantiate these aspects, stated thus for the moment in logical or ideal separation; for they are never given or experienced separately. On the contrary, their concrete unity is the one fact behind which we cannot go. Thought, when it occupies itself in dissecting its own nature, is led into many a bog by the will-o'-the-wisp of a false subtlety—by none more so than by this phantasm of abstract identity. But thought, which is directed on its object, and bent only on learning more and more of the nature of things, never seeks thus to overleap itself, and consequently finds none of the unintelligibility of which Mr. Bradley complains. However, as Berkeley happily puts it, philosophers are often indebted to their own preconceptions "for being ignorant of what everybody else knows perfectly well."

And seriously, according to the well-worn *brocard*, if water chokes us what shall we drink? If our own existence is unintelligible to us, where are we likely to find its intelligibility? If the One and the Many are as absolutely incompatible as they have been represented, how are they to be brought together at all? In other words, if the criticism in the first book is really valid, it would seem to be equally fatal to the construction of the Absolute attempted in the second.

For the Absolute, we have seen, must "own" or include appearances, and it must do so in such a way as to exclude contradiction. It is to be "a single and all-inclusive experience, which embraces every partial diversity in concord" (p. 147). Doubtless this is our ideal of what an Absolute should be; but surely (to quote Mr. Bradley's own words) we have here, "at once upon our hands the One and the Many." This Absolute "offers precisely the old jungle in which no way could be found," and it is irrational to suppose that a sheer contradiction will prove more amenable when multiplied to infinity and housed in the Absolute. An unkind critic might say, indeed, with some show of reason, that Mr. Bradley has the air of swallowing at a gulp in Book II. what he had choked over in the successive chapters of Book I. For, if, as was insisted in the case of the Self, "the question is how," the second book is full of the most ample acknowledgments that the "how" remains as insoluble as ever. "Certainly in the end," we are told, "to know *how* the One and the Many are united is beyond our powers. But in the Absolute, somehow, we are convinced the problem is solved" (p. 281). But this is the language of pious conviction rather than of scientific demonstration, and though the attentive reader discerns plainly the author's resolve that the Absolute has *got* to include all differences and solve all contradictions, he will be apt to feel that the contradictions forced upon his notice throughout the book have been handed back to him to digest as best he may.

In the end this impression would not, I think, be substantially incorrect, and yet it would not be entirely just to Mr. Bradley, for he certainly does attempt in the second book to give in outline a theory of the "how." What he would undoubtedly have us regard as his real contribution towards a solution of the difficulty is to be found in the chapter on "Thought and Reality." He still maintains that the "contradiction" is insoluble on the level of relational thought; but founding in this chapter on the analogy of feeling, as containing the immediate experience of a whole, he throws out the idea of a supra-relational existence of the Absolute, which shall, so to speak, fuse once more in an immediate unity the differences which the process of knowledge has shown were implicit in the primitive undifferentiated unity of feeling. On examination, however, it will be found, I think, that in the end this theory meets the difficulty by abolishing the differences. Instead, therefore, of being a real solution, it is at bottom a reaffirmation of Mr. Bradley's fundamental preconception as to the incompatibility of the One and the Many.

Notwithstanding this, the presentation of the theory is full of speculative interest.

It is not a new thing in philosophy to attempt to name, and even

to conceive, the divine life in this way as a knowledge that is more than relational, that does not proceed from part to part, but sees the whole in every part, or rather sees all in one by a species of immediate apprehension or intuition. So much may be said to be a commonplace of philosophical theology. And in the Kantian and post-Kantian philosophy of Germany, as is well known, the doctrine of a perceptive understanding or an intellectual intuition played an important part. But what lends importance to this fresh attempt to put a meaning into the phrase is the independence of the treatment—the way in which the idea is seen to grow organically out of the author's whole scheme of thought—and also the deliberate endeavour which is made really "to form the idea" of such an apprehension, even though only "in vague generality." But, ungracious return as it may seem for the metaphysical feast which Mr. Bradley has spread, the objection must still be urged that this supra-relational reconciliation either remains, on the one hand, altogether a name for "we know not what," or, on the other hand, if we press the analogy of feeling, as Mr. Bradley frequently does, and endeavour to construct, even in vague generality, the nature of the Absolute experience, the conviction is forced upon us that this Absolute only excludes contradiction because it excludes all variety and difference. In the former case, the diversity is acknowledged, but no light is thrown upon the problem of combining Many in One without contradiction. "In the end," says Mr. Bradley, "the whole diversity must be attributed as adjectives to a unity which is not known" (p. 469). Our assertion of a unity becomes thus no more than an expression of the faith that with God all things are possible. In the latter case, finite existence is an illusion which ceases when the standpoint of the Absolute is reached.

Finite existence is said to be harmonised, or, in Mr. Bradley's favourite expression, "transmuted" in the Absolute; but for transmuted, we also find such sinister synonyms as "suppressed," "dissolved," "lost." In one place "transmuted and destroyed" are expressly coupled, while in another we are told that the "process of correction" which finite existence undergoes in the Absolute may "entirely dissipate its nature."

Of course, Mr. Bradley protests in numerous passages against this interpretation of his Absolute as a blank or undifferentiated unity like Spinoza's Substance or Schelling's Neutrum, the night in which all cows are black. No doubt it is true that he does not *mean* simply to "merge" or "fuse" all distinctions into an indistinguishable mass, but somehow to retain them in a richer form in a single concrete experience. I will go further, and say that one whole line of Mr. Bradley's thought—the line in which he stands nearest to Hegel—leads him to emphasise the function of difference and the permanence of distinctions even within the Absolute. But that line of thought

is more than neutralised by the Spinozistic or Schellingian tendency which we are at present considering. The best of intentions cannot avail him, therefore, against the manifest destiny of this way of thinking.

In the very title of his book, Mr. Bradley seems to me to have started upon the road which leads to this goal, for "appearance" is certainly, on the whole, a term of condemnation, and, as we have seen, it is frequently qualified throughout the first book, and also in the second, as "mere appearance," and even as "illusion." Appearance, therefore, takes on, whether we will or no, the sense of illusory or unreal.

And it is to be observed that Mr. Bradley is consistent to the end in his refusal to tolerate difference. The distinction of subject and predicate remains to him a contradiction, an imperfection, and consequently must disappear in the Absolute: and with it the distinction of subject and object from which it is derived. And that the last vestige of difference may be seen to disappear from the pure æther of "all-pervasive transfusion," we have the position pushed to its most Quixotic length in the sections of the concluding chapter, which reminds us that "not even Absolute truth is quite true." It is not true for the extraordinary reason that it is only true *of* reality, it is not itself reality. The fatal "difference between subject and predicate" remains, and therefore "even Absolute truth in the end seems thus to turn out erroneous"! I cannot but think that speculation is here upon an entirely false track. What Mr. Bradley really means, I suppose, is to renew his famous, and in my view important, protest against the identification of reality with "an unearthly ballet of bloodless categories." He is arguing against the tendency observable in some representatives of Hegelian thought to overstate the position and function of knowledge. Because knowledge (especially in its highest form as philosophy) is in its own sphere, as Mr. Bradley puts it, "utterly all-inclusive"—that is, because knowledge, if perfect, may be said ideally to grasp or include every aspect of reality these thinkers speak as if such knowledge *were* the reality "bodily," as if the universe were nothing but an intellectual process, a species of dialectic. Against this tendency Mr. Bradley rightly urges that "truth" or perfect knowledge is only one aspect of the universe or of experience. "The universe is not known, and it never, as a whole, can be known in such a sense that knowledge would be the same as experience or reality" (p. 547). "This general character of reality is not reality itself" (p. 547). Truth is not *intellectually* defective or limited, for the idea of an unknowable may easily be shown to be self-contradictory; it is not, therefore, "intellectually corrigible"—"it cannot be intellectually transcended." Still there are other aspects of experience besides the intellectual, and

if we are to have reality "bodily," we must "take in the remaining aspects of experience." But this sound and valuable contention is surely presented in a misleading form when Mr. Bradley talks of an "internal discrepancy" which belongs to truth's proper character, and represents truth as achieving its consummation "in passing beyond itself and in abolishing the difference between the subject and predicate" (p. 547). For "in this passage the proper nature of truth is, of course, transformed and perishes." But this extinction of difference throws us back at once on the distinctionless *apart-essential* one of mysticism, in which all "details are utterly pervaded and embraced." The collapse of the distinction between subject and predicate (or subject and object) means, however, the extinction of self-consciousness altogether and throws us back upon the state of dull, diffused feeling which we suppose to be asymptotically approached in the lowest organisms, and from which (in the same asymptotic fashion) we are accustomed to derive the beginnings of conscious life. Here, therefore, extremes would meet with a vengeance and the highest becomes interchangeable with the lowest.

Dissatisfaction with the form of knowledge as such seems to me, I must confess, chimerical, and I am sure that repudiation of it leads not to any higher unity, but to the pit of undifferentiated substance out of which Hegel dug philosophy. And I venture to add that this is verified in Mr. Bradley's own case. On this whole side of his thought he seems to me to reproduce in essence, and often almost in expression, the Spinozistic doctrine of "imagination," which reduces finite existence to a species of illusion. No doubt there were two tendencies at strife in Spinoza also, but his dominant thought is, "all determination is negation," and therefore all determinations are devoured like clouds before the sun in the white light of the *unica substantia*. But if finite experience is illusory and its distinctions simply disappear, then of necessity the unity which we reach by the denial of these distinctions is quite characterless; we have illusion on the one side, and, as the counter-stroke, nonentity on the other. For does not Erigena tell us at the end of a similar line of thought, "*Deus propter excellentiam non immerito nihil vocatur*"—a phrase the piety of which seems to me with difficulty to conceal its humour?

Mr. Bradley displays an extraordinary fertility in metaphors to describe the consummation of finite appearance in the Absolute, but the nature of these metaphors involuntarily confirms the view of the Absolute which we have already arrived at on general principles. Appearances are merged, fused, blended, absorbed, run together, dissolved in a higher unity, transformed, transmuted; but to transform is found to mean the same thing as to dissipate, and to transmute is to "destroy" or to "suppress." To "embrace" and "harmonise"

self-consciousness by transmuting and suppressing it as such (p. 183) recalls too vividly the Roman method of pacification: *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*. And if Spinoza's Absolute has been called a lion's den, the description is at least as applicable to Mr. Bradley's. "All the content which the struggle has generated is brought home and is laid to rest undiminished in the perfect" (p. 244). Does not this suggest the stillness of the grave? Or when we are told that "the finites blend and are resolved" (p. 429); that "every finite diversity is supplemented and transformed; its private character remains and is but neutralised by complement and addition;" does it not seem like saying "yes" and "no" in the same breath? How can a private character remain if it is neutralised? *Plus* and *minus* are equivalent to nothing; our result is a blank Schellingian Neutrum. And Mr. Bradley's statement that "the theoretic object moves towards a consummation in which all distinction and all ideality must be suppressed" is almost verbally identical with Schelling's statement of the ultimate goal of the finite Ego.

"The ultimate goal of the finite Ego is enlargement of its sphere till the attainment of identity with the infinite Ego. But the infinite Ego knows no object, and possesses, therefore, no consciousness or unity of consciousness, such as we mean by personality. Consequently, the ultimate goal of all endeavour may also be represented as enlargement of the personality to infinity—that is to say, as its annihilation. The ultimate goal of the finite Ego, and not only of it but also of the Non-Ego—the final goal, therefore, of the world—is its annihilation as a world." *

The coincidence seems worth noting, because it is significant that both thinkers are haunted by the same ideal, the ideal against which Hegel protests.

So again, when talking of the finite Self, he uses a metaphor which, though he excuses its "miserable inaccuracy," I cannot help regarding as exceedingly significant in this connection. "Because I cannot spread out my window until all is transparent, and *all windows disappear*, this does not justify me in insisting on my window-frame's rigidity. For that frame has, as such, no existence in reality, but only in our impotence" (p. 253). This seems to me as exact a reproduction as can well be imagined of the Spinozistic doctrine of *imaginatio*—and that not merely in essence, but even in expression. The window-frames of the Self disappear or melt away, because in reality they do not exist at all; it is our impotence which causes us to imagine this severance from others and from the source of all. According to the metaphor by which Erdmann illustrates Spinoza's system, wipe out from any spatial surface the lines which mark it off into distinct figures, and pure or empty space remains. Abolish, in like manner, all window-frames, and "limited transparencies" disappear, as Mr. Bradley puts it, in "an all-embracing clearness."

* *Vom Ich als Princip der Philosophie*, § 14.

But, as we know, the distinction of subject and object has disappeared with the other distinctions of finite appearance; and the clearness, therefore, is not a vision seen by any Self. It is the viewless unity of the absolutely infinite Substance.

On whatever line of metaphor or analogy we follow Mr. Bradley, the same result is arrived at—the same inherent tendency of his thought is revealed. This is curiously seen in his recurring illustration from Love. Thought, he says, desires “a consummation in which it is lost.” And he adds, by way of establishing such a possibility, “does not the river run into the sea and the Self lose itself in love?” (p. 173.) The river does run into the sea, but so far is the Self from losing itself in love that it may be said therein to attain to its intensest realisation—not realisation in Mr. Bradley’s equivocal sense of “disappearing” or “ceasing,” but realisation in the sense of intensest life and enjoyment in that particular finite centre. So, again, Mr. Bradley speaks (p. 182) of feeling as longing for “that absolute self-fruition which comes only when the Self bursts its limits and blends with another Self.” Now, the Self never “bursts” and “blends” in the way suggested. In all enjoyment, in all fruition, there is the return of the Self upon itself, without which consciousness would be impossible. What is meant by a *self-fruition*, in which the Self disappears? I do not mean to deny that in extreme sensual passion and in the curiously allied mystical straining to swoon, as it were, into Deity, this self-deception is observable as to the goal pursued. But I assert that in both cases the desire is self-contradictory; for of love, whether sexual or divine, the poet’s words (in another sense) are true, that its dearest bond is “like in difference.” If difference could be abolished, whether as regards two human beings or as regards a finite individual and its creative source, “sweet love were slain”—its very conditions would be destroyed. Consciousness itself would be abolished, existence would collapse into nothingness.

We come back, therefore, to our main contention. There is no contradiction in the form of knowledge as such, nor in finite experience merely on the ground that it is in this form. On the contrary, knowledge is rather, as Hegel said, the absolute relation; and all speculation which proceeds by repudiation of this form is found historically to lead straight to the “abyss” of the older mystics. Mr. Bradley’s speculation simply repeats this lesson. Clearly the finite is essentially self-transcendent, in Mr. Bradley’s phrase. That is as much as to say, in a word, our experience is fragmentary, and however much we enlarge it, it still remains fragmentary. On all sides it seems to stretch infinitely beyond itself. Knowledge, it cannot be denied, is in our experience an infinite progress, and if to have this character is to be contradictory,

then the charge must be freely admitted. But it does not seem as if this defect—this contradiction—were inherent in the form of knowledge as such (the form of subject-object, unity in difference), the cause lies rather in our finite position, as that is determined in time and space. We work along infinite radii from an individual locus, but we cannot actually transport ourselves to the central hearth of the universe, as it were, from which we conceive that all may possibly be seen resumed into unity as a harmonious system. For an intelligence occupying that standpoint, the contradictions of finite experience might possibly disappear, without any abandonment of the form of knowledge. But what is quite plain is, that we cannot by any possibility conceive the nature of that insight. We cannot step out of the infinite progress ourselves—in Spinoza's phrase, we cannot pass from *ratio* to *scientia intuitiva*. This is the yawning chasm in Spinoza's system—the two sides which are never brought together. We may transcend "imagination," and refuse to take facts, in isolation; we may trace out endlessly the dependence of any given fact upon the infinite series of its determining causes (nay, upon an infinite number of such converging series), but we never reach the Absolute Substance, or even the Attributes of Substance, the immanent cause of the whole. So from the other side there is no process of self-determination by which we can pass from Substance to its infinite attributes, or from any attribute to its particular finite modes. If we could really contemplate existence from the Absolute point of view, doubtless the derivation of the finite world might not be so inexplicable, but we never do reach that specular mount. When we attempt to assume such a standpoint the result is, as with Spinoza, simply emptiness. Abstracting from the finite, we have nothing left within our grasp. So it is again with Schelling, and the side of Mr. Bradley's thought which we have been considering verifies this experience afresh.

In a second article I propose to examine more closely the two conflicting tendencies of thought which seem to me to strive with one another for mastery in Mr. Bradley's mind, indicating in conclusion the significance which his volume appears to possess at the present time.

ANDREW SETH.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH METRES.

THERE seem to be many reasons why at the present moment it is particularly desirable to make some inquiry into the laws and the tendencies of English metre. One cannot read the poetry of the day or the criticisms upon it without being struck by the confusion which prevails with regard to this subject. It is not very long since one poet taxed another in the pages of a well-known critical paper with inditing metres that were bad, to which charge the incriminated bard made answer that he could by no means plead guilty. It is quite common for one critic to praise, even with special emphasis, versification declared by another to be incapable of scan-sion. Verse that is undoubtedly good is often censured. Verse that is demonstrably bad is belauded. Sometimes, in the search after novelty, lines are written to vary the rhythm, so badly managed that the variation is achieved at the cost of the total destruction of rhythm, the result being analogous to the result to a drawing of deliberately violating the laws of perspective in some conspicuous portion of it. Poets, again, who handle one kind of metre successfully, appear wholly to lose their skill when they handle another kind. Fundamental questions, such as the existence of quantity in English, are still unsettled. No one seems to have any notions as to what are the tendencies of metre, or if there are any tendencies, or to be able to say whether novelty is desirable, and, if so, in what direction it should be sought. In the absence of sound and intelligent theory there is on one side timid retrogression; on another, misdirected and therefore wasted effort to bring about change. It would therefore seem that, under such circumstances, the necessity for inquiry could hardly be disputed. We shall find, later, that there are perhaps even weightier reasons in favour of investigation.

In approaching the discussion of this difficult subject, it is desirable to get hold of some facts that are unquestioned. These, I think, will, with most certainty, be found in history. This historical approach has a second advantage. One of my main purposes is to forecast the future; and to do this, in the case of anything that lives and grows, one naturally, in the first instance, turns to its past. With a brief historical retrospect let me therefore begin.

There has been impressed on the minds of most of us a vaguely profound sense of the differences that characterise the two periods into which, roughly speaking, European history is divided: the ancient up to the fall of Rome, the modern emerging gradually out of the gloom of the centuries succeeding that event. Some of these differences are hardly as great as we suppose them to be. Others are sufficiently marked. If we were not so familiar with the facts, we might perhaps occasionally wonder more than we do how it is that up to a certain date the literatures of Europe—there were only two of them to be sure—should have contained no poetry of which the metres were not quantitative, while after that date they all, with one consent, betook themselves to rhyme. Yet, if we examine the facts closely, we shall not find that the modern departure from ancient practice is as complete as at first it appears. In matters political and social the history of England soon distinguishes itself in many important aspects from that of the Continent. In matters literary the same fact may be observed. Curiously enough, the difference, so far as I am concerned with it, began with the wholesale introduction of Continental influences effected by the Norman conquest. In the Continental countries, in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, the language and literature developed, however slowly, without any solution of continuity. There may have been retardation, there was no break.

But in England there was a violent break, a period of confusion, on one side of which is found a language and literature of a type differing widely from the language and literature which ultimately prevailed. Modern English poetry, as we all know, has not sprung from the Anglo-Saxon. The Anglo-Saxon tongue, overwhelmed by the Norman-French, emerged in the struggle only in part victoriously. It came up a new language which, simplified in structure, and greatly Latinised in vocabulary, had parted with all its earlier literary traditions. While the struggle was in progress there could be no literature; so that the Continent, in which a similar disruption had not occurred, obtained the start; and when literature again became possible in England, the French poetry had acquired a prestige which, helped no doubt by the allied element in the new language, and by political and social influences, made it inevitably the model of the nascent insular poetry. Thus we see how it was that rhyme, unknown

to the Anglo-Saxons, came into English verse: The French poets, as Matthew Arnold observed, were the models from whom Chaucer learnt his trade, and thus, along with the new semi-French vocabulary, England adopted the Continental system of versification and the practice of rhyme. Possibly, however, owing to the long failure in poetic production which ensued upon the death of Chaucer, the rhyming tradition became enfeebled. It did not dominate literature as it might have done had there been no interruption of development; and though Spenser took Chaucer as his model and rhymed, the dramatic poets were little influenced by tradition. Their poetry was to all intents and purposes a fresh national growth; and the energy of their genius, showing itself here no less than in other matters, produced and found expression in a metre that almost absolutely rejected rhyme. We take the blank verse of the Elizabethan dramatist as a matter of course. We hardly realise its significance. All of a sudden it broke with the traditions of centuries. It departed from the practice which had been growing up in Europe ever since the wreck of Rome. The practice of *trouvère* and *troubadour*; of all the early singers of France—consecrated in England by at least two great geniuses, and in Italy by the splendid example of Dante—was boldly thrown aside. For the first time, since the days of Augustan Rome, appeared a poetic literature of the highest order, the music of which depended, not on the correspondence of similar terminations, but on qualities essentially similar to those on which alike Homer and Sappho, Sophocles and Virgil relied.

It is true that for some time rhyme still maintained its footing in every kind of poetry except the dramatic. But it was not long permitted to do so. The independence of Milton's mind led him to claim consciously for narrative and even lyric verse the same liberty which the Elizabethans had unconsciously vindicated elsewhere. Consequently he has, in the history of English versification, a twofold importance. This arises, first, from his practice, secondly, from his theory. The significance of his practice consisted in this, that he showed the fitness of unrhymed verse for the highest kinds of narrative, meditative, and descriptive poetry. The ultimate consequences of this were very great, but not in Milton's own time. While he still lived rhyme enjoyed a restoration more triumphant than that of the monarchy. For it now became dominant in the drama, in which it formerly had been allowed only a humble place, and in every other kind of poetry it resumed or retained a complete supremacy. This event was due again to the influence of the rhyming Continent. Yet while Pope was still alive Thomson wrote "*The Seasons*" in blank verse, and Cowper's later successful use of the measure in his familiar style of composition was a still further demonstration of the extensive range of its capacities. To its employment as the vehicle of much of

the finest poetry written since the end of the last century only an allusion is needed. The final result is that of the best English verse fully three-fourths are without rhyme.

A considerable part of this result must be ascribed to Milton's practical success. His theory has been either condemned or neglected. Yet so strongly are the tendencies represented in that theory at work in English verse, that they have been steadily striving to realise themselves in spite of all outward repression. The principal of these is undoubtedly due to the quantitative character of the English language. Milton evidently believed that his native tongue had quantity. But the contrary has been repeatedly affirmed, and an excellent living poet recently declared that it had been proved beyond a doubt by another poet and critic that in English prosody quantity had no place. The easiest way to refute this statement is to offer practical examples to the contrary. But to bring out the precise value of those examples, a few preparatory remarks are needed as to the nature of the quantities we may expect to find.

Quantities in Latin are pretty definitely fixed. Nearly every vowel is long or short; those that are long always remaining long, while those that are short are capable of being lengthened in accordance with a definite rule; that is, by getting a certain number of consonants after them, two being usually sufficient. This simplicity disappears when we come to English. In Latin there are hardly any but pure vowel sounds. In English diphthongs abound. In Latin the proportion of consonants to vowels is small. In English it is considerable. What are the consequences? In the first place we have clearly three or more quantities. In the word "grot," for instance, the vowel is short. In "grown" it is long. In "ground" it is longer still, the increased length being partly due to the vowel, or rather diphthong; partly to the two consonants by which it is followed. But it can be still further lengthened by placing additional consonants after it: as in "ground stone." In Latin you would find it hard to get either the diphthongal sound or the combination of four consonants. Then we have the complication produced by stress. This is said to have been absent in Latin, so that the quantity, comparatively simple, was everything. But in English the fourfold quantity is played upon by a singularly energetic stress, which sometimes takes away from the long and adds to the short, so as to give the impression that there is neither long nor short except as it dictates, while all the time its power is limited and defined.

All this I shall presently be able to put beyond question by examples. But let me interpose another observation. The rules of quantity in English having never been formally laid down, stress has been the main rhythmical principle recognised, and it has been left entirely to the poet's ear to reconcile it with the principle that has

had no recognition. The result is that in English verse the greatest extremes are possible, from feebleness to majesty and strength, from rugged harshness to the sweetest melody. Lines, the like of which in Latin would be rejected as violating every rule, as not verse at all, are tolerated in English, sometimes praised. And while the poet dowered with a fine ear has opportunities of distinguishing himself which he would not have in Latin, others not so gifted are allowed to put forward as metre what they ought to be told at once is not metre, what they would, I think, find means of amending if it were clearly and absolutely forbidden. As matters are, however, they fancy that stress, or the absence of it, can make any syllable long, or any syllable short, in accordance with their requirements. Let me now produce some examples of this, and let the first be chosen from a great poet :

"That whoso proves kingly in craft I needs must acknowledge my brother."

The rhythm here is anapaestic. There is no stress on "proves"—a monosyllable, of course, has stress or not according to the beat of the verse—and "proves" is therefore supposed to be short. Is it? In reality, the long vowel, plus the consonantal sounds "vz," make a combination which defies shortening. Substitute the comparatively short word "is," and the line becomes perceptibly smoother. Consider also the word "must" where the vowel, in itself short, is followed by "st," a strong combination. For this word substitute "can," and then read the whole :

"For whoso is kingly in craft I needs can acknowledge my brother."

It will be admitted that the line is now, from the melodious point of view, considerably improved.

Here is another example :

"No mile-wide-mouthed monster of yours will I marry."

The word "wide" here, assumed to be short, is so hopelessly long that no absence of stress can shorten it, as it should be shortened to scan. For "mile-wide" substitute "mealy," and the sound becomes tolerable. Consider the third line in the following :

"How we shall prologuize, how we shall perorate;
Utter fit things upon art and history,
Feel truth at blood-heat and falsehood at zero-rate."

This third line is well nigh past amendment, but the following can be improved by a slight alteration :

"He has plagued by exactions that proved law's disgrace."

Substitute the short word "his" for "law's," and the difference in sound becomes manifest.

It is clear from such examples as these, which from Browning could be supplied by the page, that quantities in English are sometimes so obstinately long that they cannot be made short. This, however, is not always the case. In the word "without" the last syllable is certainly in itself long. Yet here is an instance in which it is treated as short:

"For the moon never beams without bringing ^{me} dreams."

The syllable "light" is treated as short in the following:

"They have moonlight and sleep for repayment."

In the second of these lines, although the vowel in "light" is long, as the succeeding word begins with a vowel, the length is reduced as much as possible; the absence of stress does the rest. In the former instance it is evident that the melody of the verse would be improved if "out" was a really short syllable. Thus, if we read

"For the moon never beams but it bringeth me dreams,"

it is clear, I think, that we have better metre. But owing to the imperfections of English quantity we must continually put up with shortcomings of this kind, content if we can get metre as good. The most melodious poet will be the one who reduces to a minimum such harshness as the language renders inevitable, and refuses to inflict on us deliberately such anguish as is caused by the examples taken from Browning. He is not, by any means, the only bard guilty of such offences.

The attempt to treat as short syllables that will not be shortened, is the cause of one kind of metrical defect—that of ruggedness or harshness. The opposite defect—that of metrical feebleness—is due to the notion that stress can lengthen any syllable however short. This also can be easily shown.

"The proper study of mankind is man."

In this line the first six syllables are all so short that, properly speaking, there are only four beats instead of five. The attempt to get five beats yields a scansion like this:

"The pro | per stu | dy of | mankind | is man,"

when the feebleness of the first part of the verse becomes apparent. Here is another

"See mystery to mathematics fly!"

Here, after the first foot, we have again six short syllables in succession with consequences that are too evident. My next is from a very different writer:

"And quick | ly make | the en | trance free,
And bid | my her | alds rea | dy be,
And ev' | ry min | strel sound | his glee,
And all | our trum | pets blow."

The cause of the obvious poverty of the metre is the repeated weakness of the quantities. Some writers, like Browning, almost invariably err by trying to put too much quantity into a given space. Others, like Pope and Scott, who are seldom or never harsh, by putting too little, and among the latter class must be included Tennyson, whenever his verse is not at its best, as sometimes happens in "In Memoriam." Compare the line :

"The secular abyss to come,"

in which there is not a single strong quantity, with :

"Thy voice is on the rolling air."

We see therefore that the beat of the verse is not always capable of lengthening syllables inherently short. Sometimes, however, it does this :

"And love in which my beast has part."

The short syllable "love" is here sufficiently strengthened by the emphasis to satisfy the ear. Contrast once more the two following examples, in which a short vowel by the same combination of consonants, "st," is made long in one case, though remaining short in the other :

"The *last* of all the bards was he."

"Though loved thou forbores't to grieve me."

Here again we find the opportunity for the poet possessed of an ear. Guided by that organ he has to determine, amid conditions perpetually varying, the occasion when, by the aid of stress, he can defy the quantity, and when he *must* respect it if his verse is to be enjoyed.

I have not yet, however, completed my demonstration with regard to quantity. I shall best do so by an examination of some of the characteristics of one of the greatest masters of English metre.

In the words of Professor Dowden Mr. Swinburne introduced a new music into English poetry. Not that it is quite accurate to say that he introduced it. It was there in some measure before his time, long before. What he did was to take up a style, which former poets had but feebly attempted, to bring it to a perfection never before attained, to employ it to an extent never previously dreamt of. What is the nature of this new music? It is simply the frequent employment of feet consisting of three or more syllables. The great mass of English poetry, whether

narrative, dramatic, or lyric, is written in feet of two syllables only, having almost invariably the iambic rhythm. Trochees are occasionally used in lyric verse; but, with that slight exception, the iambus prevails everywhere. Now, although the great poets have contrived unconsciously to get an astonishing amount of variety out of these resources, it is evident that a far greater variety was open to the poets of Greece and Rome, who had a number of feet at their disposal.

To increase the number of syllables in feet from two to three is to double at a stroke our metrical resources. Some feeble attempts to use such feet will be found in the "Shepherd's Calendar" of Spenser. They will also be found much more successfully employed in some lyrics of the Restoration period. But in general they are neglected. And Coleridge was the first poet who conspicuously displayed their capabilities. He was followed, as is well known, to some extent by Scott and Byron. Moore showed great mastery of the new system, and so also did other Irish poets of a later period, notably Mangan, some of whose verse, on the metrical side, even Mr. Swinburne could hardly improve. Here is an example:

"No more on a summer day sunny
Shall I hear the thrush sing from his lair :
No more see the bee bearing honey
At noon through the odorous air :
Lost, lost in the thicket so shady,
The dove hath forsaken his call ;
And mute in the grave lies the lady
Whose voice was the sweetest of all."

But it is from the mouth of Swinburne that the new music first wells in full flood. Edgar Allan Poe remarks of a certain poem of Byron's, "the measure is one of the most difficult." But the measure in question is identical with that of Mangan just quoted, and Swinburne uses it, with certain variations of his own, profusely, and finds no difficulty at all in it. "Dolores" and the "Dedication" to the first series of "Poems and Ballads" are eminent examples. Here, however, is a sample of versification even more perfect than that of these poems :

"The fields fall southward abrupt and broken
To the low last edge of the long lone land :
Should a footstep sound or a word be spoken,
Would a ghost not rise at the strange guest's hand ?
* * * * *
"So long have the grey bare walls lain guestless,
Through branches and briars if a man make way,
He shall find no life but the sea-wind's, restless
Night and day."

Now, to write such verse successfully, it is to be noted that accuracy of quantities must be as closely observed as it is violated in

the examples from Browning ; it must be observed far more closely than in writing verse of which the feet have only two syllables. For the time is quicker, the pace is more rapid ; and, if the road is rugged and uneven, the jolting becomes all the more marked ; or, to take a different simile, there is all the difference between the old slow dances and the modern fast ones—between walking and waltzing. A man may do the first creditably enough to escape criticism, while in the other his awkwardness might be matter for serious complaint. Browning, for instance, is not always so bad as might appear from the samples quoted. These are all in quick time, in attempted fast dance movement. When the poet is content with walking, he can make his verse move, if with no special grace, yet with astonishing speed and energy. But, under Swinburne's impulse, English verse has broken into a variety of the swiftest movements requiring the highest grace and skill. Sometimes, as in the "*Hesperides*," he gives us a hexameter nearly as light and swift as the very lightest and swiftest of the "*Iliad*," such as :

"Blows from the capes of the past overseas to the bays of the present."

Sometimes he delights our ears with perfect choriambics ; sometimes he astonishes with versification, unparalleled in modern poetry, such as is found in the choral odes of the "*Erechtheus*" :

"And the pines on the hills were as green reeds shattered ;
And their branches as buds of the soft spring scattered ;
And the east and the west and the sound of the south
Grew dumb at the blast of the north wind's mouth,
At the cry of his coming out of heaven."

Yet even this poet is not always absolutely perfect, and it may be useful to note an instance or two ; take the line :

"In glades where the spring half-uncovers."

Here the syllables "half" and "un" are both somewhat too long, with the usual result. Examine also these three lines :

'The night shakes them round me in legions :
Dawn drives them before her like dreams :
Time sheds them like snow on strange regions.

The quantities are, if one is very exacting, somewhat too long, and in reading you feel a little as if you were walking through a ploughed field. This of course is the rarest possible experience with Mr. Swinburne. What very much worse travelling may befall one, we have already seen.

I hope I have now left no doubt that quantity is one of the most important elements in English prosody. The language, however, has other resources. How do they compare with those of other lan-

guages? Latin, which has a much more perfect quantity, has no stress. But English has stress of a very energetic kind, which greatly helps out the quantitative deficiencies. Italian has no quantity, but it has stress. French has neither. German, like English, has both. But in German the consonants are often so harsh, that with English, in this respect so much more melodious, the final superiority among modern languages remains. Yet, having this superiority, enjoying these superior resources, and subject to the obligations imposed by them, it has nevertheless also taken on itself other burdens; it has allowed another language, possessed of far inferior resources, to impose upon it the law necessitated by its inferiority; it has accepted the unnecessary burden of rhyme. What are the consequences? How is the substance of our poetry affected? Mr. Swinburne, as we have seen, is not only all but perfect in his use of quantity, he is also one of the most elaborate and careful of rhymers, and in the general literary finish and polish of his verse he is unsurpassed. It is usually agreed, however, that on the side of substance, of thought, he is less satisfactory. This is significant. What is the import?

Is it that, having nothing to say, he is able to say it with extraordinary skill? Is it that, being troubled by no superfluity of idea, he can concentrate himself on expression?—that, having a capacity for spinning gorgeous robes of language, he is exempt from the necessity of fitting them to any body of thought having a definite outline? There would be a certain amount of truth implied in these questions, but not, I think, the whole. It is difficult to believe that there is not a large amount of real poetry in the voluminous writings of this bard, but the fact that in almost any particular poem that may be selected, the thought bears but a small proportion to the quantity of words that express it, creates the impression that he has little thought; there is too much water to the wine, and although the water is many-coloured and sparkling, the defect is but partially disguised. Can any explanation be found for this, beyond the mere limitations of an individual genius? I think there can. All verse-writing imposes a burden of technique. This, up to a certain point, appears to favour concentration by causing the rejection of many things of minor importance, which in unshackled prose could be expressed without difficulty; hence only the more important and weighty thoughts are retained. Again, conversely it is the presence of these which can alone justify the artificial character of verse. As soon as a certain degree of triviality, of commonplace is reached, the mind of the reader rebels against the artificial element. It has no longer a justification, and he turns in weariness or disgust from much that he would readily peruse in simple prose. The point, however, at which concentration is most effective for poetic purposes

remains to be fixed. Excessive concentration implies obscurity, and between the Scylla and Charybdis of obscurity and diffuseness poetry which would take the highest rank must find its way. It is, of course, only a few of the greatest writers who do so with conspicuous success. Of these, again, it is found that the very greatest are always fortunate in living at times in which the artificial element of technique has attained to no excessive development. Homer and Shakespeare alike have at their disposal poetic metres, which, though of the finest order as regards sound, evidently trammel by no excessive multiplicity of rule the faculty of the singer. Yet that the faculty is needed is shown by the failure of even good poets to use such metres with effect. In process of time, as literatures grow older, the demands of technique increase, and the consequence of the growing strain varies with the individual. One writer, who has not the gift of fluency, tends to become obscure; for the external requirements of art must at all costs be met, and direct simplicity of expression is unavoidably and unconsciously sacrificed. Of this class of poet Rossetti is a conspicuous example. The tendency of others, on the contrary, from whom the "full flowing river of speech" wells more irresistibly, is to dilute the idea. Difficulties of metre and rhyme are evaded by bringing forward a multitude of words and phrases, from which the necessary expressions can easily be selected—the process, as a rule, involving much circumlocution, and the presentation of the idea in minute fragments, so that twenty stanzas are needed where two ought to suffice.

In other words, the burden of technique laid on the expression of poetic idea has become too heavy to be borne. It has well-nigh passed beyond human faculty to triumph over the difficulties entailed by literary polish, by melodious quantities, by exactitude of rhyme, while at the same time supplying adequate substance, duly and artistically developed, the expression being neither cramped into obscurity nor expanded into vaporous diffuseness. It is not surprising then that among younger poets there is a tendency, an effort, to lighten the load; but it seems unfortunate that what they seem most inclined to throw off is just that long evolving metrical improvement, carried at last to such sudden perfection by Swinburne. There is a confession of defeat, of discomfiture; a retreat from the advanced post which poetry had occupied. There is a manifest reversion to certain older types of versification; a return to rhythms that are exhausted and rhymes that are outworn.

Something, however, must apparently be sacrificed. Shall we ask Milton what it is to be? And if we do, shall we more rationally scorn his advice just at the time when the force of the rhythmical development has become such as almost of its own accord to reject as an insult the mechanical tag of the rhyme? Shall we voluntarily

linger in the petty region of the more precise jingles, when quantitative rhythm opens to us its larger and loftier realms?

Blank verse, however, exists, it may be said. Is not that sufficient in the way of rhymeless metres? I would ask, in reply, why we should be confined to one form? Greece had the tragic iambic as well as the hexameter. Why should we not have rhymeless metres composed of three-syllabled feet, with all the variety implied? Who can doubt that one of the reasons why prose has so much encroached on the domain of poetry is the inadequacy of existing metres? I believe, too, that this is widely, though unconsciously, felt. I believe that for great poetry great metres are required; that the old metres are partly exhausted, partly intrinsically insufficient for modern needs; I believe that modern poetic feeling is seeking for a suitable vehicle—large, adequate, and free; and that if it does not succeed in finding it in verse, it will end by taking refuge wholly in prose.

I have endeavoured to show how the tendencies of the English language have not only produced one great rhymeless metre, but have even within and beneath the rhymed exterior of the other metres developed to an extent which has well nigh rendered rhyme a superfluity. Let me now briefly trace another development, tending from a slightly different direction to a similar result.

More than three hundred years ago a version of the Bible was given to the English people in what purported to be pure prose. It has, however, been generally, though vaguely, felt that, apart altogether from the poetry of substance to be found in it so frequently, much of the musical quality of verse has also been present. So far, however, as this quality has obtained recognition, it has been usually considered sufficient to describe it vaguely as "something rhythmical." It may not be unprofitable to give the matter a closer examination.

Archbishop Trench, discussing the varying values of synonyms, brings forward one example from the Psalms. "If," he says, "you substitute 'almighty' for 'omnipotent' in 'for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth,' you seriously injure the effect. That this is so is, I think, beyond question: but why is it so? 'Almighty' is, in itself, just as impressive and fine a word as 'omnipotent.'" The archbishop did not apparently discover the reason, which is simply, that "almighty" gives a defective rhythm, owing to the inadequate quantity of the final syllable. The scansion is:

"For the | Lord God om | nipotent | reigneth."

This satisfies the ear; but if the short syllable "ty" is substituted for the two short syllables "potent" the sound at once becomes defective. If any alteration is made, an equivalent of the two short syllables—that is to say, one long one—is required; and if this is

supplied, it will be found that the sound at least does not suffer; thus :

“For the | Lord God, the | one God | reigneth.”

Here, then, we find, is a line of verse so perfect that an alteration, affecting the quantity alone, destroys its impressiveness. Of metrical phrases in the psalms many examples could be given; here is one more :

“The Lord | sitteth a | bove the | waterfloods;
Yea, the | Lord sitteth | King for | ever.”

This is mainly a mixture of dactyls and trochees, though it begins with an iambus. But it is perhaps in Isaiah that the most striking cases will be found. One chapter opens with what every one at once recognises as three lines of blank verse :

“For Zion’s sake I will not hold my peace,
And for Jerusalem’s sake will I not rest,
Until the righteousness thereof go forth
As brightness.”

Here is another example of a different metre :

“Ho ! ev’ry | one that thirsteth | come ye | to the waters, | ”

where the rhythm is Ionic a minore. Here is another, a mixture of dactyles and trochees :

“Rise, | shine, for thy | light is | come,
And the | glory of the | Lord hath | risen u | pon thee. | ”

It will in fact be found that nearly every one of these wonderful chapters in the book of this prophet begins with phrases which are as definitely metrical. Whether they would be improved by the addition of rhyme, let all decide for themselves.

That the Bible, both by its rhythm and its poetry of substance, has exercised a great and salutary effect on English poetry, can hardly be disputed. It has, however, been in the main an indirect effect, owing chiefly, no doubt, to the fact that the sacred nature of the writing warned off from direct imitation. The influence, again, alike of the Elizabethan practice in drama, and of the Miltonic practice and theory was, as we have seen, completely checked, by the different literary fashion which came in with the Restoration, along with a gross corruption in political and social life. The corruption purified itself by degrees, but rhyme, sustained by the prestige of the French literature, held its ground. The gradual revival of blank verse I have alluded to. It was not, however, until the time of Collins that any one dared to write in any other metre without rhyme. The unrhymed lyrics of Collins are much more musical than his rhymed efforts. But they found no imitators; and it was not until much

later that any further attempt was made in this direction. Nor was the success of the attempt, when made, very pronounced. Southey's "Thalaba" and Shelley's "Queen Mab" are not satisfactory from the metrical point of view, because the experiments were not guided by any principle. Next we have had the much more successful rhymeless, irregular metres of Matthew Arnold, suggested possibly by those of Heine. We have also had the unrhymed verses of Mr. Merèdith, and recently those of Mr. Henley. America has witnessed the complete and striking, if in some measure the barbarous, revolt of Whitman.

If these attempts are closely examined it will, I think, be found that those that are least successful fail because, while they reject rhyme, they give us nothing in place of it. There is a certain amount of truth in Dr. Johnson's complaint that the music of the English heroic line strikes the ear so faintly that rhyme is necessary to mark the separate verses. But the truth only holds when rhythm and quantity are defective. Thus, if you merely take some feeble and commonplace metre and strip it of its rhymes, it is evident that you accomplish little. Nor will you have done much more if you merely cut up what is prose in rhythm into pieces of arbitrary length and call them verses. Take an example from Matthew Arnold :

"Thou standest smiling
Down on me ; thy right arm,
Leaned up against the column there,
Props thy soft cheek."

The traces of music in these lines are of the slightest. When, however, the same writer gives us—in the same poem—

"But oh ! what labour, () prince, what pain,"

it is manifest at once that we have something most perfectly metrical, most delicately rhythmical. Let us look at an example from one of Mr. Henley's not most successful efforts :

"Under a stagnant sky
Gloom out of gloom uncoiling into gloom,
The river faded, forlorn
Welters, wanders wearily, wretchedly on ;
Yet in and out among the ribs
Of the old skeleton bridge, as in the piles
Of some dead, lake-built city, full of skulls
Worm-worn, rat-riddled, mouldy with memories."

In the first two lines there is a decided rhythm. In the next two it may, perhaps, be admitted that one exists ; but it is open to dispute. The remaining lines are pure prose. Walt Whitman, in spite of all his faults, can occasionally do much better :

"There in the fragrant pines and the cedars dusk and dim."

Here is something surely far more musical than many an orthodox admired verse, with all the pomp and circumstance of rhyme. We may indeed be still far from the standard of the Biblical rhythms; but the significance of these repeated efforts can hardly be mistaken. The poets who make them are on the right track; and had Whitman combined with his great gifts a little more culture, had he understood more clearly the principles that underlay his own most successful work, he would probably have effected a complete metrical revolution. He has not done so, and it seems desirable that the nature and the limits of such change as is required should now be examined and ascertained. We have seen what are the most considerable of the resources of the English language. It remains, in conclusion, to speak of one or two others by which its slight deficiencies may be helped out.

Of one of these, alliteration, it is not necessary to say much. It was a striking feature in Anglo-Saxon poetry. In English verse it has frequently been used more or less. Mr. Swinburne's excessive employment of it has tended to bring it somewhat into discredit. But there is no reason why it should be discarded. It is certainly effective when introduced carefully and not too often.

Another resource which, though far more important, has hitherto gone almost wholly unrecognised, is assonance. Let us give it a little consideration.

Among the literatures which are accorded classical rank, there is only one in which assonance has a conspicuous place. As is generally known, that literature is the Spanish. A large amount of Spanish poetry is written in assonance, and some of the foremost poets of Spain have pronounced it to be adequate to the highest poetical requirements. It has, however, been little imitated in other languages; the most important attempts being those of Heine, in his poems on Spanish subjects. While, therefore, with regard to such it may be said to have had no influence, its appearance in Spain is sudden and was somewhat unaccountable. It could be traced beyond the twelfth century; for we have the curious fact that the authors of such standard works as Sismondi's "*Literature of Europe*" and Ticknor's "*History of Spanish Literature*," apparently regarded assonance as a purely Spanish invention. That, however, it certainly is not. It is found in a literature older by many centuries than that of Spain; one, however, whose claims to be called literature have hardly yet been admitted at all—that of Gaelic Ireland. It is a fact, whatever the ultimate rank of Irish verse may prove to be, that there is in existence a large quantity of it which, as one of its most important characteristics, has assonance, a device of which it had made so much more elaborate a use than the Spanish poetry that it would be far more worthy of examination on that account alone.

It has, however, a second claim on our attention, if it be true that from Irish assonance, not only Spanish assonance, but the whole practice of rhyme, as known in modern Europe, sprang;* especially if, as some enthusiasts further assert, rhyme was not an improvement on assonance, but a corruption of it. This is probably an exaggeration. But it is certain that old Gaelic verse was, in sound at least, very complex and very beautiful; and hence there is at least a presumption, strengthened considerably by the example of the independent and less elaborate practice of Spain, that assonance cannot at all events be reckoned inferior to rhyme. If this much be conceded, the only point left for consideration would be whether as a source of variety, if of nothing more, it could be successfully employed in English, and the probability that it could is again strengthened by another consideration. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of art than the manner in which it frequently renews its vigour by going back to its beginnings, when the impulse that has carried it through one series of developments has been exhausted. Again and again it has been found that the germ which has actually grown and flourished is only one out of many, and that others still retain their vitality, only awaiting the chances of favourable soil and sun and air to burst into vigorous growth. If, then, assonance was the root from which rhyme sprang, possibly from the same root another stem may now shoot upwards not less vigorous than that which we have long been familiar with.

Let us, then, consider more closely what assonance is. Briefly, it is nothing more than a variety of rhyme, which regards the vowel mainly, the consonant not at all, or comparatively little.

In other words, it is a more delicate kind of rhyme than that to which we are accustomed. How does it differ from it? It is easy to find a definition which covers all kinds of rhyme. Rhyme is a certain consonance or agreement of sound usually placed at the end of lines. But the amount of this agreement, required or allowed, is a matter in which there is considerable difference in different countries. Let us start with the English practice which agrees with the German. This requires identity of the vowel sound with variation of the initial consonant, if there is one. This variation is, according to English ideas, so essential that it is never departed from. You cannot get a rhyme from words having different meanings though identical in sound. You could not write:

"I saw three bankers sitting in a draught,
Each carefully examining a draft."

But in French that would be perfect poetry. Here is an example from V. Hugo:

* See Dr. Sigerson's article on the "Revival of Irish Literature."

"Ange, qui sur les trois fils attachés à ses pas,
Répandait son amour et ne mesurait pas."

"Pas" the half of a negation rhyming with "pas" a step. And this is done constantly, causing our ears, trained to greater variety, to find French rhymes feeble and monotonous. This applies also to double rhymes, when two syllables agree in sound. The English practice demands change of the initial consonant; the French permits absolute identity, though it does not enforce it. In German, the rule is the same as in English; but double rhymes occur very frequently, and thus it happens that while in English double rhymes are generally thought pleasing, solely and simply because they are comparatively rare, in German, where they are of constant occurrence, they cease to yield any great delight. But still more is this the case in Italian. In Italian there is nothing but double rhyme, except indeed when it is triple, or when the verse is blank, and the practice of allowing absolute identity of sound prevails. Thus you can have such words as "amante" and "tremante" rhyming; and to my ear the continual occurrence of the double rhyme, even without this close exactitude, becomes extremely monotonous and fatiguing. We see, however, that rhyme in different languages means practically several different things, and when we examine into the Gaelic practice, we only find that it is at the extreme end of the scale from the Italian, beyond the English, from which it differs by permitting still greater variety.

Thus the English rule insists on changing the initial consonant; the Irish rule allows you to change the final consonant also, so that there is nothing but the vowel left. Thus, to take an example: two very easy Irish words, *mór* (great) and *bród* (pride), or two English examples, *bone* and *toll*, are perfect rhymes or assonances as they are called. I must add, however, that in old Irish verse the consonants were by no means neglected. It was recognised that some of them formed with each other more perfect or agreeable concords than others, and for the purpose of guidance there was an elaborate and complete classification made. This cannot be given here, but it would probably be found that something similar would be desirable in employing assonance in English. There is another point, however, in which the Gaelic usage differs most from that of all other languages, and it is perhaps in this that its greatest interest for us lies. Rhyme is usually, as we know, placed only at the end of lines; occasionally, in lyric verse, it occurs in the middle of them. But in Gaelic the assonances are freely used in the interior of the verse, in a manner which would with the more close correspondence of rhyme constitute an intolerable jingle. It amounts to the principle of vowel harmonies, and it is of this usage that Professor Atkinson says: "This is not rhyme, but something far richer, and admitting of a far more complex series of harmonies."

It is easily seen that assonance has thus several advantages over rhyme as usually practised. One is that of greater freedom. There is something mechanical in regularly placing a fixed correspondence of sound at the end of a definite number of syllables. Frequently it might as well not be placed there at all. It is rhyme only to the eye; for when the verse is read with due regard to the meaning the rhyme is not heard; it never is unless it comes into some emphatic position. Theoretically this ought always to happen. In practice it often does not, so that the trouble of finding the rhyme is thrown away. *An assonance placed in an emphatic position has more effect than a rhyme placed where it is not heard.* Assonances too might be much used as a mere relief in many cases. English rhymes are not abundant. They have seen much service; many of them are quite worn out, and there are some that hardly any poet is now cruel enough to put into harness. Regarded merely in the light of close correspondence of sound, some assonances are distinctly better than some rhymes that are permitted, and some that are used in defiance of prohibition by hard-pressed bards. I remember one case in which a critic pronounced a certain song in a certain first volume perfect if it had not been for the rhyming of "grove" with "love." The critic did not notice in the least that the song contained an assonance pure and simple, "sweetness" corresponding with "deceitless." It naturally escaped him; it was much more satisfactory to the ear. Are not, to give a few more examples, "evening" and "leaving" better than "heaven" and "even" or "given," "other" and "lover" better than "lover" and "rover," or "steadfast" and "red-breast" as good as "steady" and "lady," "yellow" and "meadow" as good as "meadow" and "shadow"? It would be easy to go on.

It is most probable, however, that the best use of assonance would be found in its harmonising and sweetening effect when skilfully employed without fixed rule in the interior of verses. In this way it often is already used; here are a few examples:

“After life's fitful *fears* he *sleeps* well.”

“*Cover* your *heads* and mock not *flesh* and *blood*.”

“What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?
And so he vanish'd: then came wandering by
A shadow like an angel with bright hair
Dabbled in blood: and he shriek'd out aloud,—
Clarence is come, false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence,
That stabb'd me in the field by Tewksbury:—
Seize on him, furies, take him unto torment!”

" Thus with the year
Seasons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
Or flocks or herds or human face divine;
But clouds instead and ever during dark
Surrounds me."

Compare the following, quite unconscious, I am sure, from a living Irish poet:

" And I shall have some peace there, for peace comes dropping slow,
Dropping from the veils of the morning to where the cricket sings:
The midnight there a glimmer is and noon a purple glow,
And evening full of the linnet's wings."

The unconscious practice of assonance, then, has already prevailed to some extent in English poetry. It is often the secret of the very sweetest versification. Why should it not be consciously employed, its possibilities ascertained, its laws investigated? The strength of all English metre is its quantitative rhythm. The greatest English poetry has relied on it only; but other portions of English verse literature have, through foreign example, added rhyme, a practice which, whatever its advantages, has tended to distract attention from the qualities that are really essential to good verse, and to prevent the evolution of varied quantitative forms. It is not necessary to suppose that rhyme is to be banished. But it is just possible that we might ultimately learn to do fairly well without it, or at least to restrict its use, finding both greater freedom and finer sound in quantity sweetened by assonance, in assonance strengthened by quantity. Should this be the result, we shall only be returning to one of the oldest and greatest examples in all literature. The versification of the "Iliad" is quantity sweetened by assonance. If any one wishes for decisive proof, let him turn to the passage describing the arming of Agamemnon, at the beginning of the eleventh book. I may quote a few lines of it:

" Τῇ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Ἰοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις ἔστεφάνωτο
Δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ δειμός τε φόβος τε.
Τῆς δ' ἔξ ἀργύρεος τελαμῶν ἦν· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
Κυάνεος ἑλέλιτο δράκων, κεφαλαὶ δὲ οἱ ἦσαν
Τρεῖς ἀμφιστρεφέες, ἵνδ' αὐχίνος ἐκπεφυῖαι
Κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάλῃσιν
Ἰπποῦρων· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθεν ἔνευε.
Εἵλετο δ' ἄλκιμα δοῦρε δύω κεκορυθμένα χαλκῷ
"Ὅξεα· τῆλε δὲ χαλκὸς ἀπ' αἰτόφιν οὐρανὸν εἴσω
Λάμπ'· ἐπὶ δ' ἐγδοίπησαν Ἀθηναῖη τε καὶ Ἥρη
Ἰμῶσαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκίηνης."

There is no mistaking the presence of assonance here. But it occurs in continually varying amount throughout the poem. In the "Odyssey," strangely enough, there is much less of it, and the quality

of the verse is inferior in proportion. Such; at least, it appears to me. I cannot discuss the point further here; but it may prove to possess an interest with reference to matters remote from the subject in hand. With regard to the "Iliad" there can be no doubt. It is possible, however, that the exceeding prestige of this example may be held to place it wholly beyond the reach of imitation. If this should be the case, is there not the Gaelic example also? Too humble this, perhaps? Can the august poetry of England condescend to take a hint from the Cinderella of the West? It is true that there is a branch of English-writing poets who might be supposed anxious to take the hint. Irish writers would certainly have left their mark upon English literature, should they be found to have taken a conspicuous part in the creation of a body of metres having in them the promise of the future, rich with unexhausted possibilities. But it is to be feared that, in spite of much that might lead one to form an opposite anticipation, Irishmen are indisposed to present their ideas to the world in any but the latest, the most fashionable, English garb. Therefore, perhaps, Englishmen, who have more self-confidence, will make some experiments to encourage them. Should the experiments fail, my countrymen will have been spared the trouble of a fruitless effort; in the event of success, they can then, how much less laboriously, follow in the beaten track.

WILLIAM LARMINIE.

NOTE.—With reference to Browning's versification, the letter published in Mr. Colingwood's "Life of Ruskin," which I did not read until after the foregoing article had passed into the hands of the Editor, is of much interest. The poet energetically maintains, against Mr. Ruskin's criticisms, that the word "fold-skirts" is a tro-chee. It evidently is, if stress alone is taken into account; but the quantity of the second syllable clearly makes it a very bad tro-chee. Browning could not see this, and apparently always acted on the principle of making stress override all quantitative considerations.

THE AMALGAMATION OF LONDON.

THE Report of Mr. Courtney's Commission is a State Paper of unusual importance : it is clear, statesmanlike, exhaustive, and conclusive. It is one of those well-matured schemes which finally solve some difficult problem, which leave nothing but details to be added, and make serious opposition impossible. It is not a party manifesto, nor does it show any trace of prejudice or bias. It sticks closely to the exact terms of the reference ; it goes directly to its point in the spirit of a responsible Minister about to meet Parliament ; and its ultimate conclusion is plain, practical, and comprehensive. The result is that it has been received by sensible men of all parties as an adequate and final solution ; and except for the murmurs of the Old City—which the Commission was appointed to eliminate—a general consent is arrived at that the question is now authoritatively settled.

The Commission itself is a rare example in these latter days of a Royal Commission that really effects a practical purpose which would not easily be effected in any other way. It was of workable size ; it was impartially constituted ; it fairly represented the rival interests and the two political parties ; it was managed by practical statesmen and public servants ; and it reported conclusively within a year and a half. As the absurd Labour Commission was an object-lesson of all that a Royal Commission should not be, so the London Amalgamation Commission was a lesson in all that a Royal Commission should be. The Government were unusually fortunate in securing in Mr. Courtney a public man of the front rank outside their own party who was thoroughly fitted for this complex task, who was sure to bring an independent mind to bear on a problem full of exasperating controversies and jealousies. Mr. Courtney is the ideal

"candid friend" of politics, who, with "robust" frankness, deals out home truths to friend and foe impartially, so that he reminds us of the judicious missionary in the Cannibal Islands, of whom his converted congregation said: "He gave us so much good advice that we were obliged to put him to death." The Old City and the Old Tories may be (metaphorically) thirsting for Mr. Courtney's head in a charger, but he has done a public service with masterly completeness; and his old friends will recognise in the careful, judicial, and yet emphatic array of arguments *pro* and *con* throughout the text of the Report, the practised hand of a great publicist.

The Report is a rare example of a definite scheme, unanimous and unqualified, in which the competing views are weighed as in the elaborate judgments delivered by a Court of Final Appeal. A commission of five—two being representatives of the Old and the New London, two being officials from the great provincial centres of Liverpool and Birmingham, and the chairman being a politician of front rank—was the ideal tribunal. The representative of the Old City was instructed by his clients to withdraw from the Commission so soon as it was settled that the Commission intended to do that which they were directed to do. He took no further part, and made no minority report. The Commission then proceeded with unanimity and despatch. The Report is a definite administrative scheme, requiring nothing but the labour of the draftsman to transmute it into a Bill, and nothing but Ministerial initiative to pass through the House of Commons, if not into law. How much better is this than a mob of "experts," busybodies, and professors, pleased to be addressed as "trustworthy and well-beloved" subjects, pouring out at the public cost a torrent of undigested nostrums, and aimlessly allowing "corner-boys" from the universities and paragraph-writers from the journals to air their impertinences or their fads! This is what is too often the end of a Royal Commission. It is refreshing for once to meet Royal Commissioners who know their own minds, and who see their way to offer the Government a practical and definite scheme of reform.

The Commissioners had referred to them a single and definite task—"to consider the proper conditions under which the Amalgamation of the City and the County of London can be effected, and to make specific and practical proposals for that purpose." They very rightly understood that this reference assumed "that such an amalgamation is desirable if it is practicable." This assumption was not admitted by the City solicitor, who, with his witnesses and friends, retired from any part in the Commission. There can be no doubt that the remaining Commissioners took the only course open to them under their commission. And public opinion, without regard to party, has abundantly supported the contention "that the Amalgamation of the City and the County of London is desirable if it is practicable."

Fortunately the Report has shown that it is perfectly practicable and almost obvious. So that henceforth it may be taken that the isolation of the Old City is no longer an arguable policy even to ardent political Conservatives.

The Report begins by very clearly setting forth the double problem, left in a chaotic state by the Municipal Corporation Acts of 1835 and 1882, and the Local Government Act of 1888: a problem unsuccessfully attacked by the Royal Commissions of 1837 and 1853, the Select Committees of 1861, 1866, 1867, and by the London Government Bill of 1884. The Old City had been strong enough to obstruct its reform under the General Act of 1835, from which it was expressly excluded. The very magnitude of the task prevented a settlement at that date. Of all the unreformed Municipalities in the kingdom, London in 1835 presented the most glaring instance of inadequate area and obsolete constitution. And for nearly sixty years the Old City has maintained its position as an antiquated municipal Alsatia in the midst of this mighty Metropolis, partially modernised by tinkering legislation, the last timorous effort of which was in the Act of 1888. The Commissioners, therefore, very rightly understood that the task before them was to apply the Act of 1835 to London in its double purview—(1) the extension of area; and (2) the reform of its constitution. Both sides of the problem have now been exhaustively solved in the Report. There is nothing now but the will of Ministers and the decision of Parliament to delay the formation of an organic and symmetrical municipality for the whole of London assimilated to the best models of municipal government.

The first part of the problem, *the extension of area*—i.e., the substitution of the real City of London for the fossil Old City—is so plain that it needs to be stated only to be solved, and the Act of 1888 left it practically settled in everything but legal form. The Old City of London has an acreage of 671, whilst the real City of London has an acreage of 74,771 (i.e., a ratio of .89 against 99.11). And the night population of the Old City is 37,705 against the night population of the real City of 4,194,413—a ratio of .90 against 99.10—though it must be admitted that the night population of the Old City is no real test and may properly be neglected. Now the Act of 1888 constituted the administrative county of London (i.e., the London County Council including the Old City) as a single area, having an acreage of 75,442, or 118 square miles, and a population of 4,232,118. This will be obviously the new City of London—a county, of course, as was the Old City—but with a municipal and not a county organisation. That is to say, the Old City is fused with the county, whilst the County of London becomes the City of London.

A much more difficult question remains in the constitution of the reformed City, which cannot be assimilated to Birmingham or

Glasgow, in consequence of its enormous size and population, and the complexity of the jurisdictions established within it. The county of London comprises a population greater than the aggregate of the next fourteen towns of Great Britain taken together: it contains eleven different co-ordinate jurisdictions with ten distinct and different areas. But, vast as it is, London requires not a county organisation but a town organisation. The task of the Commissioners was, as they say, "to apply to an area, called a county; but really a town, now endowed with an elementary form of government, the dignity and completeness of the highest form of municipal life." On the other hand, there must be local bodies as well as central bodies. "London is really one great town comprising within itself several smaller towns." To organise this enormous town mass into a single city, to distribute its local government to the proper local bodies, to utilise and co-ordinate the existing local bodies, and to vitalise the obsolete local institutions—was the intricate task set to the Commission.

It is admitted on almost all sides to-day that the Commissioners have solved the problem in a statesmanlike way with a definitive scheme. The City of London will now be the historic City *plus* the London County Council: elected in the same way as the Council, triennially by the widest suffrage. They recommend that the electorate should be that of the Local Government Act of 1894; and they suggest that the members for the Old City (which has a rateable value of nearly one-eighth of the whole—£4,100,798 against £28,998,515) should have eight members of Council instead of four. If this were adopted, the Council of the City of London would consist of 122 councillors and 20 aldermen—an addition altogether of five to the existing County Council. And they properly propose that the distribution of members to districts should be subject to periodical revision under the sanction of the Local Government Board. The Report proposes that the reformed City of London should succeed, except in details, to all the powers, privileges, and functions of the historic City and of the County Council; that the new Council should elect a Lord Mayor from the citizens of London; that he should have the same rank, and be admitted by the same ceremonies (let us trust this does not mean a Lord Mayor's Show in perpetuity, but of course it leaves it open); that he should be the titular (but not the acting) chairman of the Council; that "he should exercise and enjoy all the personal rights, offices, dignities, and privileges which belong to the Lord Mayor of the Old City by custom, charter, or law." The Commissioners do not agree that the Lord Mayor should be Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum; but they would empower the Council to appropriate such sums as it thinks fit for the expenses of the office. Practically, so far as concerns the *personnel* of the new Municipality, the Commissioners simply take the

Lord Mayor and his office *en bloc*, make him elected by the Council, the representatives of the entire body of 4,232,118, in lieu of the 37,705, and open his office, not to the aldermen in rotation, but to the citizens of (new) London at large. It would be open to us to call to the civic chair of this mighty city Lord Rosebery, Sir John Lubbock, the Duke of Westminster, or John Burns. The only serious change proposed is that the new Council should have a Town Clerk, a salaried permanent officer, as head of the staff, in lieu of an elected member of the Council. And in this the Commissioners have shown undoubted wisdom.

The real *crux* of the problem, and the side of it wherein the Report most decidedly exhibits its statesmanlike decision, is the question of co-ordinating the new corporation with the subordinate local authorities. The wise principle is laid down "that everything possible should be done to maintain the strength, authority, and dignity of the local bodies of London." Everything is to be left to the local authorities that can be administered by them with equal efficiency; even leaning, in case of doubt, to the local bodies. And this wise principle is worked out in detail in the Report. The Commissioners in effect continue to the New Council all the powers and duties now possessed by the County Council over the whole county under the Act of 1888, and also all the powers and duties possessed by the old Corporation and the Commissioners of Sewers within the Old City. At the same time, they suggest that some reconsideration should be given to both classes of functions, in order to ascertain how far any of them can be well exercised by local authorities. And the new City of London would also succeed to such general powers of the Old City as relate to markets, bridges, and the port of London. In effect, the new reformed Corporation would have all the powers, duties and functions, property and rights of the London County Council *plus* those of the Old City Corporation—but subject to some trifling adjustments of detail, and subject to consideration of transferring some of these powers and duties to local authorities.

The most arduous adjustment of all, that between the new City of London and the functions and property of the Old Corporation, has received elaborate discussion and settlement in the Report. In these pages it will be impossible to go into the intricate dealing with accounts, the assets, debts, revenues, and charges of the Old City—all the more that the Corporation formally withdrew from giving any evidence or assistance to the Commissioners, who were left to public documents and to outside informants to make up the City Budget. But the able work of Mr. Gomme, statistical officer of the London County Council, and other witnesses, enabled the Commissioners to make for themselves that financial statement of the City's treasury which the Corporation so unwisely and perversely withheld.

Most persons will be astonished to learn that the Old Corporation, which is popularly supposed to be in possession of vast resources, has so heavily encumbered them, and has incurred a municipal debt on such reckless and unexampled terms, without a sinking fund, that the surplus of revenue over obligations is very doubtful indeed. If the Old City were now compelled to secure its debt by the obligation for repayment, like other corporations, it would have a sorry balance to show. The net revenues of the markets, about £120,000 per annum, would barely suffice to discharge the debt (£2,664,000) upon them. The bridges are in much the same condition. The general estates of the City are said to produce a net annual revenue of £160,000, with a charge on them of £780,000 of debt. The Old City, if not bankrupt, as has been loudly asserted by financiers who have minutely studied its position, will be able to show hardly any revenue, clear of all liabilities. Such as it is, the Commissioners propose that it should be transferred to the new City of London together with Guildhall, Mansion House, and the City schools, but saving some small recoupment in respect of local charities and foundations.

In the absence of full official information, at present withheld by the Old City, it was not possible for the Commissioners to frame an exact Budget under their amalgamation scheme; but there is little ground to hope that, when all is settled between the Old and the New London, there would be any appreciable relief to the ratepayers, perhaps a deficit of a halfpenny in the £; and this hope is still further diminished by the precarious nature of the receipts from markets in the control of the Old City. But whether the City in strict liquidation will be able to show a trilling surplus revenue or a deficit, it is plain that its property, revenues, rights, and obligations must go to the New City for better, for worse. An elaborate scheme of adjustment is worked out in the Report, with the forethought and ingenuity that may be looked for from the high reputation, as a financier, of Mr. Courtney, and the great official experience of Lord Farrer.

Having dealt with the questions of property of the Old City, the Report examines in turn a series of subordinate questions, such as the management of institutions and foundations, the representation of the City in various foundations and trusts; all of which would naturally pass, under the existing conditions and with the actual powers, to the New London, and would continue without breach of sequence. So, too, the Lord Mayor of New London would succeed to all the ceremonial functions of the historic Lord Mayor, so as to maintain "in the future all the useful and many of the stately traditions of the past"—*sed quære*, if this involves the Gog and Magog business? And amongst these privileges would be the right

of access to the Sovereign, and the presentation of petitions at the Bar of the House of Commons. Little need be said about the recommendations of the Commissioners as to the officers of the Old and New City, as to sheriffs, magistrates, law courts, liverymen, the customs of London, ecclesiastical patronage, and the Irish Society. None of these details offer any real difficulty. They are all treated in the Report in a practical and eminently conservative spirit, making no essential change, and adjusting the old to the new without friction or innovation. The sheriffs would be appointed by the New City under the Act of 1882; the Old City would cease to be a county; and the Mansion House and Guildhall Justice-rooms would ultimately become Metropolitan police-courts. The Report recommends that the Recorder of London should be appointed, as in other boroughs, by the Crown, that obsolete courts and offices should be abolished, that "freemen" should cease, and that the "customs of the City of London" can show no reason for their continuance.

With regard to the City police a far more debateable question arises. The London County Council proposed that, on amalgamation, the City police should be transferred to the new Corporation. With this proposal the Commissioners do not agree. They point out the obvious advantages of having the police of the Metropolis under one management. It is plain that the general question of the management of the metropolitan police as a whole, lay entirely outside the reference to the Commission. It would have been in the highest degree improper for them to offer a gratuitous opinion on an Imperial question. They say, with undeniable force: "With whom the control of the police of London, as a whole, should rest, it is not for us to discuss; but we can only say that, so long as it remains under the Imperial Government, the police within the area of the Old City should form part of it." Moderate and thoughtful men will assuredly agree with the good sense of this conclusion. The question of transferring to the Council the control of the police of the Metropolis (with an area that extends into five other counties, and is more than six times as large as the county of London) is a question that remains for Parliament; it is one which lay outside the scope of the Commission; and it is to be hoped that any scheme of amalgamation will not be burdened with this highly explosive problem. As a personal opinion, the present writer sees the strongest reasons for supporting the views of the Commissioners. He cannot surrender his belief, which so often separated him from his former colleagues when a member of the Council, that the control of the police of the Metropolis must continue in the hands of the Imperial Government, as it is does in other countries.

When the amalgamation is completed the Old City will be simply one of the local authorities of the City of London. Its constitution

will be that of a mayor and council of seventy-two members, without aldermen; the new governing body being elected, as elsewhere in the Metropolis, under the enlarged franchises of the Act of 1894. The Old City thus transformed into the first local authority within the New City, the other local authorities would follow on the same lines. Of these the Commissioners find nineteen parishes ready for their scheme; and they suggest that in each of these Councils might be at once instituted with the privilege of choosing mayors. This notion of many co-ordinate district mayors within one single great City is new to English policy and ideas; but it is common enough in such cities as Paris, and it seems a simple and reasonable suggestion. In this, as in other proposals, the Commissioners maintain their view that it is "important for the sake of the dignity and usefulness of the local bodies, whose status should be enhanced as much as possible, as well as for the sake of the central body—where a continuous increase of work may be expected, requiring relief from needless administrative detail—that no duties shall be thrown upon the central body that can be equally well performed by the local authorities." And they throw out the suggestion that in many things the central authority might frame bye-laws under which the local bodies should work, and thus "some of the functions now administered directly by the central authority might safely be entrusted to the local authorities."

No one having a competent knowledge of the facts can close this masterly Report without a sense of the thoroughness as well as the judgment it displays. Here is a scheme ready to a Minister's hand, which, except in details lying outside the reference, forms ample instruction for a comprehensive Bill. Some matters may need to be added, a few may possibly be re-considered. Such points as the lieutenancy of the county, the arrangement of law courts, may require further development and examination; and the relation of some sanitary or social administrations, the Asylums Board and other organisations of the kind, may have to be included in any final legislation. But these are details that can offer no difficulty to experts, and which will in no case lead to any active public agitation.

In giving full credit to the Commissioners for the skill and completeness with which they have solved a very arduous problem, it must not be forgotten how very ample was the assistance they received from the elaborate scheme of reform submitted to them on behalf of the Council. The Council appointed a special committee (with the vice-chairman of the Council as its chairman) to prepare a scheme which was printed on January 31, 1894. Any one who compares the Report of the Commission with this sketch of "Proposals for Amalgamation," together with the admirable speech of Mr. Dickinson, the Deputy-Chairman of the Council, in support of the

“Proposals” (March 13, 1894), will see that, in effect, the County Council put a well-matured scheme into the Commissioners’ hands. So far as the constitution of the New London is concerned, the Report adopts the “Proposals,” almost in the same words. Of the forty-nine heads of the “Proposals,” nearly all are accepted with very slight modification. The New Corporation, its name, its constitution, are adopted in the Report, except that the Commissioners suggest that the Councillors of the Old City should be increased from four to eight. The name, functions, and privileges of the new Lord Mayor are adopted *verbatim*, except that the Commissioners decline to recommend him to be Lord Lieutenant; and they recommend a permanent town-clerk in lieu of an elected deputy-chairman. The powers and duties of the New Corporation are identical in both schemes; and, to a certain extent, the problems of property and finance. In constituting the Old City as a local authority, the Commissioners proceed mainly on lines of their own. But with regard to the County organisation, the City Courts, “freemen,” and officers, the two schemes run entirely “on all fours.” The “Proposals,” in truth, of the County Council were worked out with great care and judgment by men who had not only a thorough grasp of the law, but also an exhaustive knowledge of the whole details of the problem. And the Commissioners in the main accepted these proposals, and they make them their own by conclusive reasoning and minute research into all their bearings.

The Government, the Council, and London may alike be congratulated on at last having secured a solution of the municipal problem so complete and obvious that it cannot be long delayed. And London has at last, after sixty years of expectation, obtained all that it could fairly demand, in the way least adapted to rouse the jealousy or to hurt the legitimate pride of the Old City with its eight centuries of historic memories.

FREDERIC HARRISON.

THE 'FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON.

CONSIDERING the importance of the issues, the Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the best means of effecting the amalgamation of the City and County of London is singularly brief. The Commissioners have taken a most practical and definite course, and almost every line and word of the Report goes direct to the points at issue with a lucidity and conciseness which could not be surpassed. There is no argument as to why the City and County should be amalgamated. With almost merciless precision the Commission start from their mandate and never go behind it—not even when they are tempted to do so by the action of the City Corporation and the member of their own body who represented the City. Paragraph succeeds paragraph with the inexorable logic of a problem of Euclid, so that, granted the premisses, the conclusion is inevitable, and must appeal to the most partial reader as the ablest statement of a most intricate and involved problem.

For the purpose of legislation nothing could be more desirable. Whether the Report is sufficient for the purpose of bringing the subject home to the public, with its prejudices, ignorance, and indifference, is another matter altogether, and a matter which, of course, did not concern the Commissioners. In examining the Report, I propose to look at it from the point of view of the general public, to consider some of the most obvious reasons why the object in view is practically settled by the history of London itself, and to state the case from the side of those who draw their conclusions from the love they bear to the ancient City, and the interest they take in the modern City.

In the first place let me state shortly what the Commissioners actually recommend, using as nearly as possible the words of the Report. The following is a summary of the proposals:

1. That the government of London must be entrusted to one body exercising certain functions throughout all the areas covered by the name, and to a number of local bodies exercising certain other functions within the local areas which collectively make up London.

2. That the central body and the local bodies should derive their authority as representative bodies by direct election.

3. That the functions assigned to the central body and to the local bodies should be determined so as to secure complete independence and responsibility to every member of the system.

4. That the whole area of the present administrative County of London should in future be the City of London, and should be a county by itself.

5. That the governing body of the [new] City of London and its electors should be incorporated under the name of "The Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London."

6. That this corporation should succeed to the present Corporation of the old City and the London County Council.

7. That this corporation should consist of 122 councillors and 20 aldermen—that is, 118 councillors elected for the areas constituted by the Local Government Act, 1888, for the County Council, together with four additional representatives for the present City; and 20, instead of 19, aldermen elected also under the provisions of the Local Government Act, 1888.

8. That the head of the new corporation should be Lord Mayor, who is to succeed to all the actual and traditional privileges of the Lord Mayor of the present City.

9. That the area of the old City should elect a council, to take the place of the present Commissioners of Sewers, and that the head of the council should be a mayor.

10. That certain local areas, 19 in number and specified by name, should be at once reformed so as to fall into line with the government provided for the old City—that is to say, should elect a council, instead of a vestry or district board, with an elected mayor as its head.

11. That the remaining local areas, not yet ready by reason of their complicated system of government, or by their smallness, should, by a properly considered scheme, be reformed and placed on the same footing as the old City and the 19 local areas above named.

12. That the powers and duties of the present Corporation, of the present County Council, and certain of the powers of the present Commissioners of Sewers, should be vested in the new corporation, subject to modification in some special matters.

13. That the City Police should be transferred to the Home Office until the whole question of the Metropolitan Police shall have been settled.

14. That certain administrative duties now exercised by the County Council should be transferred to the local authorities, and that increased powers of making bye-laws and acting in default should be given to the new corporation.

15. That certain charities and trusts administered by the present Corporation should be transferred to the Council of the old City.

16. That the property of the present Corporation and of the County Council should be vested in the new corporation, subject to the payment of an annual sum for the keeping up of the institutions transferred to the Council of the new City.

These are practically the recommendations of the Commission, and it is clear that they are comprehensive and capable of meeting the problem to be solved. The solution, as the Commissioners point out, undoubtedly hinges round the City of London. Few cities in the world have had such a glorious history as London; but unfortunately it is on the appeal to history that much of the modern misconceptions have arisen. It is said, and said rightly, that anything which would interrupt the flow of that history, anything which would tend towards getting together the materials for the final chapter of that history, would be a disastrous and irremediable mishap. There is, however, an extremely important question to ask and to answer before it can be suggested that the amalgamation of the City and County of London would result in any such a catastrophe as this. That question is, What are the people and what is the territory which have contributed to make the history of London what it is?

I answer this at once by the simple statement that at no time in the history of London has the real London consisted of the square mile now governed by the Corporation. Without going too deeply into the archæological evidence which exists to support this view, it is necessary to have before us in a succinct form an outline of the facts of the case.

London, it is well known, was the Roman city of Londinium. Connected by the magnificent system of roadways with the rest of the Roman world, London rapidly increased in power and size—a fact which it is interesting to note is even now testified to by the name of one of the City parishes, St. Martin's Pomeroy, the latter word being undoubtedly the Latin *pomerium*, and indicating the open space outside the earliest city, which was later on included within the walls of the extended city practically conterminous with that which we know so well. Now beyond the *pomerium* every Roman city had a

territorium—open land, that is, all round which was cultivated and used for the benefit of the citizens, and probably worked by their slaves. That the *territorium* of Roman London was the same as the later county of Middlesex has been suggested by so good an authority as Mr. Green, and it is borne out by many interesting facts connected with the formation and naming of that county under the Anglo-Saxons. How this *territorium* fared under Anglo-Saxon rule is not quite certain, but what is tolerably certain is that when charter and record history once more begins we see the citizens of London claiming and exercising privileges in the county of Middlesex which were certainly not the privileges of a city which had cut itself off from the shire in which it was geographically situated. For the most important factor in this evidence we are indebted to the researches of Mr. Horace Round. He points out clearly that the condition of the City, when it was a part of the county of Middlesex and subject to the ancient shire organisation, is still traceable; that the establishment of the corporate character of the City under a mayor was the outward sign of the communal development; but that even under a mayor London was never constitutionally separated from Middlesex. The detailed evidence for these facts is extremely interesting and entirely incontrovertible, but it is too long to be given here.* Suffice to say that the jurisdiction of the sheriff of London over Middlesex is derived from the original jurisdiction of the sheriff of Middlesex over the City, and that only in terms of modern expression has this important constitutional fact become obliterated. As so often happens in historical research, there are a few accidental records found amidst the mass of more formal documents which illustrate, by a vivid and almost momentary flash, the interest of this part of the subject to a modern inquirer. I will give three examples of what I mean. Thus, Henry III., who was no friend to London, had to approach the City for permission to grant to the Abbey of Westminster certain privileges in Westminster which, however, the City did not grant; the king in 1257 entered London, and the mayor and citizens went forth to salute him, not at the City gates, but *as the usage is*, says the chronicler, at Kniwtebrigge, our present Knightsbridge; in 1385, "Sir Nicholl Brembre was chosen maire ageyne be the said craftes and be men of the contre at Hamwe and the contre there abought and not be fre election of the citie of London, as it owith to be; and the old halle was stuffed with men of armes overe even, be ordinaunce and assente of Sr. Nicholl Brembre, for to chuse hym maire on the morwe: and so he was." No doubt, according to good City opinion, Sir Nicholas Brembre was a traitor to his order;

* Consult Mr. Round's valuable appendix in his "Geoffrey of Mandeville." Dr. Sharp, in his recent interesting book on "London and the Kingdom," objects to Mr. Round's conclusions, but he gives no argument against them.

but how came it, we may now ask, that he had the power of calling in the assistance of voters from the country roundabout; and how was it that he was elected by their means? We have the fact before us without the explanation, and it affords an example of how constitutional history is sometimes illustrated by forcible twists from the ordinary currents.

So much, then, for what recorded history tells us on this point. London and Middlesex have not been constitutionally separated as is commonly supposed. First, as the *civitas* and *territorium* of Roman times; then as the area of a shire organisation; then as in the *firma* and under the jurisdiction of one sheriff; finally, in certain ceremonial and electoral purposes, the outer London, north of the Thames, at all events, has always been intimately related to London government. Of course, these glimpses into the past do not help us much beyond the region of sentiment, but in the matter of bringing the City into touch with its surroundings so much is made of the independent position it has always been supposed to hold, that it is well to draw attention to the fact that history does not entirely support this view; and in my book on "The Village Community," I have treated this subject at somewhat greater length.

It is, of course, obvious that unrecorded facts only continue and confirm the story of the intimate relationship of the City to outer London. The City of London in its early mediæval days always had a hand upon Southwark; there was always Westminster as the actual seat of government, though London was nominally the capital, and received all the advantages of that position; there was always the Thames and its rights—three very important elements in the connection of London with outer London. In its later and modern days the facts are still more patent. The square mile of City, occupied almost exclusively by merchants and mercantile premises, is only a possibility because of the *territorium* round the City. It is "outer London," as it has been so foolishly and erroneously called, which has helped to build up the City, which has brought about the magnificent rental of over four millions per annum for the property situated therein—"a rateable value," say the Commissioners, "out of all proportion to its size"—which has housed the citizens, provided its labour market, given it the finest retail trade in the world. It has done more than this even, great as such service must undoubtedly be reckoned, for it has given it money year by year without control and without complaint.

This fact is worth a little attention, perhaps, because it will illustrate from a financial point of view what has already been proved from an historical point of view. The City is the market authority for London. As such, it has had during the past forty years, at all events, the control of several important markets, two of which are now

situated in outer London. These markets have brought in a magnificent revenue, which may be estimated as follows :

Cattle Market	£28,000
Central Markets	112,000
Leadenhall	8,000
Billingsgate	24,000
Deptford Cattle	46,000
	£218,000

We are not concerned at present to inquire what becomes of this income, but with the simple fact that it does come into the pockets of the Corporation from the markets. No one will, of course, pretend that these rentals, tolls, stallages, and fees are not paid indirectly by the consumers, that the consumers are for the greater part the inhabitants of outer London, and that, but for the close connection between the City and outer London, such rentals would not be possible. On this point, however, it will be well to quote from Mr. Kemp's valuable evidence before the Commission. He says :

"They, or at least some of them, notably Billingsgate and the Central Meat Market, are not municipal markets at all. It is not their object to supply food to the inhabitants at a reasonable distance from their homes, in the most direct manner, and therefore at the most moderate prices, and in quantities convenient and suitable to the needs of the purchasers. They are great wholesale businesses, vast commercial enterprises carried on for the supply, through middlemen, of the demands not only of the metropolis, but of a large part of England, and even foreign countries. Both Mr. Goldney, the City Remembrancer, and Mr. Scott, the City Chamberlain, stated in their evidence before the Royal Commission on Market Rights and Tolls in 1887, with apparent satisfaction, that meat and fish are supplied from the Central Meat Market and from Billingsgate to an area of perhaps a hundred miles round London ; and fish, at any rate, is supplied from Billingsgate to Paris, Nice, Cannes, Mentone, and other places in the south of France. The Corporation professes that it confers great benefits upon the whole metropolis by its management of the City markets, but it does not provide municipal markets at all, such, for example, as those of Berlin, but has used its practical monopoly to establish vast centralised exchanges for wholesale dealing in marketable commodities. It may be that this is a good thing to do, provided that the other and primary duty is not left unperformed ; but even in that case such a course is only defensible if the whole of the profits arising from it are fairly and openly devoted to the benefit of the inhabitants at large."

Now, shortly as it has been necessary to state these elementary facts concerning the area which is known as the City, they will suffice, I think, to serve as an answer to the question with which we set out. When one speaks of London as the capital of the Empire, of its wealth and its people, and its greatness, its place in the world's history, and its place among the cities of the world ; when one compares it with Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, or Glasgow, with Paris, Berlin, or New York ; when, in popular parlance even, we

speaking of it as the modern Babylon, we are comparing and speaking of London as a whole—the City of London and its suburbs, if you will, but the square mile of the ancient City certainly and distinctly not.

With this close connection between the City of London and its *territorium* of outer London clearly established, what can be the reasonable view of the long history of misgovernment which has marked their relationship in the past and of the demands for a true system of government which comes before Londoners at the present time? There is the City of London Corporation on the one side and the County Council on the other—the first with a history of some 800 years, the second with a history the roots of which began just as long ago, but which has only now been fully recognised. The City Corporation has missed its chances over and over again, has neglected the magnificent heritage which lay at its gates and growing steadily more important, has finally dwindled down to the miserable position of an owner of property merely. The County Council has come into existence to put corporate life into the possession of over 4,000,000 of London people, to give them for the first time a cohesion and a common purpose, to wipe out the word suburban once and for ever, and to write the proud word of London in the heart of every citizen.

There are few things more painful than the history of the deterioration of the City Corporation. To owe its present existence to its property and not to its duties, works, and functions is an anachronism which probably no other country in the world except long-suffering England would have tolerated for a decade. Examining the pages of the "*Liber Albus*," the "*Remembrancia*," and other published records of the City, one can feel and appreciate the position it held up to the period of the Tudors. Its municipal functions were important and numerous. Its early Building Act, its provisions for good scavengering, its organisation to prevent fires, its power to assist in the moral well-being of its citizens as witnessed by the long struggle with the Crown upon the introduction of the professional theatres, its numerous trade regulations, although they do not conform to modern ideas of good municipal government, did constitute municipal government, and were no doubt commensurate with the requirements of the period. But where are all these early powers and signs of municipal life? By the Act of 7 Anne the City allowed the Crown to take out of its hands the duty of providing proper sewers; by its weak surrender of 1609 it let slip the duty of providing the town with good water, though it kept fast hold of the conduit estate which it acquired for the carrying out of this municipal purpose, and it now devotes the revenues derivable from this estate, not for the municipal purpose of water supply, but for purposes which

have long ceased to be considered municipal; in 1810 it lost its old powers of lighting the City; by the Act of 1857 it lost control of its magnificent river; by a series of legislative enactments during the past half-century it has let slip into other hands every power, every right, and every duty which would have made it municipal even for its limited square mile. There is no city in England subject to the absurd dual control which exists in the City of London, and so we have the miserable spectacle of the mother of all municipal privileges in England ceasing to be itself municipal and sinking down to the position of a manager of citizen property with which it certainly upholds civic splendour and hospitality, but does scarcely anything else. As Mr. Kemp has summarised the points in his evidence before the Commission:

"It thus appears that the Corporation of London have long since discontinued the active exercise of the powers and duties connected with almost every matter which is commonly regarded in modern times as specially belonging to the province of municipal government--the providing of water and gas, the construction and maintenance of sewers and drains, the paving, lighting, watering, cleansing, and improving the streets, and all those important municipal functions which are now classed under the comprehensive title of Public Health. The one real exception of any importance is the City Police. The markets may appear to be another exception, and certainly the management and control of the markets of London might be, and ought to be, an important branch of municipal administration; but enough has already been said to show that the Corporation of London take a somewhat archaic view of their rights and duties with regard to markets and look upon them rather as private franchises than as municipal institutions, as sources of revenue rather than as public conveniences."

This is the spectacle within the City. Without, the story is one of a prolonged struggle for that very municipal power which the City was parting with, and which it was losing not only for itself but for all London. The history of the "City" of Westminster is instructive in this issue. The history of almost every parish goes much upon the same lines. The local Acts of Parliament which have been passed during the past two hundred years are significant landmarks in the history of London local government. Rating enactments, paving, formation of new streets, prevention of nuisances, water supply, and many other duties, all have their place in these local enactments, and it is impossible not to contemplate the struggle which these Acts of Parliament mean in each parish without admiring the persistency with which outer Londoners fought their way to something like local government. The Metropolitan Board was not a local institution. It was a unique experiment which failed as a machinery for government for one sufficient reason--namely, that it never represented anything which the people knew or understood in local government. The County Council of London is a local institution. It takes rank with other county councils which form the second grade in importance

and position to the national council, and it has therefore appealed to the people, and in this particular we do not think the Commissioners have quite realised the realities to be derived from the future development of county government. It has been the fashion to sneer at the County Council as a creation of yesterday. It is nothing of the kind. Counties are the successors of the ancient shires, and the shires had councils long before there was a city council or a borough council. The restoration of the popular form of government to the shires and counties within the last few years is therefore but a reversion to the most ancient form of local government in England; and to have carved out a new county, consisting of the parishes and places which fall naturally into a common drainage system, is an act of statesmanship for which London cannot be too sufficiently thankful. That county once having been formed, however, it is idle to speak of it as a mere creation of yesterday, of no more significance among local institutions than any one of the innumerable special boards and commissions which have usurped the functions of local government for so long. It is not the London County Council which has been created by the Act of 1888; it is the County of London which was created, carved out of three older counties, and to this county so carved out there falls naturally the system of government which belongs of right and by ancient custom and privilege to all counties and shires in the country. There is no room for paltry sneers at recent history in this fact, and it would be well for Londoners to understand and grasp its significance at once. This is not the place to dwell upon the long series of facts which make up the history of county government in England; but there is no more certain fact of history than that the supercession of the old shire moots by commissions of peace emanating from the Crown was an act which, however necessary at the time, could only remain a temporary form of government if Englishmen retained their old love of self-governing institutions.

When, therefore, the subject of amalgamating the City and County of London is approached from the historical and practical point of view, many of the current objections to it fall to the ground. The City of London has never been entirely separated from the county of Middlesex until the Act of 1888. By that Act it became separated, it is true, from the ancient county of Middlesex, but it became joined in a special manner to the newly-formed county of London. It is not independent of the county of London to anything like the extent it was of the county of Middlesex. In drainage, fire brigade, improvements, and many other important administrative matters, the City of London is governed by the County Council of London. And the question simply is—why should it not be so governed for all purposes alike, and why should not the effete Corporation of the one square mile become the living corporation of 118 square miles of

territory and four millions and a quarter of people? Very little public comment has been made hitherto about the barrier which the City Corporation has set up between itself and the county outside, but the absurdity of any longer maintaining this barrier may be easily tested by assuming the equal right of the county outside the City setting up a barrier between it and the City. This would mean that the citizens would have to provide their own system of drainage, their own fire brigade, and many other services, and we can contemplate the perfectly justifiable outcry if such absurd municipal selfishness were tolerated for even one year. Of course, the thing is an impossibility, but this only heightens the absurdity of the converse which is a possibility, and would remain so as long as Londoners will calmly put up with it. The supporters of the City have recently taken to set out the sums which it pays to the general London purse, but they significantly say nothing as to the services which are rendered for these sums—services which it is not ranking too high to put them as being commensurate with the very existence of the City. The City must remember that it has already suffered from plagues, and from at least one great fire, and it can possibly understand that its sanitary condition, and that of every parish outside its walls, is an essential factor to its own life.

If in history there is nothing to indicate why amalgamation should not happen; if the same kind of thing has become an accomplished fact with all other great municipalities—Liverpool, Bristol, and Glasgow being typical examples—there is certainly nothing in the state of the City Corporation from a financial and administrative point of view to prevent it. Let us consider what the expense of administering the affairs of the City really is. There are, first, the City Corporation; secondly, the Commissioners of Sewers; thirdly, the Board of Guardians; fourthly, the Wardmotes; fifthly, the overseers of each of the 112 parishes into which the City is divided. Putting a year's expenditure together, the following is the result:

	£
The City Corporation (1892)	678,800
Less, receipts in aid	299,000
	—
	379,800
Commissioners of Sewers	253,600
Board of Guardians	112,600
Wardmotes	6,200
Overseers of the 112 Parishes	17,800
	—
	£770,000

To this must be added the amount annually due upon loans which are not now being repaid by the City Corporation, which may be estimated at £122,000. Therefore the total charge for governing the City square

mile under the present system is presumably the goodly sum of £892,000 per annum. Now it has been already pointed out that the rental value of London is abnormally high at £4,150,000, but even upon this valuation a rate of 4s. 3d. in the pound would be required if the ratepayers had to meet the whole of this expense, as they do in all other parts of London and in most other cities and boroughs. But when it is compared with other administrative areas the figures reveal a state of things which shows that the City not only owes to its property all its modern fame for splendid hospitality, but much of its freedom from very serious criticism. For the purposes of such a comparison, we must add to the above sum the charges of the central authorities having powers over the City—namely, the County Council, the School Board for London, and the Metropolitan Asylums Board. These may be put at £307,000, and this is exclusive of the charges incurred for equalisation of rates under the Common Poor Fund and through the County Fund. This total expenditure represents a rate of 5s. 9d. upon the present valuation of the City. But if the City valuation were upon the same footing as that of St. George Hanover Square, the expenditure would be equal to a rate of 12s. 11d. in the pound; if upon the same footing as that of Kensington, it would be equal to a rate of 29s. 11d.; and if upon the same footing as, say, Lambeth, the expenditure would be equal to a rate of 67s. in the pound. It only requires a statement of the case to see that no corporation could command the sanction of its ratepayers to such a rate of expenditure as this, and it becomes a question whether, if it is for the square mile only, it is justified to the ratepayers even though they do not pay it. Do the citizens of the City, that is, get the value for this expenditure out of citizen property?—a question which is pertinent to the present subject, because by just so much as the citizens lose by the present application of their money is the Corporation condemned—condemned, that is, either as incapable administrators or as administering for others what should be for the citizens only.

But this way of putting the case suggests two very important considerations which any inquirer is entitled to take into account at this stage: first, whether this City expenditure is economical apart from the purposes for which it is applied; secondly, whether the purposes for which it is applied are really City purposes.

It is always invidious to call into question a system of expenditure in order to test its value from an economical point of view, but I shall not offend in this particular beyond purely financial technicalities if I confine my criticism to one feature of the City finance—its loan capital. For this purpose I will take a single example, the Tower Bridge. It is the most recent of the City undertakings: a definite sinking fund is provided; it is a charge against an affluent

trust administered by the Corporation and not a charge, except collaterally, against the Corporation estates, and therefore, for all these reasons is a fair and reasonable example.

The Bridge House Estates, by the Act of 1885, were charged with the then existing debt upon Southwark and Blackfriars Bridges, and with £750,000 for the new Tower Bridge. The Corporation borrowed immediately £1,060,000 for these purposes, and in 1892 they borrowed a further sum of £134,500. This method of borrowing is opposed to the ordinary economy exercised by most public authorities, and the table on the following page exhibits the financial extravagance of the City Corporation when dealing with the trust moneys of the Bridge House Estates.

The calculation in both cases is on the assumption that the loan is repaid in 50 years from the raising of the first instalment. The debentures issued by the Corporation in 1886 were repayable by annual drawings in 30 years, but the repayment hitherto in any one year only amounts to about $\frac{1}{50}$ of the debt.

The £134,500 was raised as an ordinary City loan, and is repayable in 1907. The rate of interest on this portion of the loan is $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. has been taken for the whole loan, as the short period of this portion of the loan would account for its lower rate. With these details, stated so as to avoid misconception, it would appear that the system of raising loans adopted by the City in this case involves the payment of interest amounting to £996,641 whereas on the ordinary system it would be . . . 935,473

or a loss in the 50 years on the City's system of . . . £61,168

This, it must be again stated, is a particularly favourable example of the City method of loan transactions, as by the various Stock Exchange operations with their unexpended balances, they gained a considerable sum. Other examples are too preposterous to bear examination, because they do not contain any provision for the repayment of the loans, the consequence being that markets and other revenues are being charged with interest on loans which were borrowed at dates ranging from 1852, and which called from one of the Commissioners the following very caustic remark when examining one of the City's chief witnesses, who had declared that "the Corporation of London is not an ordinary local authority":

"I did not say they were; they are a very extraordinary authority, but I ask why they should be exempt from the ordinary obligations of a local authority as regards finance particularly." (See *London*, August 30, 1894.

Without, therefore, going further—and let it be understood that it is possible to go much further—it must be conceded that the method of finance adopted by the City Corporation is not an economical system, not one sanctioned by the rules which govern all municipal

Year.	Charge upon the Estates by the Corporation system.				Charge upon the Estates if loans had been effected on the credit of a Municipal Authority.				
	Amount borrowed.	Interest.	Amount paid.	Total.	Capital expenditure which caused the loans.	Amount to be borrowed to meet the capital expenditure.	Interest.	Repayment.	Total.
	£	£ s. d.	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£	£	£	£
1886	1,000,000	18,550 0 0	..	18,550 0 0	355,971 3 0	400,000	6,000	...	6,000
1887	...	36,741 5 0	20,500	57,241 5 0	178,873 3 7	200,000	18,000	12,000	...
1888	...	36,000 15 0	21,300	57,309 15 0	107,468 17 8	150,000	22,140	15,001	...
1889	...	35,252 0 0	22,000	57,252 0 0	125,770 16 3	150,000	26,188	18,186	..
1890	...	34,468 0 0	22,800	57,268 0 0	111,159 10 8	150,000	30,142	21,378	...
1891	...	33,657 15 0	23,500	57,157 15 0	141,762 5 10	150,000	34,001	24,638	...
1892.	134,500	33,598 5 6	24,400	57,998 5 6	194,310 18 1	40,000	24,762	25,750	...
And each year up to 1936	...	£ c.	£ c.	£ c.	£ c.	£ c.	£ c.	£ c.	£ c.
1,194,500	1,071,871 0 0	1,194,500	2,270,771 0 0	1,215,316 15 1	1,250,000	935,007	1,250,000	2,213,751	
Less gains on loan operations)	...	75,280 0 0		Less receipts applicable to interest	...	524			
		996,641 0 0				935,473			

finance in the kingdom; not one which is conducive to good results to the property of the Corporation itself.

We now turn to the second test—namely, whether the expenditure is in reality for the City area. Evidence upon this point was given before the Commission, and I may summarise this part of my argument from that source.

The purely City purposes for which expenditure is incurred are as follows:

Dwellings for the Poor	Guildhall and other Buildings
Mayor's Court	Monument
City of London Court	Receptions, Honorary Votes, &c.
Borough Court, Southwark	Alms-houses
Mayoralty	Freemen's Orphan School
State and Civic	Police;

while for County purposes the expenditure is as under:

(i.) Services concurrent with those of the County Council:	Parks and Open Spaces
Criminal Justice	(iii.) Services whose range of influence is beyond the City area:
Sheriffs	Markets
Coroner	Market Approaches (Leadenhall)
Magistracy	Port of London
Weights and Measures	Education—Gresham College
Lunatics	City of London School
Reformatories.	City School for Girls
Petroleum	School of Music
(ii.) Services of similar nature to those of the County Council:	Technical Education
Bridges	Library, Museum and Art Gallery
	Royal Exchange.

And when it is remembered that the County purposes absorb 74 per cent. of the total expenditure, it will be gathered what an important subject the Commissioners had to discuss when they took in hand not only the facts of the City's ancient history, but the facts of their modern position in the midst of London as revealed by such prosaic evidence as that supplied by their audited accounts of receipts and expenditure.

It will be seen at once how singularly this fits in with the other views of the question. Historically the City has no claim to separate itself from the London outside its walls; actually, it cannot so separate itself; financially, it does not separate itself, for it not only draws revenue from outer London, but it spends money upon objects which are in common with outer London. In no sense, therefore, can it be said that the City Corporation administers the affairs of the City area, or the funds of the City area. It steps into county affairs just where and when it chooses—it chooses, for instance, to pay for a part of the expenses of the City Police, and it causes thereby a loss to the ratepayers of the whole of London in respect of the grant from Imperial taxation, and a benefit to the ratepayers of the

rest of England ; it stops short just where and when it chooses ; it cripples itself financially by not participating in the credit which London as a whole enjoys for all its loans, and not following the loan system imposed upon and carried out by every corporation in the United Kingdom. It causes a dual system of government in the City itself, the Commissioners of Sewers being the real municipal authority in most matters, the Corporation being the authority only in matters of justice, police, and markets. It causes a dual system of administration in the County of London in many matters as set forth in Mr. Charles Harrison's statement presented to the Commissioners. This state of things is neither common sense nor productive of any good to the community at large. Dual government means dual administration and dual cost in almost every direction, and it sometimes means much more than dual legal expenses. It also means that the one authority which can act on the mandate of the electors is checked in many directions because of the resistance afforded by chartered rights of immense value and importance, which are interpreted to apply to the square mile and not beyond. The case of the markets is the most flagrant and the most obnoxious. Four millions of people are to stand aside in this matter while a few wholesale merchants reap all the benefits of the markets belonging to the Corporation, and in this case the Corporation exemplify to a degree that is startling in its naked truth the fact stated above, that in the principle of picking and choosing just exactly where they will step into county affairs and where they will not, they adopt no policy which is governed by a higher motive than the interest of the moment.

I cannot pretend in this short survey to have done more than touch upon the salient features of this most important subject. Not one but several articles would be required for an exhaustive treatment, and other writers will in due course no doubt take up other aspects of the subject—for and against the principle of unification. I have endeavoured to state the case moderately, and to prove it by an appeal not only to facts and necessities, but to history and sentiment. I believe that all these elements are on the side of unification. The Commissioners in their Report have applied themselves to the practical side only, and with singular moderation in their statement of the case. The time is ripe for a friendly and conclusive settlement of a question which has been more or less in the minds of most prominent Londoners since 1835, and we may yet see that the present Corporation of London may rise equal to this occasion, as its predecessors have risen in the past equal to many vital occasions, by lending its cordial aid to a mutual understanding with all London, so that the incoming Lord Mayor of the old City may hand on his chain of office and his unbroken record of mayoralty to a successor who shall rule over the real London.

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

PEACE AND THE QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE.

THE widening and deepening apprehension of an impending catastrophe which lies over Europe like a gathering storm-cloud, a brooding anxiety which is startled at the slightest change in the political condition as the possible signal for a débâcle—this is the dominant element in the politics of the day. Will there be peace? Will there be war? are questions which start to the lips of every man of business when he meets a statesman, as of every statesman when a move is made on the chess-board of Europe—a check to a king or the loss of a knight. What will be the consequence of the death of the Czar? has probably been asked millions of times since the bulletins from Livadia began to darken unto death. And statesmen and journalists, bankers and investors, go about saying to each other “Peace, peace,” when they know there is no peace before us, but the probability of the most dreadful war humanity has ever witnessed, a war which may change the face of Europe and the condition of the race. A million mothers live in an anxiety which has no assurance for their sons who must be in the ranks, and the industry of the earth halts while forges and shipyards ring with the eager blows of labour that hastens to its own, and its workers’, destruction. The accumulated debts of Europe, excluding the minor Powers which may escape another war, is over four milliards of pounds sterling, of which the far greater part has been spent in preparing for, and learning the lessons to be put into practice in, the coming war, to which all previous ones will probably prove only the introduction. And still fleets are building and armaments, new and terrible, preparing, feverishly, with the deep conviction that the issue of the coming conflict, when it comes, will be fatal to some of the Governments engaged in it. We are continually being told that

nobody wants war, and that therefore war is improbable, but no responsible statesman believes one word of that. The belligerent resources of all the States in Europe are being strained to bursting, to meet an improbability! We are living in the most colossal and incredible fool's paradise that was ever invented. Every available able-bodied man in Europe is being employed to keep the peace! And we live in a perpetual *qui vive*, knowing in our hearts that the most trivial frontier incident, a complication in the Balkans, a rising in Egypt, or a blunder in diplomacy, may loosen and start the avalanche.

One offers us the consolation that "wars are so short now," but every indication points to the contrary anticipation. The war of 1870 was short, because one of the antagonists was unprepared and the other perfectly prepared. That of 1878 was not a long one, because all of its object that was worth fighting for was attained, and because England at the last moment intervened. But now the whole of Continental Europe has been preparing for years, and the old antagonists of 1870 are armed and prepared from head to foot, with the certainty that all the other great Continental Powers are so far involved that the war once begun must become general, while the terrible armaments which are looked to to shorten a conflict will only develop caution and delay. The rapid marches and overwhelming victories of the Franco-German war are no longer possible anywhere; slaughter may be great, but there is no reason to believe that there will be much initial advantage on either side; sieges will be long, and movements hampered by complicated defences, and the only hope of brevity lies in the awful alternative that the deadly execution of modern armaments will so reduce the efficiency of the armies that the cannon will cease for want of food for powder. But the highest probability is that the war will be long and exhaustive, exhaustive of wealth and of human life; of the finest results of civilisation, as of the resources of future progress.

The first results of such a struggle, prolonged, would be a general bankruptcy of all the Powers involved. Without a long, gradual, and systematic development of the art of taxation, and a counter-adaptation of industry and economy, the increased burthen of taxation could not be endured by any European people. In the valuable work of the Italian statistician, Bodio ("Budgets of the European States"), the expenses of the armies and navies for the year 1887-88 are given as follows:—France, 993,482,027 fr.; Germany, 797,549,957 fr.; Austria-Hungary, 439,520,697 fr.; Russia, 998,855,111 fr.; Italy, 428,554,823 fr. This is for the two groups of Powers which will probably compose the hostile factions. England, as an element whose value is to be determined by the position she decides to take, adds for the same year 643,600,532 fr. to the sum, making a total of nearly

five milliards of francs, or £200,000,000, "to keep the peace." What will it cost to make war? And what nation, except, perhaps, England, will be able to bear the financial burthens which are the necessary outcome of such a peace and such a war? Do not let us deceive ourselves—the struggle between the Triple Alliance on one side, and France and Russia on the other, is likely, nay certain, to be a long and wearing one. The inevitable result will be that the whole able-bodied population will be drawn in, first as combatants, and afterwards as tax-payers. In the meanwhile the doctrines of socialism and labour-rule are filtering through the armies and the populations, even in peace, and will do so much more rapidly in war. Ever since the wars of the French Republic it has been seen that huge armies, especially those which are raised by conscription, are schools of democracy and the doctrine of equal rights; and it requires no gift of prophecy to see that such a struggle as may be anticipated, with the popular ferment already at work all over Europe, will throw political control into the hands which now carry the burthens. The machinery can be started by a very weak hand, but no one knows where to look for one strong enough to stop it. The war will end in social revolution, and windfall republics.

As everybody knows, the point of highest friction at which the flame is most likely to be kindled is the question of Alsace-Lorraine. As things now stand, there is no other European question which cannot be amicably adjusted by the concession of non-essential conditions, but here there is no compromise possible. France, in an aggressive and unprovoked war, hoping to gain two provinces, lost two, and can submit neither to the loss nor the humiliation. Such a *casus belli* admits of no composition, and Europe must bleed to satisfy French *amour-propre*. As the forces to be arrayed against each other are nearly equally balanced, and the point of honour forbids either to yield except before the *ultima ratio gentium*, the only hope of a composition and of the much-needed disarmament, is to make such accessions to one or the other side as will render the contest a hopeless one for either from the outset. The only realisation of this hope which I can conceive would be the accession of England to the Triple Alliance, forming a Quadruple Alliance on the basis of the maintenance of peace. But no Power of the three already enrolled has a greater interest in the ultimate success of that Alliance than England herself. The victory of France and Russia over it means simply the exclusion of England from European affairs, and the renewal of the domination of Europe by the bitterest enemy England has in the world. There is no use in disguising this fact—at the bottom of all French antipathies and resentments lies rankling the ever implacable animosity towards England. Those who have the advantage of neutrality and disinterestedness, with a knowledge of French public

opinion, know this to be so: France would to-morrow forego her quarrel with Germany to unite with her in the overthrow of England. And as the victory of Russia is implied in that of France, the result would be the division of the old world between the two, and a ruin so complete to England that Assyria and Babylon must be alluded to for a simile; for her egotistic isolation in the critical moment of European affairs would leave her without a friend on either side, and her riches would be the bait for every measure of greed. As England has no ambitions to be gratified by war, but manifold interests which demand peace, there ought to be no division of opinion as to her policy, except as to the path by which to direct it.

The paths are two: a frank entry into the Triple Alliance, making it a Quadruple one, or a hard and fast alliance with Italy, which shall so strengthen her and enable her to maintain her land defences at the necessary height of efficiency by the reduction of her naval expenses as to make her position reasonably secure. The reasons for preferring the former are many—chief among them is the fact that the contest is now being carried on by France through a financial war in the hope of ruining her poorer antagonists by an unendurable expenditure. The accession of England, permitting the central Powers to reduce their own expenses, would compel France, if she would keep up the struggle, to increase greatly her naval expenses; and the competition becomes hopeless when the resources of England enter in. And as the struggle, when it comes, must be mainly fought out between France and Germany, of which the former is England's most dangerous enemy, and the latter, say what we may, is England's best friend in the present phase of European affairs; to strengthen the position of Germany is dealing with the malady at its roots. There will be those, however, who would reconcile themselves more easily to the alternative of the Anglo-Italian Alliance, and if this be considered as the concomitant of the Triple Alliance, enabling Italy to fulfil more completely her duties in that alliance, the effect would be ultimately the same, and morally is identical. But an Anglo-Italian alliance, such as has lately been advocated by an Italian statesman, under a thin veil of anonymity, is an absurdity, useless to Italy and entangling to England, with very questionable results in any case. So long as Italy, alone or by her alliances, is not able by a rapid *contr' offensive* to defend her territory against any land force that can be brought against it, England's assistance to a passive and territorial defence of the shore-line is mere mockery. To maintain the control of the Mediterranean while a French army was marching on Turin and Milan, and from thence to Rome if necessary, and while Italian troops were immobilised by the exigencies of local defence, would be to make war like school-boys. Italy in her present military condition is so unready to move with the necessary

rapidity, and consequently so helpless, that without the support of England by sea and of the central Powers by land, she would be in a few weeks at the mercy of France, and compelled to accept any conditions of peace which Paris might dictate. And the question of an alliance with Italy is one which has several sides, and is not so favourably supported by the precedents, especially as long as some Italian diplomats and generals openly maintain the policy of 1866, *and of sham demonstrations while a mediation is secured and the conditions of peace are already settled with the enemy.*

A late writer in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW laments the want of cordial co-operation between England and Italy as if England had but to move in the matter. It is true that a strong action of England would be decisive, as I shall show : but there is fault on both sides, by far the graver, however, being the policy of Italy in past years. Of late the vacillation in the attitude of England towards France is regrettable, and has had the sole result of weakening the position of England on both sides, and strengthening French pretensions in every direction opposed to English interests, as weakness and apparent timidity must naturally do ; but Italy has no valid reason for the duplicity which has marked the action of her Governments ever since (except during the short periods covered by the occupation of the ministry of foreign affairs by the promoters of the Triple Alliance), and through which she on several occasions adopted a line of conduct distinctly opposed not only to English interests, but to those common interests which she even then professed to believe in.

In the important series of questions which related to the European control of Egypt the jealousy and bad faith of the then Italian Ministry became evident as early as 1881. It is difficult to say of Signor Mancini, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, whether his professions of friendship for England (the sole Power which, whatever may have been her egotism in European affairs generally, and however she may have sacrificed her nearest relative amongst nations to her commercial policy, was invariably a friend to Italy) had even the sincerity of intelligent self-interest. I propose to review the diplomacy of Italy in relation to England, and to put the Italian diplomacy in its true light, for the benefit, not only of the English, but of all European public opinion. I shall follow mainly published documents of the highest authenticity, viz., the Green Books and Blue Books, or facts within the common knowledge of diplomatic circles ; and my review will perhaps surprise some friends of Italy, not only as showing how inconsistent towards England, but how blind to her own good, was the manner of conducting affairs adopted by that Power which owed so much to English goodwill.

Scarcely had the Egyptian difficulty broken out, and it had become evident that the rivalry between France and England on the Nile

would enable Italy to put on the market her position as a Mediterranean Power, when Mancini began to oppose the policy of England and seek for a line of conduct which would conciliate France and Russia. Whether this was with the idea of raising his price in the English market or making a new one at Paris we cannot clearly determine, but he distinctly opposed any special adherence to the views of England, and, in strict agreement with those of Russia, desired "the maintenance of the *status quo*, not having any interest that Egypt should fall under the exclusive or strongly preponderating influence of either of the Powers." (Nigra, September 18, from St. Petersburg, and *Consulta*, June 12, 1882.) In this sense Italy made overtures to the other Powers, but received from both Germany and Austria-Hungary only indifferent replies. When Lord Granville defined the attitude of England, he replied to the propositions of Mancini for action identical with that of France, "You cannot doubt our warm sympathies for Italy, but sincerity is the best proof of friendship; we say to you therefore sincerely that we cannot accept your proposals for Egypt." (October 1.) This is already the keynote of Italian policy—a co-operation with England on condition of the full participation of France in all the results, with the certainty that the English Government would not accept the condition. Thus Mancini accepted the undignified position of a statesman who insisted on an unwelcome guest being received in the house of a friend or being himself excluded. There could be no question that in his mind the alternative must be faced; it was better to drop England than France.

The entry of Robilant into the Government marks a new and correct orientation of Italy in Europe. In his despatches from Vienna he had already laid the basis of a consistent and fruitful policy—that of the alliance with the Central Powers. On May 21, 1882, he writes :

"At the cost even of moral sacrifices we ought, it seems to me, to draw closely to Austria and Germany; very likely this accord, apparently passive, will have real efficiency in view of the momentary Anglo-French agreement. It seems to me indispensable for us to keep close to the Central Powers and continue to make common cause with them in the affairs of Egypt. We shall undoubtedly find in their company, whatever turn affairs take, better means of protecting our own interests than if we find ourselves alone as in the past."

In reply to the circular of the Italian Cabinet demanding information as to the views of the Powers on the Anglo-French intervention, he had written (January 11, 1882): "Count Kalnoky observed that we should avoid raising an Egyptian question, which thus far did not exist." Count di Launay, from Berlin, replied (February 16, 1882). "Let us keep place with the Central Powers, showing ourselves consistent in all our acts, especially where interests are reconcilable and

we can find a mutual support. England in her own interests cannot do otherwise than show her satisfaction." Notwithstanding the efforts of Robilant and Di Launay the Italian Ministry decided to associate itself, not with the Central Powers, but with Russia, thanks probably in great measure to the extremely Russophile tendencies and counsels of Count Nigra, who writes (January 20, 1882) that De Giers "recognises the perfect agreement between the Governments of Italy and Russia in their method of looking at the Egyptian question." In this question Russia, desirous of separating England and France, insisted, with Italy, on the European control, the Central Powers preferring to leave England *carte blanche* in dealing with Egypt.

With these dispositions Italy went to the Conference, determined to maintain an accord with Russia and to oppose all the efforts of England to secure the direction of Egyptian affairs, and while at Berlin and Vienna the desire prevailed to preserve a friendly neutrality in the solution of the question, so that no action of the Central Powers might endanger a pacific solution, at Rome the *sine quâ non* of any meeting of the Powers was the exclusion of England from a privileged position in Egypt. The circular of Signor Mancini (June 3, 1882) declares that it is necessary to agree beforehand on three points: "The definition of the scope and mandate of the Conference; the acceptance of the decisions of the Conference; and the previous agreement that nothing shall be undertaken in Egypt through the isolated action of any Power during the labours of the Conference." Russia alone accepted these conditions (despatch of Nigra, June 7), while from Berlin and Vienna, as well as from Paris, came more or less veiled refusals; whereupon Mancini, absolutely incompetent as usual to entertain a large European policy, attempted to prevent the meeting of the Conference, under the pretext that the non-recognition of its decisions by the Sultan made it inconsistent with the dignity of the Powers to proceed.

The protests of Sir A. Paget (June 20) and the attitude of Lord Granville prevented this rupture of the negotiations, and the Conference met. But during its transactions from beginning to end there is hardly a point discussed in which the antagonism of the Italian Government to the views and interests of England is not manifest. Italy insisted, even when Russia and France had tacitly admitted the force of the English contentions, on the international and purely naval supervision and policy of the Suez Canal; and after protesting vainly but unceasingly against the English action, until the occupation of the canal was a *fait accompli*, then ordered the *Affondatore* to Port Said, with instructions to concert with the other naval commanders manœuvres which were to control and neutralise the English operations. In this proceeding Italy had no colleague

except the Sultan. No other Power cared to put its head between the hammer and the anvil.

What may have been the motives of France in refusing to join the British Government in the pacification of Egypt, it is neither safe nor relevant to my subject to state—suffice it that I examine the nature of the Italian refusal which followed. The despatches of Signor Mancini (Green Book, and speeches of Mancini in the Senate and Chamber, June 12 and 30) pretend that the object was the maintenance of the accord with Germany and Austria-Hungary; but this is mere pretext, for those Powers, as is shown by the Blue Books, approved of the action of England; and the later despatches quoted by Mancini to give colour to this pretext were purely formal acknowledgments of professions of deference in matters in which the allied Governments had never shown any tendency in the direction taken by Italy, neither of them having any special interests to consult in the Nile Valley. The official note of the Stefani agency (July 27) makes public the invitation of England to Italy to join her, and bases the refusal on the sufficiency of the projected Ottoman intervention, which it was already known that England could not accept, for good and conclusive reasons. But when all was done and the English occupation was a *fait accompli*, followed by no protesting act on the part of any Power, the Italian Government made haste to ask for those privileges which it would have had a right to only if the invitation had been accepted as given; and only two days after the victory of Tel-el-Kebir, the Italian Government begged for the recognition due solely to tried friendship. Italy's reward was the high approval of M. De Giers, who says (August 12 *seq.*):

“We have always been able to march in step with the Italian Government. That proves that our interests and those of Italy are in unison, and that the two Governments meet on the ground of a rational, equitable, and *honest* policy. Signor Mancini renders to us this certificate, and we render him the same justice. The Czar has adhered to the Italian proposition to affirm the right of Europe to admit no solution of the Egyptian question without its consent.”

The unfailing excuse of Italian statesmen for this line of policy has been that England has never offered Italy a safe and definite alliance. I have shown how the weakness and duplicity of Mancini and Depretis met the most friendly offer that could be made, one that proved the sincerity of England by offering the basis for a sound and permanent alliance in a region where the interests of Italy are now only protected by English goodwill. But I am unfortunately unable to give the documentary evidence of a prior advance, which shows the cordiality of England in a more brilliant light, and the rejection of which perhaps explains some of the cordiality of Russia above noticed. At the time of the Russian advance on Constantinople, England invited Italy to unite in the movement which was, later on, successfully made

by England alone to put a limit to the Russian advance. The invitation and the refusal are notorious. With the precedents of Cavour and the Crimea before us I think there can be no doubt that in this case Italy refused to accept an opening into the European concert which would have been to her advantage, as in all her transactions with the Peninsula England has never shown herself the egoistic country which some of us accuse her of being. She felt and proved herself capable of doing all that was needed in either case, and the invitation to Italy was one of pure good fellowship, and was calculated to strengthen the position of Italy. But in 1878 there was at least the excuse, if Italy were very jealous of her political and financial independence, of a possible war with Russia. In 1882 there was nothing of the kind, and the only motive to be reasonably assigned is that she was more in sympathy with France than with England. And with Mancini, as with Cairoli, and probably Depretis, this was, beyond doubt, the true explanation, as is proved by the constant tone of Mancini's organ, the *Diritto*.

But there is worse than this. In Bulgaria and the Balkans generally Italy had no interests which were menaced by Russian progress, and in 1882 her Ministers might have said that they had in mind a larger and non-exclusive distribution of responsibility in Egypt, though this would not have justified the immediate demand of Italy for participation in privileges which it was within the right of England to concede or refuse as she pleased; but after making this demand the decorous attitude to take was to support England honestly. When in 1881 the Triple Alliance was being negotiated, it was supported by its advocates, Robilant, Di Launay, Crispi, Blanc, &c., as a means of bringing England into common action with the two central empires; although, in fact, except during the tenure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Robilant and Crispi, the attitude of Germany and Austria-Hungary, until the end of 1893, in all affairs where England did not lean toward France or Russia respectively, was more friendly to England than that of Italy had been. Having done what was in its power to counteract the operations of England in Egypt the Italian Government continued to oppose the English administration of Egyptian affairs. In all the sanitary questions arising in the Levant (which are *au fond* political) Italy has always been in agreement with France in opposition to English views. Italy has repeatedly called on England, clearly under the instigation of France, to give effect to her promises made on assuming the administration of Egyptian affairs and to withdraw from Egypt; and instead of acting as a link between the Triple Alliance and England, has devoted all her influence to draw England into line with Paris and away from Berlin. For these endeavours of its diplomats and agents in the conferences about Egypt and the Suez Canal the Italian Government received the thanks of the French.

The bad faith of Italy in this question did not escape the reprehension of Germany, which Power showed by a marked coolness its resentment at the caprice.

After refusing to join England in the occupation of Egypt, Italy entered into a scheme of African colonisation, in agreement with France. The colony of Massowah was at first planned as a commercial protectorate, in apparent deference to the objections of England (publicly expressed by Lord Hartington in the House of Commons on March 19, 1884), to any European Power possessing a port in the Red Sea; but in 1885 it was transformed into a military annexation by a secret understanding with France, which had from the beginning of 1884 been urging Italy to this step. France, after settling the affairs of Tonquin, had studied the manner in which she could best establish her approaches towards the English position in Egypt, and found her line through Italy. The plan was to occupy Massowah and Suakim in order to have access to the Soudan and in this way control the action of England on the Upper Nile Valley, and enforce the admission of France and Italy as partners in the regulation of Egyptian affairs. Italy intimated to England that in the new condition of things produced by the victories of the Mahdi it was necessary to hold another conference of the European Powers on the Egyptian question, and in March 1885 it was formally agreed between the French and Italian Governments that the persistence of England in her occupation of Egypt and the consequent apprehension of a protectorate made it advisable for Italy to take possession of Massowah to secure a re-entry into Egypt with a view to a condominium of three. To compensate Italy France agreed that the *status quo* should be maintained in Tripoli and Morocco. The lowering of the Egyptian flag was promised at Massowah as a sign of the Italian conquest, as distinguished from the English occupation. The uneasiness caused by this arrangement became effective later on, and was the ultimate cause, no doubt, of the failure of the Kassala Conference at Naples to secure the assent of England to the occupation of Kassala, without a distinct recognition of the sovereignty of Egypt, which public opinion in Italy rendered impracticable. Later, under Rudini, the Italian Government seems to have found no such difficulty, having in view another agreement with the French Government, which made it a matter of no importance what formal concessions were made to England.

There can be no question of the good faith of the Italian Ministry under Crispi, both to England and to the Triple Alliance, for this had been the programme of that statesman for years, and it is well known that he, though out of office, had urged the acceptance of the English proposition of co-occupation of Egypt, and the refusal of the Massowah scheme, and during the three years of his first Ministry the accord with England and the sincerity of the adhesion to the Triple Alliance

were secure. But the succeeding Ministry of Rudini came into power by an agreement with the Radicals, by which it bound itself, in accordance with the wishes of France, to withdraw from the Triple Alliance, and to reduce the army. This agreement received the sanction of a more formal understanding with Russia, which stipulated that Italy, in case of a war in which the Triple Alliance should be engaged, should give securities against any possibility of mobilisation for any expeditions across the frontiers. This was effectively given by the plan of General Pelloux, the favourite and most important Minister in the Depretis, Rudini, and Giolitti Ministries. This understanding was brought to light by the *Hamburger Nachrichten*, and confirmed independently by the *Times*, and, though denied by the Italian Ministerial journals, and by the Rudini Cabinet, it was amply confirmed by circumstantial evidence; indeed, *La Tribuna*, the official organ of the Rudini Ministry, in a formal and uncontradicted leading article, stated the agreement as follows: "No alliance with the central Powers; friendship and agreement with France; reduction of the army, *et similia*."

Nevertheless, the Triple Alliance was formally renewed by the Marquis Di Rudini a year before its term had expired. According to *La Tribuna*, this was in consequence of the discovery of the Russian agreement, and the consequent pressure of the central Powers. There is no clear evidence of the central Powers having exercised any such pressure, and it is more probable that the duplicity of the Rudini Government was only a continuation of the tactics of Mancini and Depretis, and in accordance with all the precedents of the Consulta, except during the tenure of office of Crispi and Robilant. Except under the guidance of those statesmen, the Italian Government has never, since Cavour, acted in good faith with any of its associates, but has leaned to France one day, and to Germany the next; England on one side and Russia on the other, according to some momentary advantage for which it hoped. It is the inheritance of the Middle Ages, the method of Machiavelli, entered into by the great majority of the public men and diplomats of Italy. The promoters of the Triple Alliance hoped to anchor Italy by that compact in a definite policy in accordance with its largest interest, but even that seems to have failed. Is it surprising, then, and ought it to cause complaint on the part of Italy, that her friends and allies are at times less than lukewarm in the support of her interests? While Crispi remains in power we may be assured of a consistent policy, but what of a possible successor?

It would be interesting to examine the grounds for hope that Italy in a Quadruple Alliance would be more stable than she has been in the Triple, and to ask whether there is not under the circumstances a justification for the writer in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, who pleads

for a friendlier treatment of Italy by England. No one can say of England that, from the period of the fall of Napoleon, she has not shown a general, if not invariable, benevolence towards Italy, on certain occasions decisive of her well-being. Italians will recall them. But have there not also been cases in which Italy had a right to expect a more decided moral, and perhaps material, support from her elder sister in the constitutional family? Have not certain English Cabinets shown a little of the same capriciousness which we reproach Italy with? Most publicists will, without much difficulty, recall some such occasions, the avoidance of which by a strong and therefore complacent nation might determine the stability of a sensitive and weaker one. But beyond this there are elements for a more secure calculation in the following established facts. The majority, not only in numbers but in intellect, of the Italian nation is strongly in favour of the Triple Alliance. This was shown in the elections of 1890, to which Crispi went with the programme of "the Triple Alliance and the attainment of an equilibrium in finance by internal economies," and the response was a majority which, by its very unwieldiness, proved the weakness, and was the ultimate cause of the fall, of the Ministry. The King is known to be a supporter of the Alliance, and if his natural inclination to give guarantees to his adversaries and his anxiety to show that he is not making an alliance from a personal policy, have caused him to forget that the making and observance of the treaties to which he has signed his royal name are his, and the supreme, prerogative, until he shall formally cease to reign, it is not permitted us to suppose that he would ignore, except in virtual abdication before an outspoken and unmistakable expression of the public will, his duty to his signature. The nation and the Sovereign have both spoken on the question, and we are justified in concluding, under these circumstances, that the diplomatic combination which virtually annuls a treaty, finds its strength only in the apathy or ignorance of the nation at large.

It is the business of the friends of Italy to shake this apathy and dispel this ignorance, to bring the nation to a complete sense of its value in Europe, and of its obligations; but, admitting a certain force in the difficult circumstances of the country and in the present condition of things, operating to strengthen a resolute and compact minority hostile to the Triple Alliance, and working secretly so far as the public is concerned, and capable of exerting a serious pressure on the King (as we saw in the Rudini Ministry), nothing more is needed to paralyse its action and ensure the conformity of the Government under any lead with the sentiment of the nation, than the placing of the issue plainly before King, Parliament, and country, by the conclusion of a definite agreement with England, which shall leave no ambiguity or pretext for misunderstanding the relations of the two countries, or

Italy's relations to the Triple Alliance. The moral influence of England over the Italian people is such that any distinct declaration of policy by England, in the direction of consolidation of interests, would compel any possible Ministry to follow it, and ensure the full adhesion of Italian Parliaments to it. The position is not one to be trifled with or met by a see-saw dilettantism, seeking to be all things to all interests, to friend and foe alike. The possible result of the present and late policy is the return of a Government at Rome which shall renew, and this time openly, the engagements of that of Rüdini, the inevitable consequence of which will be the destruction of the unstable equilibrium at present existing by the ultimate absorption of Italy in the French sphere of influence, and the compulsory accession of Italy to the French plans, opposed though they are to all Italian interests and sentiments. The nation is tired of the uncertainty and of the strain, and is slowly acquiring the conviction that England is indifferent to Italy's policy or course, owing to her studied accord with France in so many foreign questions—Morocco, Tunis, Madagascar, Siam, &c.

Bismarck, long ago, expressed the opinion that the Triple Alliance without an accord between Italy and England would not guarantee the peace of Europe. The material support of England may affect the event of a war, but her moral influence alone cannot influence the decision of the almost more important question—Shall there be war or peace? An accord once established between England and Italy would determine the relations of England with the central empires, and in all human probability the assured maintenance of peace and a final disarmament. A statesman who has been in confidential relations with Bismarck tells of a conversation between him and Napoleon III., long before 1870, which is interesting as showing the aims of France, and accounting for the bitterness felt there at the Italian attitude under Crispi. "We know that the French are not a maritime people," said the Emperor, "but we shall make our navy and our sailors out of Italy." This has undoubtedly been the feeling of most of those who have governed France and influenced Italy from the first Napoleon to Gambetta, and even later, the prospective conclusion of the vaunted and visionary Latin League. English indifference to sound policy may realise it.

AN EX-DIPLOMAT.

THE POSITION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE number of voices now speaking on this subject is so great, and some of them are so weighty, that in all probability mild utterances by inconspicuous persons will pass unheeded, even though they come from the vantage-point of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, and by the request of its Editor. When asked to speak on this subject, my first thought was to refuse. I have no special qualification for the task. I have never been in the House of Commons. I am only a recent addition to the Peers; and while there have done little work on other than legal matters. I have not studied constitutional questions more than other lawyers, or other men of general education. I hold no office, except as a member of the Judicial Committee. And, though still an earnest well-wisher and member of the Liberal party, age and infirmities prevent my joining in those active operations which are necessary to keep a man sensitive to the currents of living thought under ever-changing circumstances. But after all, that mysterious, impalpable, but most real thing called Public Opinion is but a blend of innumerable private opinions brought together by reflection and discussion. All sorts and conditions of men contribute to it: old and young; students and men of action; the cautious and the sanguine; the learned, the sciolist, and the ignorant; workers in various departments of human affairs, even arm-chair politicians; each brings his own fragment of experience, which if useless is rejected, and if useful strengthens the compound. These various materials go into the seething-pot, from whence the statesman has to produce political projects; and those again are laid before the vast number of minds who now take interest in public affairs—a tribunal by no means perfectly informed or free from error, but capable of judging on the broad lines of national welfare, and probably furnishing

as good a criterion as we can get of arrangements designed to stand wear and tear in this rough and imperfect world. Therefore, if those whose business it is to cater for public discussion consider that the little trickle of thought which may proceed from an average man, who has done average work in the world for half a century and more, may swell or qualify the great stream, I will, however diffidently, state the lines on which my thoughts have been running for some years.

The reasons why the position of the House of Lords in our Constitution presents difficulties of growing acuteness and urgency have long been obvious to every one who has taken part in public affairs, or has observed them from without. With the vastly increased mental activity of the poorer and more numerous classes, with the spread of education, the ever-widening habits of reading, discussion, locomotion, and combination among them, the centre of political gravity has shifted, and public controversies have tended more and more to turn upon social matters.

Upon every question, and especially upon social ones, the opinions of the average man are moulded by his environment; and the probable action of a class must be estimated, not by the man of exceptional force of sympathy or imagination, who can disengage himself from his daily surroundings, but by the average man, whose interests, or apparent interests, will frame his principles. At least they will do so in doubtful questions; and all large political or social questions are doubtful, some very doubtful. The House of Lords breathes the atmosphere and imbibes the ideas of the comparatively few who possess rank and wealth, and who may be called by the common though vague name of the Upper Classes. The middle classes have different interests and different views; and the lower, different ones again. I am of course speaking of average men—*i.e.*, the generality in every class. Now many changes have been expressly made in our Constitution for the purpose of giving to the views of the middle and lower classes a regular and orderly expression through the House of Commons. But for the expression of the will of the nation through the House of Lords no such change has been made. There has been an unexpressed change, but according to constitutional forms, the Lords occupy the same position as they did before the changes in the Commons. If the Lords had accepted a new position, so far as to help in the objects which the nation through its elected assembly requires, there would probably be little desire now for a change of law. Sometimes the advocates of the House of Lords aver that it has so accepted its new position; but no one desirous of seeing the free play of legislative reforms will admit that. Whatever phrases may be used about yielding to the will of the nation, the widest possible difference exists, as each occasion arises, on the question what that will is. And

under one plea or another the House of Lords is constantly thwarting reforms for which the House of Commons, supported by the majority of the nation, declares the time to be ripe and over-ripe. It is thereby causing an amount of friction and strain which no Constitution can stand for long.

This process of divergence has been going on for more than sixty years. Prior to the great constitutional change of 1832, which has been the mother of all after reforms, and which we still emphasise under the name of "Reform," the two Houses had for some generations represented nearly the same classes and interests. They quarrelled sometimes over the amount of power due to each respectively; but very rarely over any question of national policy. In each the strength of the landowning nobility was paramount, and their dissensions bore a family character. By the Reform movement the paramount power of the landed classes was shaken, and the commercial and professional classes came in for a large share of it. Immediately there commenced the opening of a gulf between the House that represented those classes and the House that did not. Questions arose in relation to the Church Establishment, religious tests, education, local government, the government of Ireland, and other minor matters, in which the views of the old governing class were opposed to those of the new. This led to two great results. One was that numbers of the old governing class who had been led to support "Reform" were disgusted with its effects, and slid off by batches or singly into the opposing ranks. To so great an extent was this change effected, that the Conservative party, which seemed annihilated in 1832, was found in 1834 to return a very effective minority to the House of Commons, and in 1837 almost to balance the Liberal forces. The other result was that the House of Lords found itself in frequent antagonism to the Commons on the principles of public policy; and that it operated at all times as a delaying force, and, when vigorously backed by the Conservative minority, as a blocking force. Both these processes have, with the ebbs and flows incident to all human affairs, been going on ever since. After each great reform, large numbers of those who were on the side of progress and who advocated the change in question, have gone over to the other side. After each, the rift between the two Houses and their respective views of public policy, has become deeper and wider. And after each, the confidence of the House of Commons that it represents the mind of the nation has become stronger and more pronounced.

The first Duke of Wellington was a man whose military reputation stood so high as to overshadow his political character, and whose political capacity, though on the administrative side it was of the first order, suffered a slur by reason of his convictions being with the governing classes at the time of the great Reform struggle. Never-

theless, it has always seemed to me, in reading the history of these years, that the Duke of Wellington deserves to be credited, not only with the unselfish and simple public spirit which is one of his chief titles to greatness, but with statesmanship of a very high order. He was statesman enough to know when his order was beaten, and to take up a new and defensible line. He saw that the power of the House of Lords, and of the views represented in it, was broken. He did not sulk, nor despair, nor kick against the pricks. He set himself to persuade his brother Peers to pass measures strongly supported in the country, while defeating others which, though sent up by the House of Commons, had not met strong support. His course of action, and the great difficulties attending it, were clearly stated in a letter written by him to Lord Derby in the year 1846, when the repeal of the Corn Laws was under discussion.*

In admiring the Duke's statesmanship I am not saying that he took the right view of the various measures on their merits. Some severe wounds were inflicted on our legislation during his supremacy. And the policy had this lamentable result: that nothing could be done for Ireland, because Englishmen were ignorant and apathetic about the concerns of their fellow-countrymen there. But I am afraid that the maltreatment of Ireland must (until within the last few years) be charged equally to both Houses of Parliament, and to both great parties in the State.

The great results of the Duke's policy were, first, that it tided over a time of startling transition and great strain, not without friction, but without intolerable friction; and secondly, that he showed how the House of Lords might retain a very large share of its legal power by surrendering some of it. The former of these results was a great boon to the whole nation; the latter a great boon to the Duke's own party, which some will identify more, and some less, with the welfare of the whole nation. Under his guidance the House of Lords retreated from the position of being an absolutely co-ordinate branch of the Legislature for the purposes of general legislation, and took up that of a delaying, suspending, and revising body. It had great influence on legislation; but it no longer endeavoured to resist a matured popular demand voiced by the House of Commons. That is the unexpressed change to which I before referred.

Under such circumstances the House of Lords, in which the Conservative element was continually increasing, found itself a severe critic and opponent of Liberal ministries, and very acquiescent with Conservative ones. Setting aside the one abnormal case of the Corn Laws, it may be said that, from Peel's accession to office in 1841 to Palmerston's death in 1866, there was no great conflict between the two Houses. In fact, the Whig ministries of that period contained

* See Bagehot's "English Constitution," 2nd edition, p. 100.

in them such strong Conservative elements that hardly any distasteful reforms were propounded. Lord Palmerston was at least as Conservative as Sir Robert Peel. During his long ascendancy he probably represented one of the many quiescent phases of the nation; and I believe that if the Conservative party had not quarrelled with their ablest men over the Corn Laws, they might during that time have been in office as well as in power. But when Mr. Gladstone became the leading mind in the Liberal party, things were changed indeed. The reforming spirit woke up again. Instead of contenting themselves with talking about reforms, Liberal Ministers actually proposed, and worked for, and carried them; and sent up to the House of Lords measures very distasteful to it.

It is not my purpose to follow in detail the legislative contests between the two Houses or the two parties during the period for which the Liberal party was in power, whether in office or not, down to 1874, nor for the subsequent periods. It will hardly be disputed, whether by those who agree or by those who disagree with the House of Lords, that the number of Liberals within it has diminished to near the vanishing-point, that it represents only one political party in the nation, that it has, as a rule, thwarted the measures of Liberal Ministries, and has offered no opposition to those of Conservative Ministries, even when they closely resembled the rejected measures of Liberal Ministries. Those who doubt these conclusions I must refer to more detailed works, such as that of Mr. Stead, or the more elaborate work of Mr. Spalding. All that I wish to point out now is that the large franchise reform of 1867, and the much larger reform, both of franchise and distribution, of 1884, brought forward with much greater urgency than before, questions of a local social and class character. Such are, questions concerning Church rates, religious tests, purchase of commands in the army, national education, endowments of various kinds, trade combinations, relations of landlord with tenant, of employer with employee; local government and rating, including the most important of local governments—that of Ireland. Many of these questions touch on the use of property, whether from the public side, as in the case of endowments, rates, or taxes, or from the private side, as in the case of landlord and tenant, or employers and employed. Every year the issues of public affairs are becoming more pronounced, as between those who have large possessions and those who have not. The new voters grow more intent on pressing their views; the propertied classes band together in greater numbers to resist, and the House of Lords is their champion. The effect produced in the country at large is that a largely preponderating number of the richer classes have joined the Conservative ranks. The effect in the House of Lords is that the Liberal party is nearly annihilated. The increasing division

of political parties according to wealth is a grave outlook, which however cannot be affected by any adjustment of mechanism. But that one of the political parties should be powerless in one House of the Legislature, formally of co-ordinate power, and actually of very great power, is an evil of a different kind which can be cured by proper methods.

Some of the incidents of the present Parliament will sufficiently illustrate our position. With regard to the Home Rule Bill, I do not see how a legislative assembly, with convictions strongly adverse to the measure, could be expected to accept it under the circumstances of the case. The justification for passing into law a measure of which individual judgments disapprove, is that there exists such a preponderating decision of the people to have the law, that to refuse it is worse for the nation at large than to pass it, bad though it be. Could then the majority be expected to take that view? I think it undeniable indeed that the election of 1892 had given a majority for Home Rule. The previous election of 1886 was decided on that issue. For six years the country had rung with the controversy. There was not a platform on which it had not occupied the prominent place. To say that the details of the Bill had not been laid before the electors is, in my judgment, a cavil, the allowance of which would strike at the root of all authority given by constituents to representatives; and, moreover, the House rejected the Bill on second reading—*i.e.*, on principle. But the case stood thus. In 1886 a very large majority was returned against Home Rule. In 1892 a majority, not large, was returned in its favour. May not those to whom the thing seems very pernicious think that, after all, the second election was brought about by transitory causes; mainly by the personal weight and energy of the greatest man in England? and that a third election would revert to the first? I do not think so myself. I think that Home Rule for Ireland is a just and politic measure, which failed of acceptance in England because it was too novel, which grows in favour by consideration, which is certain to be granted some day, and granted in some foolish panic if not previously done with calm deliberation. But if I had thought just the reverse about Home Rule, I should probably have treated the verdict of the election as the majority treated it. I have never found fault with what they did, though taking a different view of the merits of the measure. But the moral I draw is this: that legislators ought not to be exposed to such a trial. They ought to be left to vote according to their judgment on the merits of each measure. To call upon them to pass a measure, not because they think it good, but because the nation has an overwhelming wish that way, is to invite them to the question whether the nation has really such a wish—a controversy perhaps more difficult than the merits of the measure itself. And to coerce them by

terror of public disturbance is a humiliation to them if it succeeds; and whether it succeeds or not is an incentive to passionate methods which every statesman would wish to avoid. Surely we ought to seek out some orderly mode of making the will of the majority prevail, instead of relying on assertions (always disputable) that its will is too strong to resist.

In the session of 1893-4 there were two other Bills of general public interest passed in the Commons after great debate and sent up to the Lords: the Local Government (more commonly called the Parish Councils) Bill, and the Employers' Liability Bill. A great many alterations were made in both these Bills by the Peers. I do not think that anybody will accuse me of partisanship, or indeed of inaccuracy, in saying that the great bulk of alterations which had any political significance at all, were, so to speak, "anti-popular," tending to cripple the authority of the Parish Councils, or to restrict their popular basis; or running counter to the views generally taken by employees of their own welfare, and expressed by their own organisations and in the House of Commons. It is not desirable here to reproduce the points of difference in detail. The larger ones have been echoed and re-echoed till every one likely to read these remarks knows them by heart. And every one knows the result: how the Parish Councils Bill was at length accepted, though shorn of some important features; and how the Liability Bill was abandoned because the House of Lords would not allow a provision which forbade contracts to relieve employers of their statutory liability. Nor am I discussing whether the Lords' alterations were in themselves wise or unwise. Indeed, so far as regards the important one which wrecked the Liability Bill, I should by the light of nature have voted for it. If I had voted the other way—in point of fact, I did not vote at all, being confined to my bed by sickness—it would have been on the ground that the English artisans have shown great capacity for understanding their own affairs; and that when there comes a question of expediency relating to the affairs of a large class, and it is possible to get at the opinion of organised bodies of that class, that opinion should carry great weight.

Perhaps this difficulty of mine may be thought to illustrate how hard it is for members of one class to judge of the proposals of another in the affairs of that other; how certain they are to be biassed by their own ideas; and how likely it is that when many of them get together they will refuse even to listen to any other ideas. Place an assembly in that position, provide that it shall not be dissolved or changed by any action of those who want it to pass laws for them, and how can you prevent antagonism, even to the extent of a deadlock?

It is sometimes alleged that it is necessary to have a revising

legislative body, and that, after all, is the main business of the House of Lords. I admit the expediency of a revising body, but affirm that proposals are best revised by those who are in sympathy with their main object, and that hostile revision is often worse than none. But this allegation as to the main business of the Peers is not consistent with the fact that all their alterations tend one way; or with the fact that when Conservatives are in office the vigilance and activity of the Peers become torpid; witness such occasions as Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill of 1868 and the Irish Coercion Bill of 1887; nor with the fact that such a measure as that for validating marriages with a deceased wife's sister is repeatedly rejected; nor with the language held by Lord Salisbury at the beginning of the present Parliament before any measures were framed, to the effect that if certain apprehended things were done by the House of Commons, they would be thwarted by other parts of the constitution. Whenever a debate involves issues between the two main lines of political thought, whenever it presents chances of supporting a Conservative Ministry or shaking a Liberal one, I may almost say whenever it raises questions between the many and the few, poor and rich, Dissent and Church, public interests and private, the House of Lords has an overwhelming majority on one side. The party of movement may spend years in overcoming the inertia of the nation, may struggle successfully against the enormous advantages which belong, and always must belong, to possession and to full purses, may push a measure with vast labour through the House of Commons which they have moulded, and then they find themselves brought up short by the House of Lords which they cannot mould. Is it not certain that much of the arrested motion will turn to heat? Who shall, on any given occasion, say how much? Who shall feel confident that the heat will not burst out into flame even on an apparently small occasion? And who will deny that such a possibility constitutes an ever present, though often latent, political danger?

I do not wish to exaggerate the awkwardness of the position, as I think is sometimes done in argument. Just now we want a great deal of legislation, and we find a great deal of stoppage. But we must remember that the House of Commons is paramount over a large part of the political domain. Administration is at least as important as legislation—more so, I think. The main direction of administration rests with the Commons. For one example, Ireland may not have her own domestic government, nor be able to repeal the statute which removes offences from the cognizance of juries; but she can escape from the active application of that statute, and she can feel satisfied that in many an executive operation her most trusted sons are duly consulted. Nor even in legislation does the House of Lords play an equal part. In one very important department of

legislation the House of Commons is supreme. The supply of money will not often bear the delays attending an agreement between two independent powers; and the representative body has accorded to it the right of originating money-measures so completely that the Peers cannot even amend one. This position has been established by a practice old enough to give it the rank of a constitutional principle. By a little ingenuity a constitutional inability to amend may be converted into a practical inability to reject. That was actually done in the case of the Paper Duties. And within the last few weeks we have seen a striking instance of the inferior position of the Peers. No one can doubt that they would gladly have refused the new Death Duties, but they could only do so by rejecting other provisions for the revenue of the year; and though their power to reject a money Bill was asserted in terms, no attempt was made to put it in force, and the obnoxious measure was allowed to pass into law.

On the other hand, too little attention is given to the influence of the House of Lords on a great number of arrangements of limited extent, where they have a very free hand. When the whole country takes interest in a measure, the Peers are apt to be cautious in rejecting it, and if they do, there is a good chance of such strong feeling being shown as to prevent a second rejection. It is, as before intimated, a barbarous and dangerous plan to get up a kind of miniature rebellion in order to make one branch of the Legislature act in accordance with the national desire expressed through constitutional channels. But it is done, and I often read and hear that because it is done the House of Lords is powerless for evil, and we may well go on as we do. But apart from the danger of the thing, that opinion leaves out of sight the class of cases I am now speaking of—a class which is rapidly increasing with the extension of the method of making new arrangements by scheme or provisional order which may be defeated by a hostile resolution passed by either House of Parliament. How persistently the House of Lords may go on denying relief for years, generations after the House of Commons has affirmed the right to it, is shown by the question, before referred to, of the Deceased Wife's Sister. The stability of some thousands of households depends on the validity of such marriages. The representative assembly would affirm them at once. But the Peers will not do it, and because the matter only affects some thousands of households there is no national feeling strong enough to compel it. The necessary little rebellion cannot be got up. I proceed to some further illustrations.

In the session of 1893 there arose in the House of Lords what is known as the Betterment question. The London County Council had for some years been endeavouring to levy a special impost on properties enhanced by the expenditure of London public funds. After some

objectionable plans, they produced one, on which in the Council itself there was no dissent, and which was approved by large majorities in the House of Commons. Now for some reason or other the London Council has from the moment of its birth been the object of extreme animosity among the Conservative party and in the House of Lords. When this measure came before the Lords, it was practically (the exact form may be passed over) thrown out without examination. Their formal plea was that such proposals ought not to be made in a private Bill. The arguments presented were denunciations partly of something which, in the absence of examination, was supposed to be the measure, and partly of the London Council itself. Before the question came on again I took pains to make, in this REVIEW (March and May, 1894), a detailed statement of facts, from which I showed—first, that the House, refusing a proper examination by Committee, rejected the proposal under glaring misconceptions of its nature; and, secondly, that its action was unusual, harsh, and productive of great public inconvenience.* I further showed that in the same session the London Council had come to ask for just five things beyond their ordinary requirements—viz., the opening of Lincoln's Inn Fields; permission to spend some money on important inquiries; a voice in the conservancy of the Thames; a more adequate voice in the conservancy of the Lea; and Betterment. All five were granted by the House of Commons, and all five refused by the Lords.

I am not recalling these incidents for the purpose of strengthening—though they do strengthen—my former remarks with respect to the claims of the Peers to be a “revising” body, and to the prejudices and antipathies which prevail among them; but to show what complete power they have in thwarting attempts at small local reforms, and how their action, and that of the House of Commons, tend to diverge more widely. London, indeed, is so large a community that offence given to Londoners may produce some political effect. And though the controversy is not yet settled, the House of Lords has receded from its refusal to consider a plan of local taxation in a local private Bill; and on some of the other points the House of Commons supported and procured the partial accomplishment of the wishes of the London Council. The case is different when much smaller interests are concerned.

In this regard the action of the Peers on schemes framed for regulating endowments deserves close examination, because they raise class questions between Churchmen and Nonconformists which should be settled by a competent and impartial tribunal. The legal nature of these questions may be briefly stated. By the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, every scheme is to contain certain clauses concerning religious teaching (popularly called Conscience Clauses), unless the

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW 1894, p. 707.

endowment falls under certain conditions expressed in section 19. The conditions arise when the scholars are required by the express terms of the instrument of foundation, or by regulations made by the founder in his lifetime or by his authority within fifty years after his death and ever since observed, to be instructed according to the formularies of any particular Church, sect, or denomination. These provisions were discussed with the utmost care when the Act was passed. They were devised to remove two disadvantages under which Nonconformists laboured in the administration of educational endowments. One was the absorption of funds into Church channels, owing to the long predominance of the Church, and to the circumstance that the rector and churchwardens, being permanent village officers, had been very generally chosen as village trustees. The other was that by certain decisions of the Court of Chancery it was laid down that in undenominational schools, even those just established out of dole-funds, distinctive Church education must be given; and further, that none but Churchmen were proper trustees of endowments charged, though only partially, with Church education. They restrict the privileges which, however unfairly, the Church then possessed, and they were and are very distasteful to strong Church partisans.

It will be easily understood that there is plenty of room for dispute whether the conditions of section 19 apply, or do not apply, to a particular endowment. That question may, and often does, involve inquiries into matters of fact, weighing of evidence, antiquarian and ecclesiastical researches, and the construction of legal documents, public and private, old and new. It is, in fact, a strictly judicial inquiry. The Act recognises this, and it makes the Charity Commission, a very competent body for the purpose, judges in the first instance, allowing an appeal to the Judicial Committee by persons interested to dispute the first decision. It cannot possibly have been intended that a decision so arrived at should afterwards be made ground of objection, by any official or legislative body, to the scheme founded on it.

In the township of Barkisland, near Halifax, there is a small endowment, given in the year 1657, for teaching poor children to read. In 1861 the Charity Commissioners made a scheme which, as required by the Chancery decisions, then unqualified by the Endowed Schools Act, ordered the teaching of the Church Catechism, though subject to a conscience clause. A year or two ago the Charity Commissioners had occasion to make a new scheme, which was done under the Endowed Schools Act. They decided that the school did not fall under the conditions of section 19, and treated it as undenominational. The Churchmen of the locality had, naturally enough, contended that it was a Church school, on the ground of long usage and of the scheme of 1861. They did not appeal however from the judgment

of the Charity Commissioners, which therefore became conclusive by force of the Act, but they got a friend in the House of Lords to move a hostile resolution, which was carried on June 23, 1893.

Now it is impossible to imagine a case in which there may not be some objection, however flimsy, taken to a scheme which embodies a vast quantity of detail; to the numbers, ages, or qualifications of the pupils, to the fees, the scholarships, the free places, the powers of the master, and other things. But it will hardly be contended that either House of Parliament is justified in rejecting a scheme on the ground that it dislikes the decision of the tribunals appointed by the Endowed Schools Act on a legal question. And it will hardly be denied that the reasons actually assigned must be taken as disclosing the true reasons for the vote. I will now refer the reader to "*Hansard*," vol. xiii. p. 1756.

It is true that Lord Halifax, who led the debate, stated some objections to the arrangements respecting scholarships, and to the injury which the poor would suffer thereby. But nearly the whole of his speech was a complaint that the Church character of the schools was displaced; and he denounced the scheme as one framed at the instance of persons outside the township acting for political and sectarian motives with the result of injuring the school, sacrificing the rights of the poor, and generally of injuring the cause of definite religious education. Lord Cranbrook dwelt strongly on the fact that the scheme of 1861 affixed a Church character to the school; but he did not say, doubtless had not observed, that it was made in obedience to the then ruling of the Court of Chancery, to which an appeal then lay in the case. The Charity Commissioners could not help themselves. But the rule they followed is that which has been considered by Dissenters as an unjust usurpation, and which was directly struck at by the Endowed Schools Act. Lord Sandford took another objection to the scheme, of which I will only say that it was on a strictly legal point reserved by the Act for the decision of the Judicial Committee, and therefore improper for the House of Lords to act upon.

It will be understood that I am not expressing, nor have I, any opinion as to the wisdom or expediency of making a scheme, or as to the conduct of the combatants. I am confining myself to the one question of the jurisdiction of the House of Lords, and trying not to confuse it by irrelevant matter. Now, I think that anybody who reads the *Barkisland* debate will be of opinion that the main reason, if not the only one, for rejecting the scheme was that the distinctive Church teaching would be displaced by other religious teaching of a more general kind. That is as much as to say that the House will review the decisions of the appointed tribunals on the question whether an endowment is denominational or not, or that it will prevent any scheme being made if it considers that Church privileges

are encroached on by the obligatory provisions of the Endowed Schools Act.

How far are those principles to be carried? In the last case which I will mention, they have been carried very far; perhaps as far as they can be.

The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 has been a prolific source of the class of controversy now in question. By that Act Education Committees were appointed for every county, and it is their duty to submit to the Charity Commissioners schemes for intermediate education, and to specify the endowments to be included, in each scheme. The machinery is that of the Endowed Schools Act, only that when an endowment does not fall within the conditions of Section 19, the conscience clauses of the Welsh Act are more restrictive of denominational teaching.

The Committee for Denbighshire submitted a scheme for a group of endowments among which was a grammar school at Ruthin. The governing body contended that it was a Church school. The Charity Commissioners decided otherwise, and assigned their reasons. There was no appeal from their judgment, which therefore became final for the occasion. •

Two hostile motions were made in the House of Lords. One was by the Bishop of St. Asaph and was aimed against certain provisions concerning religious worship and teaching in hostels. These provisions were, I think, matters of discretion, quite free from any obligatory provisions of the Endowed Schools Act; and therefore not within the scope of my observations. The motion was allowed without debate, because of the fate which attended the other and much more important motion.

Lord Cross moved to exclude Ruthin School altogether from the scheme, and his motion was carried by a majority of 77 to 19. For the reasons I again look to "Hansard," vol. xxv. p. 1438. This case is simpler than that of Barkisland, for not even a suggestion was made that any objection to the scheme existed except that the Charity Commissioners were wrong in deciding that the endowments did not fall under sec. 19. Lord Salisbury ridiculed the notion that the parties must follow the statutory course—i.e., must either abide by the decision of the Charity Commissioners or take the case to the Privy Council. That, he says, is too expensive. But he was equally prepared to overrule a decision of the Privy Council. Injustice, he said, might be done by a strict interpretation of the law. And he boldly claimed that because the power of the House to address the Crown against the scheme is given in general terms, they are justified in rejecting schemes against which no offence is alleged except that they are formed in obedience to the Endowed Schools Act.

Of course it will happen, whenever the law makes a distinction be-

tween classes of cases, that there are cases which fall very close to the line, whether one side or the other, and Lord Salisbury has now declared it to be right that when in such cases the decision of the appointed tribunals is against the Church, relief shall be given by an assembly strongly biassed in its favour, and manned partly by high officers of the Church who carry deserved weight in its debates. It is all very well to talk of nice cases, and technical points, and of injustice produced by strict law. Those things can easily be found in any case by those who want to find them. To remove such questions from legal treatment and to place them in the midst of a political assembly is a dangerous thing at best, and when the political assembly is all on one side, is certain to work injustice, and before long to create great irritation. It seems to me, speaking with all due respect, to be an usurpation and an abuse of the power given to object to schemes. Schemes may be justly objected to on financial, educational, and other grounds; but to object to them on grounds expressly reserved to other judgments is a decided encroachment on the law.

Let us just see in what position this endowment is placed. The Charity Commissioners cannot make a scheme except in one of two ways: either they must apply the Conscience Clauses or not. If they apply them the House of Lords rejects the scheme. If they do not, and if the scheme does not fall within sec. 19, it is illegal, and may be the subject of appeal by some aggrieved party. Of course it is possible that the knot might be cut by the Judicial Committee taking a different view of the law. But as the legal decision stands at present, the action of the House has produced a deadlock. No scheme can be made at all. That may suit the views of those who think that any alteration must be for the worse. But it is destructive of the intentions of the Acts of Parliament which have been passed for Welsh education. It would seem as though some of the Peers were bent, as some of the School Boards are, on re-opening in detail the controversies that, as we had hoped, were closed in principle by the temperate and beneficent legislation of 1869 and 1870.

It cannot be said that upon these schemes there is a divergence between the two Houses, because the opinion of the House of Commons has not been pronounced. But nobody ventured to attack such schemes in the House of Commons. And the cases show how hazardous it is to set a non-reforming body to control the administration of an essentially reforming measure. It is the innumerable small reforms, constantly sought for as need arises, which keep the social organism sweet and healthy, and obviate the necessity for great radical changes all at one time. If they are dammed up by some antipathetic body which has the legal power of stoppage, discontent is sure to accumulate in a mass not easy to deal with. If the House of Lords

interferes in matters never intended for a political assembly, if it refuses reasonable reforms without taking the trouble to learn what they are, if it uses its legal power to defeat or delay, plans which have won their way to the approval of the representative bodies concerned with them, then it is clear that the forms of the Constitution no longer answer to the forces working in it, and a wise statesman will seek to readjust them.

But how is the thing to be done? That is a question to try any man's statesmanship; and all the statesmanship in the world will not do it unless the bulk of the nation is first convinced, that it ought to be done, and is ready to supply the requisite political force. Suppose the political force to be there, is the House of Lords to be abolished? That is lightly talked of, and of course to many minds the most sweeping operation seems the easiest, and for the mere purpose of clearing the ground it probably is so. But we have to consider the alternative. We want a great amount of legislation, and we want our laws turned out in a workable state. Now the composition and procedure of the House of Commons is such that it does not infrequently turn out some very rough work, which even its well-wishers are glad to have an opportunity of reviewing. It is impossible to deny that through hurry, through inadvertence, through excess of work, through weariness of long combat, through casual combinations of different groups of men, Bills may pass which it is very desirable to reconsider, and which any body of responsible men would think it right to modify or reject, and in so doing would meet with general support. I am not afraid that great alterations would be carried by a hasty rush through the House of Commons; knowing well how many long years of hard labour must be given and how many minds must be convinced and set in motion before a reform of any magnitude can even get a hearing. The House of Commons does not act in most matters till the nation has been persuaded, and then it acts with a velocity which might without public detriment be greater. But I am afraid of a number of small mistakes; and I have never heard any suggestion of a corrective machinery in the House of Commons itself likely to be so efficacious as a Second Chamber.

Then how shall we prevent the Second Chamber from becoming obstructive? In order to be efficient, a power to review must include a power to reject when necessary; indeed "amendments" so-called, may, and frequently have been, so applied as to amount to destruction. It would probably be idle, and certainly undesirable, to limit the area of review. But the power may be effectually controlled by providing that when it has been exercised to some prescribed extent it shall not prevent the passing of the measure reviewed. If it were provided that after (say) a second rejection by the Peers of a measure passed by the Commons, or a second alteration of it, the

Commons should have power to resolve that the measure ought to become law notwithstanding the opposition of the Peers; and if it were provided that the Commons should be the sole judges whether the measure was substantially the same as had been rejected or altered before; and if it were provided that upon such a resolution of the Commons the Royal assent might be given to the measure and so it should become law; and if similar arrangements were made with regard to schemes or other sub-legislative matters, we should see the will of the majority prevail, when it ought to prevail, without ruinous delay or stormy agitation.

Of course the exact amount of power given to the Commons, and the exact occasion for its exercise, will be the subject of very careful discussion when it is determined that a step in that direction shall be taken. I am only stating here hypothetically so much detail as is necessary to make my meaning clear. We have not yet reached the time for the discussion of details, nor can I personally expect even to take part in such a discussion, though my juniors will.

Of course we shall be told, we are already being told, of the great danger of an absolute and tyrannical House of Commons, of reducing the House of Lords to a nonentity, and all the other dangers, real or chimerical, which are always conjured up to frighten people away from any large reform. The notion of a tyrannical House of Commons seems to me purely chimerical. There is nothing which the country would be more quick to resent than high-handed and unjust proceedings there, and even if the members of the House were disposed so to act, they would be checked by the knowledge that they must justify themselves to their constituents. It is not proposed that the House of Commons should be unalterable as the House of Lords now is. Of course the House of Commons, like any other assembly, may occasionally act in passion, or in ignorance. But their tyranny, to be injurious, must be deliberately continued over a long period. The action of the House of Lords, supposing that it does not aid and abet the tyranny, will give it pause. In the meantime the oppressed minority will be making their case known through the length and breadth of the land. Even in the House of Commons itself it is impossible to look forward to a time when either of the two great parties, the progressive and the stationary, will fail to have able champions, and at least a strong minority; or when there will not be men of independent thought and weighty character who will carry their aid to the oppressed.

We have plenty of experience to guide us on this point. The Commons are uncontrolled by the Peers in their votes which entail the dismissal of Ministers, and in money Bills. When has it ever been alleged that they have acted tyrannically in such matters? Possibly the Duke of Devonshire would tell us that they have acted tyrannically

in enacting the Death Duties, but then his countrymen do not agree with him, and if this is the sort of tyranny that is contemplated, they will not be alarmed at the prospect of it. The Commons act under great responsibility in these matters. They may sometimes act in a sudden, unexpected way for a single vote. But they are liable to be dismissed, and if their mood should not be found to answer to the drift of thought in the nation, they may be disowned by their constituents, as actually happened in a striking way in 1857, when Lord Palmerston was censured in the matter of the war with China.

Neither would the House of Lords become a nonentity. It would, as I believe, retain great power in guiding legislative action. Knowing that they could not ultimately defeat popular measures, the Peers would have less temptation to look at them merely with regard to their effect on political parties. They would be relieved of the uncertain question whether they ought to vote according to their individual judgment on the merits, or according to the strength of the popular demand. A good deal of timidity which now springs from that uncertainty would disappear. They would be less prone to carry "amendments" calculated not to forward the objects of the measure but to thwart them, they would be more likely to look with a single eye to the good working of the new law. When overruled, they would be so in due course of business, as a judge is. They would not have to pass under the yoke of humiliation, as they now are, from the application of political pressure, or in plain English fears that something worse will happen, to make them pass into law something that they disapprove. And they would hold a very powerful and dignified position. The power of compelling the House of Commons to reconsider its decisions, or to consider supplementary or qualifying suggestions, is a great one. If exercised in a fair spirit by a body of able and experienced statesmen, it would without doubt often prevail. The House of Commons would be placed in a position of great responsibility. All serious statesmen would desire that a measure should be passed by two Houses rather than by one. Many in the House of Commons would agree with the views of the Lords. Many again who doubted, or even who differed, would yield for the sake of securing joint action. Of course, if the Peers rejected or altered in a petulant and hostile spirit, they would not be seriously considered by the Commons. But I always protest against trying proposed reforms on the hypothesis that people will act unreasonably. It is a false hypothesis. The great probability is that an assembly set to perform such functions as would then belong to the House of Lords would bring skilled and calm judgment to bear upon them. It would then be a serious business for the Commons to take the law-making into their own hands; and it is at least conceivable that they would not do so except in those cases in which the opinions of those

who are drawn from the Few will always be found opposed to those who are drawn from the Many.

If this reform could be effected, if the House of Lords could be placed in a position, not of such entire subordination as it now occupies with respect to finance, but of ultimate subordination to the persistent views of the popular House, other reforms would be of minor importance, indeed of very little importance so far as regards the danger of the present situation. But for the constitution of a good Second Chamber, some would still be of great importance.

The right to be a law-giver by inheritance is an outgrowth on the original scheme of the House of Lords, has now become an anachronism, and indeed having regard to the grounds for creating Peers, an absurdity. I conceive that it would greatly strengthen the House of Lords to put an end to all hereditary rights of legislation (except perhaps in the very peculiar case of the Royal Family), and to make it a working body, not liable to irruptions of inexperienced men whipped up for special political combats. Each member should hold his position for life or during some office. There has been much controversy about life peers. Whether, if introduced forty years ago, they would have moulded the character of the House so far as to avoid existing complications, cannot now be judged, for the attempt was met by the House in a spirit of extreme hostility, and, by an act which I have always thought to be one of great political violence, and of very doubtful legality. I believe there is now common agreement that Life Peers ought to have been created long ago, and ought to be created now in large numbers. It is quite too late to propose such a plan as a sufficient remedy for existing needs, though not too late to propose it as a supplement to other reforms.

The House should have enough members to man its Committees, and to supply sufficient variety of thought and experience to its debates, and to give weight to its decisions. If there were (say) from 200 to 250 men appointed for life or *ex officio* to serve in the House, it would probably make as strong a body as the nation would want. Then members should be allowed to resign their seats at will, and all peers not in the House of Lords should be quite free to enter the House of Commons.

I have often seen it suggested that the House of Lords should be an elected body. I hardly know why, except that the American Senate is so. But that Senate has a definite basis to rest upon, which represents a great and distinct power in the nation—viz., the basis of separate States. In this country we have nothing of that kind, nor do I know of any constituency, nor can I imagine any, which would draw the House of Lords from a separate class, and yet which would not increase, instead of lessening, the friction that now exists.

To my mind, no mode of appointing Peers of Parliament is nearly as good as the present mode—viz., appointment by the Crown. It must be remembered that the choice of the Crown is the choice of its responsible Ministers, and that they again represent in turn the two principal parties in the State. Party motives for appointments, in the sense of merely getting votes, would be reduced to a minimum, because the votes would not give ultimate victory. Party motives in the sense of bestowing rewards on partisans, would be amply satisfied by social advancement, by peerages not requiring the labour of legislation, garters, stars, baronetcies, knighthoods, and so forth. There would remain the best of party motives, the desire of having views sympathetic with one's own ably supported, and of gaining credit by the choice of good servants for the nation. The Ministry of the day would have the strongest motives to appoint men of ability, experience, and willingness to work. They could not afford to put in dummies. To bind them down to appoint from categories of specified callings would only hamper them. Free and uncontrolled choice among all the Queen's subjects would be most likely to man the House of Lords well.

Now, it is often said, but without much reflection I think, that the predominance of the House of Commons can be effected by a resolution of that House; and reference is made to its power over money Bills. That power, which has now become an integral part of the Constitution, was established, it is true, by acquiescence of the Peers after resolutions by the Commons. But then the Peers pass the money Bills, as they pass every other statute. The Courts that enforce the law see that a statute is passed in due form, and they look no further. But suppose that the Peers refused to pass a Bill for a new tax, it could not be levied. For if any one refused to pay, and was sued, the judges would ask where is the law that orders him to pay. And if they could only find something resting on a resolution of the House of Commons, they would dismiss the case. If then, as is more than likely, the Peers stand upon the present constitutional practice, and refuse to depart from it, how is your House-of-Commons law to be enforced? It could only be enforced by some extra-legal coercion applied directly to the Courts of Justice; and I doubt whether the most violent political partisan on the popular side would approve such a ruinous proceeding as that. I think it will be seen that, though a resolution of the Commons may be the best way of mapping out a political campaign, it can do no more, and that the battle must be fought at the polls, to induce the Peers to consent to some adequate reform, under peril of seeing their party defeated and deprived of influence in the country.

Another resource often invoked is the power of the Crown to create Peers. That has not been done for nearly two centuries. When it

was last done, twelve creations were sufficient to give the required majority. It was threatened sixty years ago, at the time of the Reform Bill, after which the Peers gave way. But the Whig statesmen who used the threat knew that it was a great strain on the Constitution, and only made up their minds to it when the country was full of commotion, and very near the brink of civil war. To swamp the House of Lords now would require 500 or 600 new Peers. It would be strongly resisted; and I cannot conceive that any Minister would take such a course without having at his back such a preponderating weight of national strength as would enable him to take the easier and more obvious course of inducing the Peers to pass a Bill.

The paramount object then to strive for is: to provide some legal method by which, in case of prolonged differences between the two Houses, the opinion of the popular House shall be made to prevail in measures other than money Bills. And, omitting minor points, the subsidiary objects are: first, the discontinuance of hereditary legislators; and secondly, free nomination by the Crown of any person to serve as a Peer of Parliament for life or during office.

I wish it to be remarked that no one of these objects is new to the British Constitution, unless it be the particular form in which it is proposed that the Commons shall pass a contested measure. That however is but form and detail. In point of substance the predominance of the Commons is matter of familiarity with us. It is exercised in the offensive form of compelling the Peers to pass laws which they think injurious; to cry "Content" when they are not content; to "stand in his presence humble, and receive strict laws imposed . . . and to sing forced Halleluias." The form I now propose is only the necessary outcome of an honest difference of opinion between a stronger authority and a weaker, by which the stronger will act on its own judgment after due and careful regard to the views of the weaker. Nobody is humiliated by that.

So with regard to hereditary lawgivers: the House of Lords has existed without them; it existed for centuries, during the period of its greatest power, with a majority of Life Peers, unless, indeed, the Prelates are to be ranked as *ex-officio* Peers. And as to recruitment, the will of the Crown is the recognised constitutional method.

I am well aware that the antiquity and tried efficiency of the principles will not prevent eager opponents from crying out against newfangled and revolutionary inventions, because that is always done on these occasions. But perhaps cautious and thoughtful men will take heart by reflecting that we do not rely on theory alone, but on experience also.

That the struggle for such a reform will be most arduous and prolonged it is impossible to doubt. Behind the House of Lords stand

the "interests"; that is, the powerful interests of wealth and privilege, whose possessors cannot bear to be meddled with, and yet which the growing popular forces see more clearly year by year that it is the interest of the nation at large to control or modify: the Established Churches, the liquor trades, the City and Guilds of London, the dominant caste of entail and primogeniture, the great landowners, and the great monopolists. Add to them the cranky-headed men who, professing the desire for reform, do all they can to hinder it, unless it is laid out in every jot and tittle according to their own fancies; perhaps not a very numerous class, but a troublesome one. Add, again, the classes—numerous in all ranks, and of overwhelming proportion in the richer ranks—of those who from steady conviction distrust and fear the growth of popular forces, or who from tradition or association always place themselves in opposition to every demand from the popular side. Such forces as these make up a formidable army, very strong in numbers, and stronger still in money, organisation, and ability, both literary and political. Still it is difficult to doubt that the mass of electors are much more numerous, if only they choose to bestir themselves. They will do so with effect when they see how distressing and dangerous the present posture of things is, and how reason and experience alike point to reform. That, unless I mistake, will require time, and hard work, and courage, and patience under reverses. So it behoves all who are clear in their minds that the welfare of our country is best promoted by the free and healthy growth of popular forces, and that the obstacles raised by the House of Lords thereto are irritating to the extent of danger, to bring home those beliefs to the electorate—each in his own way and as it is given to him—by quiet exposition, close argument, eloquence, organising power, zeal, and weight of character; trying not to exaggerate or to extenuate, but striving in patient and hopeful persistence until the truth prevails.

HOBHOUSE.

WALTER PATER : A PORTRAIT.

FEW recent events can have surprised and saddened the sincere lovers of literature more than the death, in middle life, of Walter Pater. A peculiar vexation, so to speak, was added to the natural grief such a loss must have caused, by the strange inexactitude, in matters of detail, which marked almost all the notices of his career which appeared at the time. In most of these notices, it is true, there was manifested a wish to pay homage to one of the most exquisite, the most self-respecting, the most individual prose-writers of the age ; but knowledge, especially of his earlier years and intellectual development, was lacking. He was one who never had tempted the interviewer, who had never chatted to the press about himself, and facts regarding him were not at that abrupt moment forthcoming. How far accidents of time and place were responsible for aiding this condition of things it were now perhaps idle to speculate. The fame of Walter Pater will not be wrecked on the holiday of an editor or the indolence of a reporter. It is grounded on the respect which has not yet failed to follow pure and distinguished excellence in the art of writing. As years go on, he will more and more find his admirers, the rescuers of his renown. A subtle and penetrating essay by Mr. Lionel Johnson (in the *Fortnightly Review* for last September) has already pointed the way to those whose business it will be to detect Pater's influence upon his age, and to illustrate the individual merits of his style. In the following pages an attempt will be made to present the facts of the uneventful career of the author of "Marius," so oddly travestied at the moment of his death, with some regard to continuity and truth. In preparing this sketch, I have had the encouragement and the help of the surviving members of his family, without whose co-operation I should not have undertaken such a task.

I.

A very considerable interest attaches to the parentage of Walter

Pater. His family was of Dutch extraction, his immediate ancestors having, it is believed, come over from the Low Countries with William of Orange. It was said, and our friend loved to believe it, that the court-painter, Jean Baptiste Pater, the pupil of Watteau, was of the same stock. If so, the relationship must have been collateral and not direct, for when the creator of so many delicate *fêtes champêtres* was painting in Flanders—he died in 1736—the English Paters had already settled at Olney, in Buckinghamshire, where they lived all through the eighteenth century. Reserved and shy, preserving many of their Dutch customs, they are described in family tradition as mixing little with their neighbours, and as keeping through several generations this curious custom, that, while the sons were ~~always~~ brought up as Roman Catholics, the daughters were no less invariably trained in the Anglican faith. The father of Walter Pater quitted the Roman Church before his marriage, without adopting any other form of faith, and his two sons were the first Paters who were not brought up as Catholics.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the poet Cowper was the fellow-townsmen and the friend of the Dutch emigrants in Olney, and the family long possessed some of his verses in his own manuscript. The son of the man who had known Cowper quitted the Buckinghamshire household, and went out to America. He settled in New York, associating chiefly with the Dutch colony in that city; here his son, Richard Glode Pater, the father of the critic, was born. The family came back in the beginning of the present century, and settled at Shadwell, on the north shore of the Thames, between Wapping and Stepney, a situation now of extreme squalor, but eighty years ago still considered countrified and pleasant. Here, after his father's death, Richard Glode Pater continued to live, a medical practitioner working, mainly, for the love of them among poor folks in the East End, refusing to move into a more fashionable quarter, and despoiling himself of his patrimony by his constant benevolence.

To the house in Shadwell, Richard Glode Pater brought Maria Hill as his wife, and here were born to him four children, two of them sons, of whom Walter was the second. The elder son, William Thomson Pater, adopted his father's profession, and became the head of a large lunatic asylum. He died unmarried, on April 24, 1887, at the age of fifty-two, "quitting," in his brother's words, "a useful and happy life." In him, however, with the exception of a marked pleasure in being surrounded with pretty objects, not a single feature had ever shown itself of the peculiar intellectual characteristics or tastes of his brother. The future critic was born, at Shadwell, on August 4, 1839, receiving the names Walter Horatio, in compliment to a cousin who survives him.

Richard Glode Pater died so early that his second son scarcely remembered him in later life. The mother and grandmother left the

house in Shadwell, and went to live with a sister of the former at Enfield, where the children were brought up. In the retired neighbourhood of Chase Side they took a house, which has since been pulled down; it possessed a large, old-fashioned garden, in which the children found great delight. It would be an error to trace in the imaginary portrait called "*The Child in the House*," a definite picture of the early surroundings of Walter Pater. The existence at Enfield is hardly touched upon there, with the sole exception of the "cry on the stair," announcing the death of Florian Deleal's father; this, it appears, is a reminiscence of the decease, not of his father, but of his godmother, which was so announced to the household at Enfield. So far as "*The Child in the House*" depicts a veritable scene, it presents to us Fish Hall, near Hadlow, Kent, the residence of his godmother and cousin, Mrs. Walter H. May; this mansion, part of which was very old, was the favourite holiday-haunt of the little Paters, and a place of mystery and romance to Walter.

If, however, "*The Child in the House*" must be accepted very guardedly as giving an impression of the physical surroundings of Walter Pater's childhood, much more of actual reminiscence has been put into "*Emerald Uthwart*" (a story not yet printed in book-form). The first elements of education were given at the private house of the head-master of the grammar-school at Enfield, but the earliest crisis of Pater's life was the entrance into King's School, Canterbury, at the age of fourteen. The "old ecclesiastical city," to which Emerald proceeds, is Canterbury, closely and exactly described, and the features enumerated in the story—"the curiosities of the Precincts, the 'dark entry,' the rich heraldries of the blackened and mouldering cloister, the ruined overgrown spaces where the old monastery stood, the stones of which furnished material for the rambling prebends' houses"—these were features at Canterbury which immediately impressed the imagination of the shy and sensitive little boy, and remained with him through life as having given him his earliest experience of æsthetic pleasure.

It seems probable that, on the whole, this part of "*Emerald Uthwart*" may be taken as strictly autobiographical. Pater was happy at King's School, in spite of his complete indifférence to outdoor games. In his first years at public school he was very idle and backward, nor was it till he reached the sixth form that his faculties seemed really to awaken. He is remembered as rather a popular boy, and as years went on his unquestioned ability inspired respect. On the day of his funeral the Warden of Keble preached in the Cathedral of Canterbury, and was able to record, in touching phrases, the pride which the school had always felt in him, and Pater's own persistent attachment to the school. From the first, and before he went to school, Walter had been considered the "clever" one of the family; not specially precocious, he was always meditative and serious

—marked from the very first for the intellectual life. It is interesting to note that, quite without prompting from without, and while still at Enfield, all his thoughts were turned towards the Church. He loved best to organise a sort of solemn processional game, in which he took the part of bishop or cardinal. From the time when he first began to think of a future condition, his design was to be a clergyman; never, curiously enough, a priest in the religion of his fathers, but in the Anglican ritual. Throughout life, it may here be said, even in his later days, when his thoughts turned back more and more to theological pre-occupations, Walter Pater never had any serious leaning towards Rome. Yet there can be little question that the heritage of his ancestors, in their obstinate adhesion to Catholicism, had much to do with his haunting sense of the value of the sensuous emblem, the pomp of colour and melody, in the offices of religion. These tendencies had received a great impetus while he was yet a little boy, and had not proceeded to Canterbury, from a visit he paid to a young friend who lived at Hursley. Here he attracted the attention of Keble, who walked and talked much with him, and encouraged him in his religious aspirations. Peter retained through life a vivid recollection of this saintly man, although he never saw him again.

Shortly before he left school, as he was entering his twentieth year, Pater read "Modern Painters," and came very abruptly under the influence of Ruskin. The world of art was now for the first time opened to him. It is necessary at this point to refute an extraordinary fable, widely circulated at the time of his death, to the effect that the finished and beautiful essay on "Winckelmann" was written, and even printed, while the author was a schoolboy at Canterbury. The idea is preposterous; it was not until many years later that Pater became aware of the existence of the German critic, and his essay was composed and published long after he was a Fellow of Brasenose. It is singular, indeed, that he is not known to have made any attempt to write, either as a schoolboy or an undergraduate, his earliest essays being as mature in style as the author was mature in years. Pater made no painful experiments in authorship, or, if he did, he kept them to himself. He did not begin to practise the art of writing until he had mastered all its secrets.

On June 11, 1858, he entered Queen's College, Oxford, as a commoner, with an exhibition from Canterbury; and four years later, in the Michaelmas Term of 1862, he took his degree, gaining only a second class in *Literæ Humaniores*. Of these years of his undergraduate life it does not appear that there is much to reveal. In bare rooms, in the dim back quadrangle of his College, Pater worked quietly and unobtrusively, making few friends, very shy and silent, hardly observed in the noisy Oxford life of thirty-five years ago. He was the pupil of Mr. W. W. Capes, now rector of Liphook, then bursar and tutor of Queen's, and amongst those very rare spirits who divined the man he was to be

was his earliest friend, Mr. Ingram Bywater, now Regius Professor of Greek. It is not understood that during these undergraduate days Pater's mind, a seed slowly germinating in the darkness, showed much partiality for pure literature or for plastic art. He was fascinated mainly by the study of logic and metaphysic, which were his pastimes, while the laborious business of classical scholarship occupied all but his leisure moments. Whether any record of these silent years remains, even with the few friends who shared them, seems doubtful. Pater never kept a diary, rarely wrote letters, and at this time offered no salient points for observation to seize upon. Yet one far-seeing man had noted the peculiar originality of Pater's temperament. Having in the ordinary course of his studies submitted some work to Jowett, that astute observer was so much struck with his power that he very generously offered to coach him for nothing. The offer was gratefully accepted, and Pater used to describe the thrill of gratification, and, still more, of astonishment, which he experienced when Jowett said to him one day, as he was taking his leave: "I think you have a mind that will come to great eminence." Unhappily, some years after there was a complete estrangement of sympathy between Jowett and Pater. But it is pleasant to record, that, in the last year of the life of each, it was removed, and that Jowett was among those who congratulated Pater most cordially on his "Plato and Platonism."

In 1862—his degree had been a disappointment—Pater, now three-and-twenty, took rooms in the High Street, Oxford, and read with private pupils. Of these Mr. T. H. S. Escott has told us in his pleasant reminiscences of Oxford that he was one. Another pupil, of somewhat later date, was Mr. Charles Lancelot Shadwell, now Fellow of Oriel, destined to become the most intimate of all Pater's friends, and now the guardian and editor of his papers. But still no definite aim seemed to have revealed itself to the future critic; he was reading and meditating deeply, but he had as yet no call to create. Time went by; in 1864 Pater was elected a Fellow of Brasenose College, and went into residence there. With this change in his material existence, a change came over his mind. His sympathies grew wider and more human, he became more of a student of poetry, he formed more friendships, and was more assiduous in their cultivation. At last, in 1866, at the age of twenty-seven, he ventured to write and to print a little essay, a note or fragment, on Coleridge. We may read this first expression of a new writer to-day in the "Appreciations." We shall find little of the peculiar charm of the mature Pater. His interest is solely in Coleridge, the metaphysician, the critic of thought; that this same philosopher was an exquisite poet has not occurred to him, he positively forgets to mention the fact. As far as style is concerned, the little essay is correct and cold, without oddity, but with little trace of the harmonious felicity which was about to develop.

Vast is the change when we meet Walter Pater next. He had

come from school with a tendency to value all things German. The teaching of Jowett and of T. H. Green tended to strengthen this habit, but Mr. Capes warned him against its excess, and endeavoured, at first with but little success, to attract him to the lucidity and gaiety of French literature. Pater's studies in philosophy now naturally brought him to Goethe, so massive an influence in the Oxford of that day, and the teaching of Goethe laid a deep impress upon his temperament, upon his whole outlook on the intellectual life. It was natural that one so delicately sensitive to the external symbol as was Pater should be prepared by the companionship of Goethe for the influence of a man who was Goethe's master in this one direction; and it was to a spirit inflammable in the highest degree that in 1866 was laid the torch of Otto Jahn's *Life of Winckelmann*, the "Biographische Aufsätze." There was everything in the character and career of the great German restorer of Hellenic feeling to fascinate Pater, who seemed, through Ruskin, Goethe and Hegel, to have travelled to his true prototype, to the one personality among the dead which was completely in sympathy with his own. Pater, too, among the sand-hills of a spiritual Brandenburg, had held out arms of longing towards ideal beauty, revealed in physical or sensuous forms, yet inspired and interpenetrated with harmonious thought. The troubled feverish vision, the variegated and indeed over-decorated æsthetic of Ruskin, had become wearisome to Pater—not simple enough nor sensuous enough. Winckelmann was the master he wanted, who could "finger those pagan marbles with unsinged hands, with no sense of shame or loss," who could live serenely "in a world of exquisite but abstract and colourless form;" and it was with the study of Winckelmann that he became himself a writer.

His famous essay on "Winckelmann" was the result of this new enthusiasm. It was published in the *Westminster Review* for January 1867, the author being now in his twenty-eighth year. From this time Pater's advance, though slow, was unbroken. Mr. John Morley having, in 1867, taken the editorship of the *Fortnightly Review*, called around him immediately a group of the most brilliant young men of the day. Walter Pater was in no undue haste to respond to the appeal. In 1868, inventing a name which has since sunken into disrepute and even ridicule, he published an essay on "Æsthetic Poetry," in which the early work of Mr. William Morris received prompt and judicious analysis. Then followed the series which are still so potent in their peculiar charm, the magnificent and most characteristic "Notes on Lionardo de Vinci," in November 1869; the "Fragment on Sandro Botticelli" in August 1870; the "Pico della Mirandula" in October, and the "Michelangelo" in November 1871. In 1873 most of these, and others, were published together in the memorable volume originally entitled "Studies in the History of the Renaissance."

At this point he becomes partly famous. We may look back over the years which followed his fellowship, and see that, with the accession of humanistic ideas, he had gradually lost all belief in the Christian religion. This was the point, in his whole career, at which he was furthest from the Anglican faith. His intention, on relinquishing the idea of entering the Church of England, had been to become a Unitarian minister. This also he had abandoned by 1864. But that Pater's interest in ecclesiastical matters was never really dead, and that it soon began to revive, is proved by an anecdote with which the Bishop of Peterborough obliges me. He remembers dining with him in 1873, in company with Bonamy Price. Conversation turned on ecclesiastical matters, and Pater passed on to a dreamy monologue about the beauty of the Reserved Sacrament in Roman churches, which "gave them all the sentiment of a house where lay a dead friend." This immediately aroused the Protestantism of Bonamy Price, and a theological discussion ensued which waxed so warm that Dr. Creighton had to suggest a retreat to the drawing-room. When he came up for election at Brasenose it was as a non-clerical fellow—I think the first who ever was appointed there—that Pater took his place in the society. In the next year, in company with Mr. Shadwell, he paid his first visit to Italy, and at Ravenna, Pisa, Florence, formed those impressions of the art of the Renaissance which were so powerfully to colour all his own future work as an artist. In 1858, when he came to Oxford, his sisters had migrated to Heidelberg, and here it was his custom to spend the long vacation, making no friends among the Germans, however, and never, in all those years, troubling himself to learn to speak their language.

II.

The costume of Walter Pater had been the ordinary academic dress of the don of the period, but in May 1869 he flashed forth at the Private View of the Royal Academy in a new top hat and a silk tie of brilliant apple-green. This little transformation marked a crisis; he was henceforth no longer a provincial philosopher, but a critic linked to London and the modern arts. Where he touched the latter was through the pre-Raphaelites, especially through the extreme admiration he had conceived for the works of Mr. Burne-Jones, then much talked about, but rarely seen. At no time, I think, had he much personal knowledge either of that painter or of Rossetti. With Mr. Swinburne he became about that date more intimate. The poet was a not unfrequent visitor in those years to Pater's college rooms. To all young Oxford, then, the name of Mr. Swinburne was an enchantment, and there used to be envious traditions of an upper window in Brasenose Lane thrown open to the summer night, and, welling forth from it, a music of verse, which first outsang and then silenced the night-

gales, protracting its harmonies until it disconcerted the lark himself at sunrise.

After this, it is a notable instance of the art of sinking to record that I first set eyes on Pater in 1871, as he and Mr. Swinburne were dismounting from a hansom cab at Gabriel Rossetti's door in Cheyne Walk. Almost unknown to the world, he was already an object of respect to me as the author of those "Notes on Lionardo," which had seemed to give a new aspect to the whole conception of Italian art. In 1872 I was presented to him in the studio of William Bell Scott; it was not until the early months of 1874 that I first began to visit him at Oxford, and so opened a friendship which was never clouded for a moment in the course of more than twenty years. From this point, then, although my opportunities of seeing Pater, especially in Oxford, were but occasional, I can record something from personal knowledge.

In 1869, removing from Brasenose many of the pretty objects and *bric-à-brac* with which he had been the first man in Oxford to decorate college rooms, Pater furnished a little house in Norham Gardens, No. 2 Bradmore Road, his sisters returning from Heidelberg to keep house for him. Once settled here, Pater blossomed out into considerable sociability, entertaining and being entertained in the cordial Oxford way. He had now a large circle of pleasant acquaintances; I cannot remember that he had many intimate friends. Besides those whom I have mentioned already, I can but recall Mark Pattison, Dr. Mandell Creighton (now Bishop of Peterborough), and Miss Mary Arnold, soon to marry an accomplished young member of Pater's own college, Mr. Humphry Ward. To these he would doubtless talk, to each in a different way, of the interests most deeply rooted in his heart, "of charm, and lucid order, and labour of the file," and to a very few London friends also. The rest of the world found him affable and acquiescent, already in those remote days displaying a little of that Renan manner which later on became emphasised, a manner which trifled gracefully and somewhat mysteriously with a companion not entirely in sympathy.

Pater's relation to the Rector of Lincoln was amusing. It was at once confiding and suspicious. "Pattison is charming," he used to murmur, "when life's good. Shall we go over and see if he is good this afternoon?" But he was worried by a certain wilfulness in the Rector; he could prove to be so far from good, so absolutely naughty. I remember on one occasion—I think in the autumn of 1874—when the Rector, on a visit at Bradmore Road, had been delicious: he had talked, in his most distinguished way, on a dozen rare and exquisite topics. He left, begging Pater to come to him next day, and kindly extending the invitation to me. Accordingly we went, but the charm was broken. A frivolous demon had entered into the Rector; he talked of croquet and of petticoats. We went back, sad and silent,

to Bradmore Road, and, just as we reached home, Pater said, with solemn firmness, "What Pattison likes best in the world, no doubt, is romping with great girls in the gooseberry-bushes!"

The vacations in these years were very pleasant to Pater; they were almost always spent abroad—in France, in the company of his sisters. He would walk as much as possible, scouring a neighbourhood for architectural features, and preserving these impressions of travel, which most of us lament to find so fugitive, with astonishing exactitude. He was no linguist, and French was the only language in which he could even make his wants understood. Although so much in Germany in his youth, he could speak no German. When he was travelling he always left a place, if any one staying in the hotel spoke to him. He had no wish to be competent in modern languages; he used to say: "Between you and me and the post, I hate a foreigner," and when exotic persons of distinction threatened to visit Brasenose, Pater used to disappear until he was sure that they had gone. He loved the North of France extremely, and knew it well. He was always planning a series of studies on the great ecclesiastical towns of France, yet wrote no more than a couple of these—on Amiens and on Vézelay. So eagerly did he prosecute these holiday tours, that he habitually overwalked himself, thus losing much of the benefit which he might otherwise have gained from the only form of exercise he ever indulged in. I note, in a letter of 1877, describing a visit to Azay-le-Rideau, this characteristic sentence: "We find always great pleasure in adding to our experiences of these French places, and return always a little tired indeed, but with our minds pleasantly full of memories of stained glass, old tapestries, and new wild flowers." These excursions rarely extended further than the centre of France, but once, I think in 1882, Pater went alone to Rome, and spent the winter vacation there. He could ill endure exciting travel, or too rapid hurrying from one impressive place to another. His eye absorbed so slowly, and his memory retained what he saw so completely, that to be shown too much was almost physical pain to him, and yet he was always inflicting it upon himself.

Some time after I knew him first, that entertaining skit, "The New Republic," was produced, and achieved great popular success. Pater had his niche in this gallery of caricatures, under the title of Mr. Rose. It has been represented that he suffered violent distress from this parody of his style and manner, that it caused him to retire from society and to abandon the prosecution of literature. Nothing in the world could be further from the truth. He thought the portrait a little unscrupulous, and he was discomposed by the freedom of some of its details. But he admired the cleverness and promise of the book, and it did not cause him to alter his mode of life or thought in the smallest degree. He was even flattered, for he was an author much younger and more obscure than most of those who were satirised,

and he was sensible that to be thus distinguished was a compliment. What he liked less, what did really ruffle him, was the persistence with which the newspapers at this time began to attribute to him all sorts of "æsthetic" follies and extravagances. He said to me, in 1876: "I wish they wouldn't call me 'a hedonist'; it produces such a bad effect on the minds of people who don't know Greek." And the direct result of all these journalistic mosquito-bites was the suppression of the famous "Conclusion" in the second (1877) edition of his "Renaissance."

The source of his very long silence, for twelve years divided his second book from his first, I hardly know, unless it be attributed to the painful slowness of his methods of composition, and his extreme solicitude for perfection of style. At last, in February, 1885, was published his romance of "Marius the Epicurean," the work by which, I believe, Pater will pre-eminently be known to posterity. In the meantime had appeared, in the *Fortnightly Review*, several of those Greek studies, on Demeter and Persephone, on the Marbles of Ægina and the like, which Mr. Shadwell now promises in a posthumous volume; "The Child in the House," too, in its earliest form, belongs to 1878, though first published as a book in the summer of the present year. The success of "Marius" was as great as that of a book so grave and strenuous could be. In 1887 Pater followed it by a series of four "Imaginary Portraits," studies in philosophic fiction, one of which, "Denys l'Auxerrois," displays the peculiarities of his style with more concentrated splendour than any other of his writings. In 1889 he collected some of his miscellaneous critical studies into a volume called "Appreciations, with an Essay on Style." In 1893 he published his highly finished college lectures on "Plato and Platonism" in a volume of rare dignity and humanistic beauty. Finally, in the early summer of 1894, "The Child in the House" was issued from the Oxford Press of Mr. Daniel, as a precious toy for bibliomaniacs. This list of publications practically resumes the events in Pater's life through twenty years.

During that period the household was moved once, in 1886, to Kensington, and again, in 1893, back to Oxford, where he fitted up a house in St. Giles. But, all the while, Pater's real home was in his rooms at Brasenose, where he passed a quiet, cloistered, and laborious existence, divided between his college duties and his books. His later years were comforted by a great deal of consideration and affection from those around him; noiseless, as he was, and in a sense unexhilarating, he became increasingly an object of respectful admiration to young Oxford men, whom, on his part, he treated with the most courteous indulgence. Of this generation, one disciple came to proffer a tribute of heroic worship, and remained to become an intimate friend; this was the Rev. F. W. Bussell, now fellow of Brasenose, whose tender solicitude did much to render the latest of Pater's years agree-

able to him. Pater acted for some time as dean and tutor of his college, entering assiduously into the councils and discipline of the society, but he never accepted, if indeed it were ever offered, any university office. He shrank from all multiplication of responsibility, from anything which should break in upon the sequestered and austere simplicity of his life. As time went on, a great change came over his relation to religious matters. When I had known him first he was a pagan, without any guide but that of the personal conscience; years brought gradually with them a greater and greater longing for the supporting solace of a creed. His talk, his habits, became more and more theological, and it is my private conviction that, had he lived a few years longer, he would have taken orders and a small college living in the country.

Report, which found so much to misrepresent in a life so orderly and simple, has erred even as to the place and occasion of his death. He was taken ill with rheumatic fever in the month of June of this year, being, as he remained to the end, not in college, but with his sisters in their house in St. Giles. He was recovering, and was well enough to be busy upon a study on "Pascal," which he has left nearly completed, when, in consequence of writing too close to an open window, pleurisy set in and greatly reduced his strength. Again he seemed convalescent, and had left his room, without ill-effect, on July 29, when, repeating the experiment next day, the action of the heart failed, and he died, on the staircase of his house, in the arms of his sister, at ten o'clock on the morning of Monday, July 30, 1894. Had he lived five days longer, he would have completed his fifty-fifth year. He was buried, in the presence of many of his oldest friends, in the beautiful cemetery of St. Giles at Oxford.

III.

When Pater was first seized with an ambition to write, the individuals of his own age with whom he came into competition were mainly poets. Those were the early days of Gabriel and Christian Rossetti, of Morris, of Swinburne; and most of the still younger men made their first steps in the field of verse, however far they might afterwards diverge from it. Pater, in this nest of singing-birds, resolved to be in prose no less painstaking, no less elaborate, no less bound by rule and art than the poets were. He is to be distinguished from those who had so much to say that their speech was forced out of them in a torrent, nor less from those whose instinct led them to bubble forth in periods of a natural artless grace. If we take these symbols of a mountain-stream or of a fountain for other prose-writers who have won the ear of the public with little effort, then for Pater the appropriate image seems the artesian well, to which the contents of which, strata of impermeable clay must be laboriously bored. It

was not that there was any lack of material there, nor any doubt about the form it must take when it emerged, but that it was so miraculously deep down and hard to reach. I have known writers of every degree, but never one to whom the act of composition was such a travail and an agony as it was to Pater.

In his earlier years the labour of lifting the sentences was so terrific that any one with less fortitude would have entirely abandoned the effort. I recollect the writing of the opening chapters of "Marius," and the stress that attended it—the intolerable languor and fatigue, the fevers and the cold fits, the grey hours of lassitude and insomnia, the toil as at a deep petroleum well when the oil refuses to flow. With practice, this terrific effort grew less. A year ago I was reminding him of those old times of storm and stress, and he replied, "Ah! it is much easier now. If I live long enough, no doubt I shall learn quite to like writing." The public saw the result of the labour in the smooth solidity of the result, and could suppose, from the very elaboration, that great pains had been taken. How much pains, very few indeed can have guessed!

It may be of interest to record the manner in which this most self-conscious and artistic of prose-writers proceeded. First of all, another pretty fable must be knocked on the head. It has been said, and repeated, that Pater composed his best sentences without any relation to a context, and wrote them down on little squares of paper, ready to stick them in at appropriate and effective places. This is nonsense; it is quite true that he used such squares of paper, but it was for a very different purpose. He read with a box of these squares beside him, jotting down on each, very roughly, anything in his author which struck his fancy, either giving an entire quotation, or indicating a reference, or noting a disposition. He did not begin, I think, any serious critical work without surrounding himself by dozens of these little loose notes. When they were not direct references or citations, they were of the nature of a *memoria technica*. Here is an example:

"Something about the gloomy Byzantine archit., belfries, solemn night come in about the birds attracted by the Towers."

Here is another:

"? did he suppose predestination to have taken place, only *after* the Fall?"

These papers would be placed about him, like the pieces of a puzzle, and when the right moment came the proper square would serve as a monitor or as a guide.

Having prepared his box of little squares, he would begin the labour of actual composition, and so conscious was he of the modifications and additions which would supervene that he always wrote on ruled paper, leaving each alternate line blank. Mr. Austin Dobson reminds me that Goldsmith did the same. On this broad canvas of

alternate lines, then, Pater would slowly begin to draw his composition, the cartoon of what would in time be a finished essay. In the first draft the phrase would be a bald one; in the blank alternate line he would at leisure insert fresh descriptive or parenthetical clauses, other adjectives, more exquisitely related adverbs, until the space was filled. It might then be supposed that the MS. was complete. Far from it! Cancelling sheet by sheet, Pater then began to copy out the whole—as before, on alternate lines of copy-book pages; this revise was treated in the same way—corrected, enlarged, interleaved, as it were, with minuter shades of feeling and more elaborate apparatus of parenthesis.

No wonder that certain disadvantages were attendant upon the excessive finish of such a style. It is not possible to work in this way, with a cold hammer, and yet to avoid a certain deadness and slipperiness of surface. Pater's periods, in attaining their long-drawn harmony and fulness, were apt to lose vigour. Their polish did not quite make up for their languor, for the faintness and softness which attended their slow manipulation. Verse will bear an almost endless labour of the file; prose, as the freer and more spontaneous form, is less happy in subjection to it. "What long sentences Plato writes!" Pater says in his "Platonism," and no doubt Plato might return the compliment. The sentences of the Oxford critic are often too long, and they are sometimes broken-backed with having had to bear too heavy a burden of allusion and illustration. His style, however, was his peculiarity. It had beautiful qualities, if we have to confess that it had the faults of those qualities. It was highly individual; it cannot be said that he owed it to any other writer, or that at any period of his thirty years of literary labour he faltered or swerved from his own path. He was to a high degree self-centred. Pater did not study his contemporaries; last summer he told me that he had read scarcely a chapter of Mr. Stevenson and not a line of Mr. Kipling. "I feel, from what I hear about them," he said, "that they are strong; they might lead me out of my path. I want to go on writing in my own way, good or bad. I should be afraid to read Kipling, lest he should come between me and my page next time I sat down to write." It was the excess of a very native and genuine modesty. He, too, was strong, had he but known it, strong enough to have resisted the magnets of contemporary style. Perhaps his own writing might have grown a little simpler and a little more supple if he had had the fortitude to come down and fight among his fellows.

IV.

Walter Pater was one of those discreet spirits who, like Gray, "never speak out." He was cautious, reserved, and shy in his relations even with his friends; he seemed to possess no medium

through which to approach them very closely. An extremely affectionate disposition took the place of expansiveness, and the young people who in later years gathered around him mistook the one for the other. Each found in Pater what he brought; each saw in that patient, courteous, indulgent mirror a pleasant reflection of himself. The inaccessibility of Pater is another of those fables which has to be destroyed; no one was less a hermit, no one was more easily amused or better pleased to bid a congenial companion welcome. He was an assiduous host, a gracious listener; but who could tell what was passing behind those half-shut, dark-grey eyes, that courteous and gentle mask? He liked the human race, one is inclined to say, liked its noise and neighbourhood, if it were neither too loud, nor too near, but his faith in it was never positive, nor would he trust it to read his secret thoughts.

I have already suggested his likeness to Renan in the attitude of his mind. The great Frenchman has described, in his autobiography, the tendency which led him to refrain from opposition and argument, and to bow the head in the conversational house of Rimmon. Walter Pater had these concessions, mere escapes of the soul from undue pressure, and he had, too, quite unconsciously, some of the very tricks of speech of Renan—especially the “no doubt” that answered to the Frenchman’s incessant “n’en doutez pas.” With natures like his, in which the tide of physical spirits runs low, in which the vitality is lukewarm, the first idea in the presence of anything too vivacious is retreat, and the most obvious form of social retreat is what we call “affectation.” It is not to be denied that, in the old days, Pater, startled by strangers, was apt to seem affected: he retreated, as into a fortress, and enclosed himself in a sort of solemn effeminacy. It was, at its worst, mild in comparison with what the masters of preposterous behaviour have since accustomed us to, but it reminded one too much of Mr. Rose. It was put on entirely for the benefit of strangers, and to his inner circle of friends it seemed like a joke. Perhaps in some measure it was a joke; no one could ever quite tell whether Pater’s strange *rictus* was closer to laughter or to tears.

A nature so enclosed as his, so little capable of opening its doors to others, must have some outlet of relief. Pater found his outlet in a sort of delicate, secret playfulness. There are animals which sit all day immovable and humped up among the riot of their fellows, and which, when all the rest of the menagerie is asleep, steal out upon their slip of greensward and play the wildest pranks in the light of the moon. Pater has often reminded me of some such armadillo or wombat. That childishness which is the sign-manual of genius used to come out in the oddest way when he was perfectly at home. Those who think of him as a solemn pundit of æsthetics may be amazed to know that he delighted in very simple and farcical spectacles and in the broadest of humour. His favourite among

modern playwrights was Mr. Pinero, and I shall never forget going with him to see "The Magistrate," when that piece was originally produced. Not a schoolboy in the house was more convulsed with laughter, more enchanted at the romping "business" of the play, than the author of "Marius." He had the gift, when I knew him first, of inventing little farcical dialogues, into which he introduced his contemporaries; in these the Rector of Lincoln generally figured, and Pater had a rare art of imitating Pattison's speech and peevish intonation. One playful fancy, persisted in so long that even close and old friends were deceived by it, was the figment of a group of relations — Uncle Capsicum and Uncle Guava, Aunt Fancy (who fainted when the word "leg" was mentioned), and Aunt Tart (for whom no acceptable present could ever be found). These shadowy personages had been talked about for so many years that at last, I verily believe, Pater had almost persuaded himself of their existence. Perhaps these little touches will be thought too trifling to be mentioned, but I hold that they were all a part and parcel of his complex and shrouded intellectual life, and therefore not to be forgotten.

He had great sweetness and uniformity of temper, and almost the only thing that ever ruffled him was a reference to an act of vandalism committed at Brasenose while he was on the governing body. The college had a group, called "Cain and Abel," cast in lead, a genuine work by John of Bologna. For some reason or other this was thought inconvenient, and was sold for old lead, a somewhat barbarous proceeding. Pater, from indolence, or else from indifference to late Italian sculpture, did not stir a finger to prevent this desecration, and in later years a perfectly unflinching mode of rousing him would be to say, artlessly, "Was there not once a group by John of Bologna in the college?" However sunken in reverie, however dreamily detached, Pater would sit up in a moment, and say, with great acidity, "It was totally devoid of merit, no doubt."

Pater showed much tact and good sense in his attitude towards the college life. He lectured rarely, I believe, in later years; in the old days he was an assiduous tutor. His temperament, it is true, sometimes made it difficult to work with him. On one occasion, at the examination for scholarships, he undertook to look over the English essays; when the examiners met to compare marks, Pater had none. He explained, with languor, "They did not much impress me." As something had to be done, he was asked to endeavour to recall such impressions as he had formed; to stimulate his memory, the names were read out in alphabetical order. Pater shook his head mournfully as each was pronounced, murmuring dreamily, "I do not recall him," "He did not strike me," and so on. At last the reader came to the name of Sanctuary, on which Pater's face lit up, and he said, "Yes; I remember; I liked his name." My friend, Dr. Henry Jackson, gives me an anecdote which

illustrates a more practical side to his character. In 1870, having just begun to lecture at Trinity, our Cambridge Platonist found himself seated next Pater at dinner in Brasenose. He said to him: "I believe you lecture constantly on 'The Republic.' How do you get through it in time? It seems as though lecturing three times a week for three terms, it would be impossible to deal adequately within a year with all the problems and the fallacies." "Oh!" said Pater, "I always begin by telling them that Socrates is not such a fool as he seems, and we get through nicely in two terms." He grew more and more inclined to take an indulgent view of the young people. A year or two ago, I remember his saying, when somebody asked him whether the horse-play of the undergraduates did not disturb him, "Oh! no; I rather enjoy it. They are like playful young tigers, that have been fed." He was not a "progressive"; our friend the Bishop of Peterborough recalls a serious discussion in common-room at Brasenose, on the burning subject of university reform. Pater interposed in the thick of the fray with the somewhat disconcerting remark, "I do not know what your object is. At present the undergraduate is a child of nature; he grows up like a wild rose in a country lane; you want to turn him into a turnip, rob him of all grace, and plant him out in rows." And his remark, concerning bonfires in the quad, that they lighted up the spire of St. Mary's so beautifully, will long be remembered.

The perennial conflict in his members, between his exquisite instinct for corporeal beauty on the one hand and his tendency to ecclesiastical symbol and theological dogma on the other, is the secret, I think, of what made the character of Pater so difficult for others to elucidate, in some measure also so painful and confusing for himself. He was not all for Apollo, nor all for Christ, but each deity swayed in him, and neither had that perfect homage that brings peace behind it. As Alphonse Daudet says of some thinker, "*Son cerveau était une cathédrale désaffectée*," and when he tried, as he bade us try, "to burn always with the hard, gem-like flame" of æsthetic observation, the flame of another altar mingled with the fire and darkened it. Not easily or surely shall we divine the workings of a brain and a conscience scarcely less complex, less fantastic, less enigmatical, than the face of Mona Lisa herself. Pater, as a human being, illustrated by no letters, by no diaries, by no impulsive unburdenings of himself to associates, will grow more and more shadowy. But it has seemed well to preserve, while still they are attainable, some of the external facts about a writer whose polished and concentrated work has already become part of the classic literature of England, and who will be remembered among the writers of this age when all but a few are forgotten.

THE CARRYING-TRADE OF THE WORLD.

THE business done by the shipping and railways of the world is colossal, and goes on increasing at a pace that far exceeds the growth of population or of industries. It is a matter of special interest to Englishmen, since they own more than half of the shipping on the high seas, and have either built, or supplied the money to build, one-half of the existing railways. We are pre-eminently the carriers of the world *per mare, per terram*, and it would appear that about 50 per cent. of the annual savings of the British people is spent in building vessels for international commerce or in making railways in one or other part of the globe.

1. THE MERCHANT NAVIES OF THE WORLD.

The British flag at present holds the same preponderance on sea that the Phœnicians enjoyed in early times, and this preponderance is increasing: we see, for instance, that since 1840 the tonnage of our flag has trebled, while the aggregate of that of all other nations has only doubled, viz.:

	Nominal Tonnage.			Increase per cent.
	1840.	1892.		
British . . .	3,310,000	10,230,000	...	210
Other flags . .	6,070,000	12,670,000	...	108
The World . .	9,380,000	22,900,000	...	

But this gives an inadequate idea of the growth of British shipping in the last half-century. While the introduction of steam-power has been common to all nations, our superiority in this class of vessels has given us a still larger share of the carrying-power of the world than

the figures of nominal tonnage indicate. It is recognised by the best statisticians in England and France that a steamer has four times the carrying-power of a sailing vessel of equal tonnage. On this basis we find the carrying-power stood thus :

	Carrying-power—Tons.			British ratio.
	British.	Other Flags.	Total.	
1846	3,590,000 ...	6,890,000 ...	10,480,000 ...	34·1
1892	27,720,000 ...	21,120,000 ...	48,840,000 ...	56·6

Fifty years ago we had only one-third of the carrying-trade on the high seas ; to-day we have much more than one-half. And here it may be interesting to see what progress the various flags of the world have made in ten years, viz. :

Flag.*	Carrying-power—Tons.		Ratio.	
	1882.	1892.	1882.	1892.
British	19,020,000 ...	27,720,000	51·3 ...	56·6
Scandinavian . .	3,040,000 ...	4,240,000	8·7 ...	8·8
German	2,160,000 ...	3,870,000	6·2 ...	8·0
French	2,230,000 ...	2,410,000	6·3 ...	4·9
Spanish	1,490,000 ...	2,020,000	4·2 ...	4·2
United States . .	1,760,000 ...	1,680,000	5·0 ...	3·4
Italian	1,310,000 ...	1,410,000	3·7 ...	2·8
Russian	1,120,000 ...	1,210,000	3·2 ...	2·4
Various	2,950,000 ...	4,280,000	8·4 ...	8·9
Total	35,060,000 ...	48,840,000	100·0 ...	100·0

The greatest relative increase has been among British and German, while the French and Italian flags have suffered a heavy fall, and this latter fact offers an instructive lesson on the absurdity of Protection, seeing that for the last fourteen years the French Government has been paying £400,000 a year in bounties on French shipping. In the foregoing table the item United States shows only sea-going tonnage, and is exclusive of vessels that have no license for the high seas, being occupied in lake and river traffic.

Steamers are so rapidly superseding sailing vessels, that whereas the latter had two-thirds of the world's carrying trade in 1860, they have now little more than one-fifth, viz. :

	Carrying-power—Tons.			Ratio.	
	1860.	1892.		1860.	1892.
Steamers	6,656,000 ...	37,810,000	...	31·7 ...	77·4
Sailing	14,756,000 ...	11,030,000	...	68·3 ...	22·6
Total	21,612,000 ...	48,840,000	...	100·0 ...	100·0

While the carrying-power of the world has more than doubled since 1860, the ~~tonnage~~ tonnage of sailing vessels has declined by nearly 4,000,000 tons. It is often asserted that the shipping business is

overdone, and that there are more vessels afloat than the world has need of. There are, indeed, many steamers with antiquated machinery, which it is not found convenient to employ in trade, but the activity of the shipbuilding yards shows that the demand for vessels is undiminished. The new vessels turned out yearly average 1,500,000 tons, of which 400,000 tons in foreign yards and 1,100,000 in those of the United Kingdom. The average of vessels built in British yards for the years 1890-91-92 is stated to have been :

	Tons Yearly.
Steam	927,000
Sail	218,000
Total	1,145,000

Meantime it is certainly true, when we compare the port-entries of all nations for 1892 with those for 1882, that the increase of trade during the last ten years has been something less than that of carrying-power, viz. :

	1882. Tons.		1892. Tons.		Increase per cent.
Port-entries	160,330,000	...	220,190,000	...	37.5
(Carrying-power . . .	35,060,000	...	48,840,000	...	39.5

In examining the table of port-entries we find, as we might have expected, that the greatest relative increase is in those remote parts of the world, such as the Colonies and South America, where commerce is every year opening up new fields for enterprise and labour, viz. :

	1882. Tons.		1892. Tons.		Increase per cent.
United Kingdom . . .	30,320,000	...	37,670,000	...	24.5
Continent	67,710,000	...	90,450,000	...	33.6
United States	14,660,000	...	18,180,000	...	24.2
Colonies	34,390,000	...	51,230,000	...	49.0
South America	9,120,000	...	15,530,000	...	70.4
Egypt, Japan, &c. . .	4,130,000	...	7,130,000	...	73.2
The World	160,330,000	...	220,190,000	...	37.5

Under the item of Colonies is comprehended the trade of all the transmarine possessions of the European Powers: thus the British Colonies include also India, and the French, in like manner, Tunis and Cochin China, the port-entries of all colonies being shown in the following table (except Portuguese and Danish, for which there are no returns) :

Colonies.	1882. Tons.		1892. Tons.		Increase per cent.
British	25,710,000	...	39,620,000	...	54.1
French	3,610,000	...	4,660,000	...	29.2
Dutch	1,950,000	...	4,080,000	...	109.2
Spanish	3,120,000	...	2,870,000	...	—
Total	34,390,000	...	51,230,000	...	49.0

The British Colonies show a remarkable increase of trade, while the Spanish have retrograded. As for the Dutch, the above figures were not a normal development: the trade of Sumatra was almost wholly suspended in 1882 by the second Acheen war, which ended with a decisive victory for the Dutch in September of that year, and hence the above figures afford no proper basis for comparison. The old saying that "Trade follows the flag" is exemplified in the fact that the relations between Great Britain and her Colonies grow much faster than either the trade of the ports of the United Kingdom or our relations with foreign countries. The entries of vessels carrying the British flag into the ports of the world were :

	1882. Tons.		1892. Tons.		Increase per cent.
United Kingdom . . .	21,520,000	...	27,040,000	...	25·7
British Colonies . . .	20,190,000	...	30,210,000	...	49·6
United States . . .	7,680,000	...	9,820,000	...	27·8
Other countries * . .	35,570,000	...	48,280,000	...	35·7
Total	84,960,000	...	115,320,000	...	-

To return to the question as to whether the world has more shipping afloat than there is need for, it may be *à propos* to compare the percentage of ballast-entries in 1892 with the same in 1882. The only countries that give us statements of ballast-entries are the United Kingdom, the Continental nations, and the United States, and their figures show as follows :

Ports of	Total Port-entries—Tons.		In Ballast.		Percentage.	
	1882.	1892.	1882.	1892.	1882.	1892.
United Kingdom	30,320,000 ...	37,670,000 ...	5,510,000 ...	8,140,000 ...	18 ...	22
Continent . .	67,710,000 ...	90,450,000 ...	14,830,000 ...	17,990,000 ...	22 ...	20
United States .	14,660,000 ...	18,180,000 ...	1,760,000 ...	3,670,000 ...	12 ...	21
Total . .	112,690,000 ...	146,300,000 ...	22,100,000 ...	29,800,000 ...	20 ...	20

Although one-fifth of the vessels on the high seas are in ballast, we are justified in taking the tonnage of port-entries as more or less the weight of cargo, seeing that steamers often carry 30 or 40 per cent. more than their registered tonnage. There is a manifest tendency all over the world to increase the size of vessels; for example, the mean tonnage of a British steamer rose from 260 tons in 1863 to 596 in 1883, and to 710 tons in 1893, showing a rise of 20 per cent. in the last ten years. This has been accompanied by a greater efficiency of our seamen, as shown in the following table :

Year.	Seamen.	Tons Carried.	Tons per Man.
1860 ...	171,600 ...	18,800,000 ...	110
1872 ...	203,700 ...	56,600,000 ...	278
1892 ...	249,600*	115,320,000 ...	461

* This is an estimate: the other items are official.

Thus it appears that one seaman now does as much work as four did in 1860, and that, at the same ratio as thirty years ago, we should now require a million seamen to do the work of 1892.

According to the figures of the Bureau Veritas for 1892, the average size of British and German vessels is much greater than that of other nations. The subjoined table comprises only sea-going vessels: all steamers over 100 tons and sailing vessels over 50 tons:

Flag.	Number.	Nominal Tonnage.	Average Tons.
British	14,971	9,410,000	627
Scandinavian	6,733	2,290,000	340
United States	3,791	1,880,000	494
German	2,165	1,470,000	684
Italian	2,122	740,000	348
French	1,990	740,000	372
Russian	2,001	510,000	255
Spanish	1,407	470,000	333
Various	5,202	1,193,000	383
Total	40,385	19,503,000	488

The above vessels are manned by 705,000 seamen, which shows an average of 28 tons register to each man, but the average as regards British seamen is 38 tons, or nearly 40 per cent. over the average.

Another proof of the efficiency of our seamen is afforded by the table of wrecks of various nations; the only countries that distinguish returns of complete loss are the following, and the averages for the latest three years of which returns are available show as follows:

RETURNS FOR 1888-89-90.

Flag.	Tonnage afloat.	Tons lost yearly.	Ratio of loss.
British	7,760,000	190,000	2·4
United States	1,880,000	128,000	6·8
German	1,320,000	41,000	3·2
French	740,000	33,000	4·5

If we take American, German, and French shipping in the aggregate, their average of loss yearly by shipwreck is 5 per cent, which is double the British average. It would not, however, be fair to ascribe the difference altogether to a superiority of our seamen over those of other nations; it arises in great measure from the fact that the British merchant navy has a higher ratio of steamers, and we know from Mr. Kiaer's carefully compiled tables that sailing-vessels are much more liable to loss than steamers, the difference being as four to three. In the above table British shipping is confined to that of the United Kingdom, but in all preceding ones Colonial are included.

The main facts to be borne in mind in connection with the carrying-trade on the high seas are these: (1) That we possess 56 per cent. of

the carrying-power of the world; (2) that the trade between Great Britain and her Colonies is growing much more rapidly than the general commerce of the world; (3) that our seamen carry more merchandise per man than those of other nations, and four times as much as the British seaman of 1860; (4) that our annual loss by shipwreck is only half that of other nations, as compared with tonnage afloat.

2. THE RAILWAYS OF THE WORLD.

The existing lines of railway open to traffic are about 410,000 miles in length, representing an outlay of about 6350 millions sterling. No less than 99 per cent. of this total has been constructed since 1840, as the following table shows:

Year.	Miles.	Cost, millions £.	Average £ per mile
1840	4,520	71	15,800
1860	66,290	1,079	16,300
1880	228,440	3,938	17,200
1892	399,270	6,220	15,500

In 1850 there were no railways outside of Europe and North America, but we find them ten years later in every quarter of the globe, and since 1860 their march has been rapid, as we see in the following table:

	Mil. age.		Cost, millions £.			
	1860.	1892.	1860	1892.	1860	1892.
Europe	31,890	141,440	797	3,342	...	...
North America . .	32,720	195,600	264	2,222	...	...
South America . .	320	20,450	4	222	...	...
Asia	840	22,600	8	228	...	...
Australia	250	12,410	2	126	...	...
Africa	270	6,770	4	80	...	...
The World . .	66,290	399,270	1,079	6,220	...	...

Since 1860 the annual construction of railways has averaged more than 10,000 miles, representing an outlay of 150 millions sterling per annum; the average in late years has been much higher, viz.:

	Miles built yearly.	Cost, £ yearly.
1841-60	3,090	50,400,000
1861-70	6,190	101,800,000
1871-80	10,020	184,100,000
1881-92	14,240	189,500,000

This enormous expenditure of money and labour has had the happiest effects in promoting the development of industry in all countries, and of international commerce. In this way the construction of railways has tended to increase the carrying-trade by sea, for there is evidently a close relationship between the two; and it is interesting to compare

the growth of carrying-power on sea and the horse-power of railway locomotives, since 1860, viz.:

	Shipping. Carrying-power—Tons.		Railways. Locomotive horse-power
1860	21,730,000	...	5,710,000
1870	25,100,000	...	11,740,000
1882	35,060,000	....	23,900,000
1892	48,840,000	...	34,500,000

In the last 22 years the carrying-power on sea has doubled, while that of railway locomotives has trebled. If we add together the two items, and call the product "carrying-power," we shall see at a glance what a mighty auxiliary mankind has herein found for the ends of labour and civilisation:

	Carrying-power.		Yearly increase.
1860	27,440,000	...	...
1870	36,840,000	...	940,000
1880	58,960,000	...	2,212,000
1892	83,340,000	...	2,438,000

The carrying-power of nations is more than three times what it was in 1860, and the facilities thus provided for the interchange of commodities have lessened the prices of all things, extended the markets of the world, and conferred incalculable benefits on the human race. In the year 1850 the ordinary cost of land-carriage for goods in Europe was 50 francs a ton per 100 kilometres, say 8*d.* a mile, which is eight times the present charge by rail. Generally speaking, the former charge was equivalent for 60 miles of haulage to 15 per cent. of the value of the merchandise, since all sea-borne goods in 1850 showed an average value of £14 per ton, and this may be also taken as the average value at that time of goods carried on land. A saving, therefore, of 35*s.* a ton, which has been effected by means of railways, means a fall of 12 per cent. in the price of all commodities, without loss to anybody. The *Journal des Economistes* states the ordinary freight charge per ton on railways as follows:

Pence per 100 miles.

United States	40	...	Germany	82	...	Italy	125
Holland	78	...	France	110	...	Great Britain	140
Belgium	80	...	Russia	120	...	Average	97

This shows an average of a penny a mile, as compared with 8*d.* in 1850. According to an official statement published at Berlin in 1879, the saving of freight charge in Prussia by the introduction of railways averaged during the years 1871–78 no less than 76 millions sterling per annum, which was equal to 60 per cent. of the capital cost of the then existing railways. The same is, more or less, true of other countries, and hence wherever commerce is active we find

numerous railways; the following table for 1892 shows the mileage and outlay, as compared with population:

	Miles.	Millions £.	Miles per million population.	£ per inhabitant.
United Kingdom	20,320	944	533	25
France	21,660	595	560	15
Germany	27,240	545	542	11
Russia	19,800	351	210	4
Austria	17,730	326	420	8
Italy	8,750	186	286	6
Spain and Portugal	8,100	130	370	6
United States	171,800	1,936	2,640	29
Spanish America	27,750	309	690	8
Canada	15,110	181	3,020	36
Australia	12,350	126	3,100	30
Other countries	48,660	591	...	...
The World	399,270	6,220	...	...

But, while in every country the benefits resulting to the community from the construction of railways have been equivalent to an annual dividend of 40 or 50 per cent. on their cost, the results to the capitalists and shareholders who provided the necessary money have been by no means encouraging. If we take the average returns of net receipts for the years 1887-88 we find that only in two countries did they reach 5 per cent., the average for Europe being less than 4 per cent. (3·7), and for the world only a fraction over 3 per cent., as shown in the following table:

United Kingdom	4·1	Italy	2·5	Spanish America	1·6
France	3·8	Sweden	2·9	India	5·2
Germany	5·1	Belgium	4·6	Australia	3·3
Russia	3·3	United States	3·1	Egypt	4·1
Austria	3·1	Canada	1·7	The World	3·2

Among the numerous results of the construction of railways, one has been to give a great impetus to the iron and steel industry, the average consumption of rails since 1880 having been 4,000,000 tons yearly. The lines now in traffic represent a little over 60,000,000 tons of rails, of which about 75 per cent. are of steel; the total mileage of iron rails in 1882 was only 20,700,000 tons, and a good deal of this has been replaced with steel. The latter rail is 10 per cent. lighter than iron, and has 150 per cent. more durability, the life of an iron rail being 16, that of a steel one 40, years. The first use of steel rails was in 1862, at Chalk Farm Station, near London, and the saving effected by using them is considerable, amounting to 950,000 tons of rails yearly. This saving in the wear and tear of rails is equal to £5,000,000 per annum, or an addition of 2½ per cent. to the net earnings of the railways of the world—that is to say, where the dividend would otherwise be 4 per cent., the saving effected by steel

rails raises it to 4·1 per cent. As soon as the remaining iron rails shall have been replaced by steel ones the annual saving will rise to £6,700,000 per annum. The goods traffic on the railways of the world has trebled since 1870, viz. :

	Millions of tons.	
	1870.	1902.
Europe	401	902
United States	150	749
Other countries	11	95
The World	562	1,746

The daily traffic averages 5,000,000 tons and 8,000,000 passengers (not counting tramways), of which latter number 2,500,000 are carried in the United Kingdom, 3,200,000 on the Continent of Europe, 1,600,000 in the United States, and 700,000 in other parts of the world. The life of a locomotive is 15 years, during which time it will run 240,000 miles, carry 600,000 tons, or 1,000,000 passengers, and earn £60,000; its ordinary power is 300-horse, and its first cost £2000. The number of locomotives at work is 110,000, representing an approximate value of 200 millions sterling, while that of the shipping of all nations is about 220 millions.

In conclusion, it may be interesting to compare the railway goods traffic of various countries, and for this purpose the following table reduces all merchandise carried to an equivalent of tonnage carried 100 miles, the figures representing approximately the traffic of 1892 :

Millions of tons carried 100 miles.					
United States	845	France	70	Belgium	15
Germany	136	Austria	42	Italy	12
United Kingdom	94	Russia	40	The World	1348

Here we see that the United States railways do two-thirds of the goods traffic on all the railways of the world, although in point of length they only stand for one-third of the total. It appears also that the railways of the United Kingdom have more than twice as much haulage as those of Russia, and that the little kingdom of Belgium leaves Italy a long way behind.

3. CANAL AND RIVER TRAFFIC.

The traffic on rivers and canals, although vastly inferior to that of railways, is in some countries very important. The canals of the United Kingdom carry 34 million tons, but the average length of haulage is unknown, and the net earnings are less than 1s. per ton carried. The cargo carried on French inland waters is equal to 15 million tons for 100 miles. The principal water ways of Germany carry 14 million tons yearly, those of Belgium 8 millions, distance

not being stated. The canals of Russia occupy 1500 steamers, 61,000 boats, and 74,000 rafts, which give employment to 300,000 boatmen. The navigable waterways of the principal countries are as follows :

	Miles.*		Miles.		Miles.
United Kingdom	3,810	Russia	33,920	United States	51,820
France	7,730	Austria	7,200	Brazil	22,200
Germany	17,080	Canada	3,360	The World	170,550

The facilities of water-transit are nowhere turned to such account as in the United States, where the carrying-power of vessels engaged in lake and river traffic represents 9,300,000 tons, which is equal to one-third of the carrying-power of the British merchant navy. The average freight charge by water in the United States is 20 pence per ton for 100 miles, or exactly half the ordinary rate on American railways.

The Suez Canal is by far the most important in the world, and perhaps the most useful work ever made by man. It shortens the voyage between Europe and the East by one-third, thus enabling two vessels to do the work of three, and its traffic has increased 54 per cent. in 10 years, viz. :

	Gross tonnage.		Net tonnage.
1882*	7,120,000	...	5,070,000
1892	10,870,000	...	7,710,000

British vessels stood in 1892 for 76 per cent. of the total. The toll is nearly 8s. per net ton, and the profits in 1892, after deducting working expenses, amounted to £1,440,000 sterling, or 8½ per cent. on the cost of construction.

4. CONCLUSION.

The preceding brief sketch suffices to show what a revolution has taken place in the carrying-trade of the world during the last 50 years, and how beneficially it has affected the interests of mankind. Summing together the traffic by land and sea we find that it has grown tenfold since 1850. The carrying-trade is at present one of the chief occupations of men, as we see by the numbers employed on railways and in sea-going shipping, viz. :

	Railways.		Shipping.		Total.
Europe	1,540,000	...	550,000	...	2,090,000
United States	874,000	...	60,000	...	934,000
Other countries	480,000	...	95,000	...	575,000
The World	2,894,000	...	705,000	...	3,599,000

The gross receipts of the carrying-trade in which the above men are employed amount to about 650 millions sterling per annum, which is equal to £180 per man, or nearly £2,000,000 per day.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

MOUNTAIN-FALLS.

THE great landslip which caused the formation of the Gohna Lake, in Gurhwal, in the central Himalayas, has recently attracted much attention. Such landslips are not uncommon in mountain ranges of relatively recent elevation, where strata steeply tilted are in positions of not very durable equilibrium. Undermining by water, changes of temperature, and the like forces, are constantly at work; and from year to year their activity makes itself apparent. In process of time the amount of rock ready to slide becomes reduced, and the mountain range, as its peaks diminish in altitude and lose their precipitancy of form, becomes more stable and less liable to monstrous fallings and catastrophes.

The Himalayas are, from a geological point of view, a very young set of mountain ranges: they still tumble about on an embarrassingly large scale. The fall, which has recently made such a stir, began on September 6, 1893. That day the Maithana Hill (11,000 feet), a spur of a large mountain mass, pitched bodily, rather than slid, into the valley.

“ Little could be seen of the terrible occurrence, for clouds of dust instantly arose, which darkened the neighbourhood and fell for miles around, whitening the ground and the trees until all seemed to be snow-covered. The foot of the hill had been undermined by springs until there was no longer an adequate base, and in the twinkling of an eye a large part of the mountain slid down, pushed forward, and shot across the valley, presenting to the little river a lofty and impervious wall, against which its waters afterwards gathered. Masses of rock were hurled a mile away, and knocked down trees on the slopes across the valley. Many blocks of dolomitic limestone, weighing from thirty to fifty tons, were sent like cannon-shots through the air. The noise was terrific, and the frightened natives heard the din repeated at intervals for several days, for the first catastrophe was succeeded by a number of smaller slides. Even five months after the mountain gave way,

every rainy day was succeeded by falls of rocks. A careful computation gives the weight of the enormous pile of rubbish at 800,000,000 tons."

The Himalayas are indeed passing through their dramatic geological period, when they give rise to such landslips as this at relatively frequent intervals. 'Plenty of landslips quite as big have been recorded in the last half-century, and, amongst the remote and uninhabited regions of the great ranges, numbers more, of which no record is made, constantly happen. The catastrophic period has ended for the Alps. Landslips on a great scale seldom occur there now; when they do occur, the cause of them is oftener the activity of man than of natural forces. But of a great landslide in the Alps details are sure to be observed, and we are enabled to form a picture of the occurrence. When the Alps tremble the nations quake; the Himalayas may shudder in their solitudes, but the busy occidental world pays scant attention, unless gathering waters threaten to spread ruin afar. Of the Gohna Lake we have been told much, but little of the fall that caused it. Eye-witnesses appear not to have been articulate. We can, however, form some idea of what it was like from the minute and accurate account we possess of a great and famous Alpine landslide: I refer to that which buried part of the village of Elm, in Canton Clarus, on September 11, 1881.*

Elm is the highest village in the Sernf valley. Its position is fixed by the proximity of a meadow-flat of considerable extent. Above this three minor valleys radiate, two of which are separated from one another by a mountain mass, whose last buttress was the Plattenbergkopf, a hill with a precipitous side and a flat and wooded summit, which used to face the traveller coming up the main valley. It was this hill that fell.

The cause of the fall was simple, and reflects little credit on Swiss communal government. About half-way up the hill there dips into it a bed of fine slate, excellent for school-slates. In the year 1868 concessions were given by the Commune for working this slate for ten years, without any stipulations as to the method to be employed. Immense masses of the rock were removed. A hole was made 180 metres wide; and no supports were left for the roof. It was pushed into the mountain to a depth of 65 metres! In 1878, when the concessions lapsed, the Commune, by a small majority, decided to work the quarry itself. Every burgher considered that he had a right to work in the quarry, when the weather was unsuitable for farm labour. The place was therefore overcrowded on wet days, and burdened with unskilful hands. The quarry, of course, did not pay, and became a

* All details connected with this avalanche were collected on the spot, and shortly afterwards published in a volume—"Der Bergsturz von Elm"—by E. Buss and A. Heim. Zurich, 1881.

charge on the rates, but between 80 and 100 men drew wages from it intermittently.

The roof by degrees became visibly rotten. Lumps of rock used to fall from it, and many fatal accidents occurred. The mass of the mountain above the quarry showed a tendency to grow unstable, yet blasting went forward merrily, and no precautions were taken. Cracks opened overhead in all directions; water and earth used to ooze down through them. Fifteen hundred feet higher up, above the top of the Plattenbergkopf, the ground began to be rifted. In 1876 a large crack split the rock across above the quarry roof, and four years later the mass thus outlined fell away. In 1879 serious signs were detected of coming ruin on a large scale. A great crack split the mountain across behind the top of the hill. The existence of this crack was well known to the villagers, who had a special name for it. It steadily lengthened and widened. By August 1881 it was over four metres wide, and swallowed up all the surface drainage. Every one seems then to have agreed that the mountain would ultimately fall, but no one was anxious. The last part of August and the first days of September were very wet. On September 7 masses of rock began to fall from the hill; more fell on the 8th, and strange sounds were heard in the body of the rock; work was at last suspended in the quarry. On the 10th a commission of incompetent people investigated the hill, and pronounced that there was no immediate danger. They, however, ordered that work should cease in the quarry till the following spring, whereto the workmen murmured. All through the 10th and the morning of the 11th falls of rock occurred every quarter of an hour or so. Some were large. They kept coming from new places. The mountain groaned and rumbled incessantly, and there was no longer any doubt that it was rotten through and through.

The 11th of September was a wet Sunday. Rocks and rock-masses kept falling from the Plattenberg. The boys of the village were all agog with excitement, and could hardly be prevented by their parents from going too near the hill. In the afternoon a number of men gathered at an inn in the upper village, just at the foot of the labouring rocks, to watch the falls. They called to Meinrad Rhyner, as he passed, carrying a cheese from an alp, to join them, but he refused, "not fearing for himself, but for the cheese." Another group of persons assembled in a relative's house to celebrate a christening. A few houses immediately below the quarry were emptied, but the people from them did not move far. At four o'clock Schoolmaster Wyss was standing at his window, watch in hand, registering the falls and the time of their occurrence. Huntsman Elmer was on his doorstep looking at the quarry through a telescope. Every one was more or less on the *qui vive*, but no one foresaw danger to himself.

Many of the people in the lower village, called Müsli, which was the best part of a mile distant from the quarry, and separated from it by a large flat area, were quite uninterested. They were making coffee, milking cows, and doing the like small domestic business.

Suddenly, at a quarter past five, a mass of the mountain broke away from the Plattenbergkopf. The ground bent and broke up, the trees upon it nodded and folded together, and the rock engulfed them in its bosom as it crashed down over the quarry, shot across the streams, dashing their water in the air, and spread itself out upon the flat. A greyish-black cloud hovered for a while over the ruin, and slowly passed away. No one was killed by this fall, though the *débris* reached within a dozen yards of the inn where the sightseers were gathered. The inhabitants of the upper village now began to be a little frightened. They made preparations for moving the aged and sick persons, and some of their effects. People also came up from the lower villages to help, and to see the extent of the calamity. Others came together to talk, and the visitors who had quitted the inn returned to it. Some went into their houses to shut the windows and keep out the dust. No one was in any hurry.

This first fall came from the east side of the Plattenbergkopf; seventeen minutes later a second and larger fall descended from the west side. The gashes made by the two united below the peak, and left its enormous mass isolated and without support. The second fall must have been of a startling character, for Schoolmaster Wyss forgot his watch after it. It overwhelmed the inn and four other houses, killed a score of persons, and drove terror into all beholders, so that they started running up the opposite hill. Oswald Kubli, one of the last to leave the inn, saw this fall from close at hand. He was standing outside the inn when he heard some one cry out: "My God! here comes the whole thing down!" Every one fled, most making for the Düniberg. "I made four or five strides, and then a stone struck Geiger, and he fell without a word. Pieces from the ruined inn flew over my head. My brother Jacob was knocked down by them." Again a dark cloud of dust enveloped the ruin. As it cleared off, Huntsman Elmer could see, through his glass, the people racing up the hill (the Düniberg) "like a herd of terrified chamois." When they had reached a certain height most of them stood still and looked back. Some halted to help their friends, others to take breath.

"Of those who were before me," relates Meinrad Rhyner, "some were for turning back to the valley to render help, but I called to them to fly. Heinrich Elmer was carrying boxes, and was only twenty paces behind me when he was killed. There were also an old man and woman, who were helping along their brother, eighty years old; they might have been saved if they had left him. I ran by them, and urged them to hasten."

who took refuge on the Düniberg, only six escaped destruction by the third fall, and they held on their way, and went empty-handed. Ruin overtook the kind and the covetous together.

At this time, before the third fall, fear came also upon the cattle. A cow grazing far down the valley, bellowed aloud and started running for the hillside with tail outstretched. She reached a place of safety before her meadow was overwhelmed. Cats and chickens likewise saved themselves, and two goats sought and found salvation on the steps of the parsonage.

During the four minutes that followed the second fall every one seems to have been running about, with a tendency, as the moments passed, to conclude that the worst was over. Then those who were watching the mountain from a distance beheld the whole upper portion of the Plattenbergkopf, 10,000,000 cubic metres of rock, suddenly shoot from the hillside. The forest upon it bent "like a field of corn in a wind," before being swallowed up. "The trees became mingled together like a flock sheep." The hillside was all in movement, and "all its parts were playing together." The mass slid, or rather shot down, with extraordinary velocity, till its foot reached the quarry. Then the upper part pitched forward horizontally, straight across the valley and on to the Düniberg. People in suitable positions could at this moment clearly see through beneath it to the hillside beyond. They also saw the people in the upper village, and on the Düniberg, racing about wildly. No individual masses of rock could be seen in the avalanche, except from near at hand; it was a dense cloud of stone, sharply outlined below, rounded above. The falling mass looked so vast that Schoolmaster Wyss thought it was going to fill up the whole valley. A cloud of dust accompanied it, and a great wind was flung before it. This wind swept across the valley and overthrew the houses in its path "like haystacks." The roofs were lifted first, and carried far, then the wooden portions of the houses were borne bodily through the air, "just as an autumn storm first drives off the leaves and then the dead branches themselves from the trees." In many cases wooden ruins were dropped from the air on to the top of the stone *débris* when the fall was at an end. Eye-witnesses say that trees were blown about "like matches," that houses were "lifted through the air like feathers," and "torn down like cards against the hillside," "that they bent, trembled, and then broke up like little toys" before the avalanche came to them. Hay, furniture, and the bodies of men were mixed with the house-ruins in the air. Some persons were cast down by the blast and raised again. Others were carried through the air and deposited in safe positions; others, again, were hurled upwards to destruction, and dropped in a shattered state as much as a hundred metres away. Huntsman Elmer relates as follows :

"My son Peter was in Müsli (nearly a mile from the quarry) with his wife and child. He sought to escape with them by running. On coming to a wall, he took the child from his wife and leaped over it. Turning round, he saw her reach out her hand to another child. At that moment the wind lifted him, and he was borne up the hillside. My married daughter, also in Müsli, fled with two children. She held the younger in her arms and led the other. This one was snatched away from her, but she found herself, not knowing how, some distance up the hillside, lying on the ground face downwards, with the baby beneath her, both uninjured."

The avalanche, as has been said, shot with incredible swiftness horizontally across the valley. It pitched on to the Düniberg, struck it obliquely and was thus deflected down the level and fertile valley-floor, which it covered in a few seconds, to the distance of nearly a mile and over its whole width, with a mass of rock-débris, more than thirty feet thick. Most of the people on the hillside were instantly killed, the avalanche falling on to them and crushing them flat, "as an insect is crushed into a red streak under a man's foot." Only six persons here escaped. Two of them were almost reached by the rocks, the others were whirled aloft through the air and deposited in different directions. One survivor describes how the dust-cloud overtook him, "and came between him and his breath." He sank face downwards on the ground, feeling powerless to go further. Looking back he saw "stones flying above the dust-cloud. In a moment all seemed to be over. I stood up and climbed a few yards to a spring of water to wash out the dust, which filled my mouth and nose (all survivors on the Düniberg had the same experience). All around was dark and buried in dust."

It was only when the avalanche had struck the Düniberg and begun to turn aside from it—the work of a second or two—that the people in the lower village, far down along the level plain, had any suspicion that they were in danger. Twenty seconds later all was over. Some of them who were on a bridge had just time to run aside, not a hundred yards, and were saved, but most were killed where they stood. The avalanche swept away half the village, and, with its sharply defined edge, cut one house in two. All within the edge were destroyed, all without were saved. Almost the only persons wounded were those in the bisected house. Huntsman Elmer with his telescope and Schoolmaster Wyss with his watch, whose houses were just beyond the area of ruin, beheld the dust-cloud come rolling along, "like smoke from a cannon's mouth, but black," filling the whole width of the flat valley to about twice the height of a house. The din seemed to them not very great, and the wind, which, in front of the cloud, carried the houses away like matchwood, did not reach them. Others describe the crash and thunder of the fall as terrific; it affected people differently. All agree that it swallowed up every other sound so that shrieks of persons near at hand were inaudible. The

mass seemed to slide or shoot along the ground and not roll. One or two men had a race for life and won it, but most failed to escape, who were not already in a place of safety. Fridolin Rhyner, an eleven-year-old boy, who kept his head better than anyone else in the village, succeeded in eluding the fall. He saw, too, how "Kaspar Zentner reached the bridge, as the fall took place, and how he started running as fast as he could, but was caught by the flood of rocks near Rhyner's house; he jumped aside, however, into a field, limped across it, got out over the wall into the road, and so just escaped."

The last phase of the catastrophe is the hardest to imagine and was the most difficult to foresee. The actual facts are these. Ten million cubic metres of rock fell down a depth (on an average) of about 450 metres, shot across the valley and up the opposite (Düniberg) slope to a height of 100 metres, where they were bent 25° out of their first direction and poured like a liquid, over a horizontal plane, covering it, almost uniformly, through a distance of 1500 metres and over an area of about 900,000 square metres to a depth of from 10 to 20 metres. The internal friction of the mass and the friction between it and the ground were insignificant forces compared with the tremendous momentum that was generated by the fall. The stuff flowed like a liquid. No wonder the parson, seeing the dust-cloud rolling down the valley, thought it was only dust that went so far. His horror, when the cloud cleared off and he beheld the solid grey carpet, beneath which 115 of his flock were buried with their houses and their fields, may be imagined. He turned his eyes to the hills and lo! the familiar Plattenbergkopf had vanished and a hole was in its place.

The roar of the fall ceased suddenly. Silence and stillness supervened. Survivors stood stunned where they were. Nothing moved. Then a great cry and wailing arose in the part of the village that was left. People began to run wildly about, some down the valley, some up. As the dust-cloud grew thinner the wall-like side of the ruin appeared. It was quite dry. All the grass and trees in the neighbourhood, were white with dust. Those who had beheld the catastrophe from a distance hurried down to look for their friends. Amongst them was Burkhard Rhyner, whose house was untouched at the edge of the *débris*. He ran to it and found, he said, "the doors open, a fire burning in the kitchen, the table laid, and coffee hot in the coffee-pot, but no living soul was left." All had run forth to help or see, and been overwhelmed—wife, daughter, son, son's wife, and two grandchildren. "I am the sole survivor of my family." Few were the wounded requiring succour; few the dead whose bodies could be recovered. Here and there lay a limb or a trunk. On the top of one of the highest *débris*-mounds was a head severed from its body, but otherwise uninjured. Every dead face that was not destroyed

wore a look of utmost terror. The crushed remains of a youth still guarded with fragmentary arms the body of a little child. There were horrors enough for the survivors to endure. The memory of them is fresh in their minds to the present day.

Such was the great catastrophe of Elm. The hollow in the hills, whence the avalanche fell, can still be seen, and the pile of ruin against and below the Düniberg; but almost all the rest of the débris-covered area has been reclaimed and now carries fields, which were ripening to harvest when I saw them. The fallen rocks, some big as houses, have been blasted flat; soil has been carried from afar and spread over the ruin. A channel, 40 feet deep or more, has been cut through it for the river, so that the structure of the rock-blanket can still be seen. The roots of young trees now grasp stones that took part in that appalling flight from their old bed of thousands of years to the place of their present repose. The valley has its harvests again, and the villagers go about their work as their forefathers did, but they remember the day of their visitation, and to the stranger coming amongst them they tell the tragic tale with tears in their eyes and horror upon their faces.

W. MARTIN CONWAY.

THE LATE GERMAN CRISIS.

LAST autumn Germany beheld a spectacle which might well have been performed in a fools' paradise. The Emperor had made his speech at Koenigsberg (September 7), in which he had roundly rated the Agrarian party for their opposition to the Russian commercial treaty, and told the nobility of Eastern Prussia that they had only a right to political existence if he was at their head; he, however, would forget the past on future good behaviour, and appealed to them to rally around him in the struggle for religion, morals, and order against the parties of subversion. The speech made a powerful impression throughout Germany; the Conservatives took the rebuke administered to them rather meekly, because they discerned in it the tone of mortified love. They tried, indeed, to establish a difference between the opposition against the Crown and that against its responsible advisers, but, in fact, they admitted that they had gone too far, and of course were ready to follow the Emperor in the struggle to which he had alluded. But what was astonishing was, that the whole National-Liberal press began a campaign for extraordinary and sweeping measures against "subversion" measures of which the Emperor had said nothing. This appeared the more bewildering, as Count Caprivi, whom they had supported in his bitter contest with the Agrarian opposition, was known to have refused an exceptional law against Anarchism, such as had been passed in France and Italy, just as at his accession to power he had let Bismarck's law against the Social Democrats fall into abeyance. His experience of that law, as well as of the May-laws, had convinced him that exceptional measures against one party only made them martyrs and welded them into a compact unity. And it was evident that he had known the speech of the Emperor before it was delivered. On the other hand, it was

equally well known that Count Eulenburg, President of the Prussian Ministry and Minister of the Interior, advocated such exceptional measures, some of which were of a nature incompatible with the constitution. The director of his press office, Dr. C. Roessler, even published a pamphlet proposing to outlaw the Social Democrats and to establish a dictatorship. To ask for a "programme of action" against "subversion" without defining the meaning of that elastic expression, to clamour for exceptional measures, and for going even to extreme consequences, was not only a recurrence to the arsenal of Bismarckian arms, but was, in fact, a campaign against Caprivi and for Eulenburg, scarcely veiled by the appeal to all State-conserving parties to form a union against subversion. The Centre party and the Conservatives were much wiser; both declined any exceptional measures against social democracy, certainly not because they had no predilection for them, but because they had learned by experience that such weapons were utterly ineffective and had only served to increase the power of the Socialists. They therefore refused to enter upon the union invited by the Liberals, saying that the Emperor's appeal could only be realised on the basis of positive Christian principles, to which the Liberals were strongly opposed, as they had shown by their campaign against the School Bill of 1891. But at the same time the Conservatives saw with a malicious pleasure that the National Liberals were doing their work in mining the position of their hated antagonist, Count Caprivi. The explanation of this benighted policy is, probably, that in that party, which had long ago ceased to form a real unit, the interests of the large manufacturers were dominant—men who in calling for measures against subversion, in fact, meant restriction of the right of workmen to combine. A striking proof of this is to be found in the attitude which they took towards the trade-union of Christian miners of Rhineland and Westphalia. Assuredly such a union, avowedly founded in opposition to the Social Democrats, ought to have been hailed by all "State-conserving parties," and at first it really was so. But when the union gained power, the sharp eye of Baron Stumm, the chief leader of the large manufacturers, discovered that its real tendency was "war to the great owners, and that the gist of its programme was only to demand constantly new advantages for the labourers," from which it resulted that that union was little better than those of the Social Democrats, and must be opposed just like them.

In the meantime the antagonism between the Chancellor and Count Eulenburg became acute, when the Prussian Ministry met to discuss the measures to be taken. Count Caprivi urged that the question was not, what policy might be desirable in itself, but what proposals of the confederate governments had a probable chance of acceptance by the present Reichstag; for its dissolution would make

matters only worse, as the cry "against the subversive parties" would be the most unfortunate possible for a new election. He therefore deprecated all exceptional measures against social-democracy and confined his proposals to certain amendments of the common penalty law. Thus, for instance, the dynamite law of June 9, 1884, had evidently holes in it—it threatened with hard labour those who glorify dynamite crimes or criminals, but only those; so that the glorification of Caserio, who used a dagger, would not be punishable; the law, therefore, thought Caprivi, should be extended so as to cover all praise of criminal outrage. Other points may have been discussed, but it is certain that they also only tended to slight changes in the ordinary law. These moderate views of Count Caprivi found support from the majority of Ministers, particularly the Finance Minister, Miquel, and the Minister of Public Instruction, Dr. Bosse. The proposals of Count Eulenburg were therefore discarded, and the Emperor consented to the programme of his Chancellor, who now invited the Ministers of the other principal states to a confidential conference at Berlin in order to arrive at a perfect understanding on the proposals to be laid before the Reichstag. The national Liberals drew in their horns and tried to cover up their ill-advised campaign by lame apologies and explanations which deceived no one. The matter seemed to be settled; but Count Eulenburg, for whom resignation seemed unavoidable, had not given up the game. Shortly afterwards a deputation of the East Prussian landed proprietors waited on the Emperor and in the presence of Count Eulenburg, read an address to his Majesty, the concluding sentence of which was: "Severe legislation in the hands of an energetic executive will even yet be able to crush summarily the agitation in so far as it is dangerous to the State and criminal and stains the honour of Germany." The president of the deputation has since avowed that on the eve of their reception he had an interview with Count Eulenburg, but denies that the latter had suggested that passage in the address. This may be true, as it is the custom to hand over the text of the address to be delivered before the reception to the Court-Marshal, but this functionary was the brother of the Minister, who, it is stated, had not disapproved of the sentence in question: indeed, he countenanced it by his presence at the reception. It was therefore a deliberate stroke at his victorious antagonist, who, ignorant of the whole affair, felt it as such and forthwith sent in his resignation. The Emperor went to see him (October 23), in order to persuade him to withdraw it, and renewed his perfect adherence to the programme of the Chancellor, which derived new strength from the unanimous consent of the Federal Ministers assembled at Berlin; and when Caprivi objected that it was impossible for him to work together with Eulenburg, who tried to thwart him by underhand manœuvres, the Emperor empowered him to inform the

latter that this was his final Imperial resolution. This was done; nothing remained to the vanquished Minister but to send in his resignation, and Caprivi once more seemed to be victorious. At a farewell dinner given to the federal Ministers he appeared in good spirits, and his guests left him with the conviction that the matter was settled.

But now came the surprise. The Emperor had gone to a hunting party at Liebenberg, an estate of Count Philip von Eulenburg, ambassador at Vienna, where he met the two other brothers Eulenburg—namely, the Court-Marshal and the Minister whose resignation he accepted, but with tokens of affectionate regret. It was here (some say somewhat later in the night) that the Emperor was shown an article in the *Cologne Gazette*, which, once foremost in the campaign against repression, now, true to the habits of the “great weathercock on the Rhine,” had turned to the victorious side, and celebrated exultingly the defeat of Eulenburg. The Prussian Minister at Hamburg, Herr von Kidderlin-Waechter, who had formerly been director of the Press Department in the Chancellor’s office, and was conversant with the manner in which the channels of the press are fed, may have helped to persuade the Emperor that that article was inspired by the Chancellor. There is no doubt that his Majesty had reason to be dissatisfied with this manifestation, for as the article appeared before he had accepted Eulenburg’s resignation, and peremptorily maintained that this Minister must go, it seemed to forestall his imperial resolution, and force him to jump over the ditch, a matter particularly distasteful to the strong self-consciousness of the Emperor’s nature. He therefore, next morning, sent the chief of his Cabinet to Caprivi, to ask him what was the origin of the article. The Chancellor replied that he had nothing to do with it, but that he could not disapprove it. The truth of the first part of this answer is borne out, not only by the declaration of the *Cologne Gazette*, which denied any official inspiration, but also by the fact that the Chancellor had recommended moderation to the press, as far as it depended upon the advice of his office. The second part of the answer was uncalled for, as the Count, from the very fact of the inquiry, must have seen that the Emperor would resent it; but the explanation is to be found in the Chancellor discerning that the Emperor disliked to see the difference of his contention with Eulenburg thus accentuated, and wished not to shut the door definitely to stronger measures for the future, to which he (Caprivi) would not consent, and that therefore he thought it better to retire at once. So it turned out, indeed, for, after receiving the answer, his Majesty’s resolution to part with his Chancellor seems to have been settled. The proof of this is to be found in the circumstance that, although Caprivi’s renewed resignation was only accepted in an inter-

view with the Emperor, which ended at four o'clock, Prince Hohenlohe arrived next morning at the Wildpark Station with his Under-Secretary of State, Herr von Koeller, so that he must have left Strassburg by the 2.40 train on the preceding day ; and as he must have had some hours to arrange for his departure, it is evident that the Emperor had summoned him by telegraph after having received Caprivi's answer. Immediately after accepting the resignation the Emperor informed the Federal Ministers, who were still at Berlin, that nothing would be changed in the proposals to be laid before the Reichstag. The crisis, therefore, was an entirely personal one, caused by the Emperor's susceptibility to encroachments upon his own resolutions. Small causes, great effects ; what in Scribe's comedy, "*Un verre d'eau*," was the glass of water poured over the robe of Queen Anne by the Duchess of Marlborough, was here the article of an irresponsible daily paper ; but it is easy to understand that such a crisis leaves behind it a feeling of general insecurity for the future, the more so as it was not finished with Caprivi's resignation. The Agricultural Minister, von Heyden, has equally resigned, and has been replaced by Herr von Hammerstein, an agrarian of the purest water ; and besides, the black messenger, Herr von Lucanus, chief of the Imperial Cabinet, has intimated to the Minister of Justice, Herr von Schelling, that he might go as well ; but as yet no willing candidate for the latter's office has been found. The humorous side of the event is that Count Caprivi's adversaries were as much bewildered by it as his friends, and did not know whether they ought to rejoice over the fall of their enemy or not, as no one knows what will come next.

The choice of his successor is in many respects a fortunate one. Prince Hohenlohe has not only proved himself a German patriot ever since as a young man he took his seat in the Bavarian Reichsrath, he afterwards became Minister President at Munich, and on April 9, 1869, issued his famous circular about the precautions which Governments should take in view of the coming proclamation of the infallibility of the Pope. He has won golden opinions as German Ambassador at Paris and as Governor of Alsace-Lorraine. In the former position he filled for eleven years the most difficult of diplomatic posts with consummate tact and ability, and succeeded so well in disarming French hostility that his recall in 1885 was considered as an irreparable loss both by the Government and the society of Paris. As Governor of the Reichsland he has the merit of having, by his personal interference, set aside Bismarck's unfortunate plan of answering the hostile elections of 1887 by cancelling the Constitution of Alsace-Lorraine and establishing absolutism. He has shown moderation and skill in the performance of his duties, the fruit of which was seen in the enthusiastic reception of the Emperor at the recent Strassburg manœuvres. It is pretty certain that he will display the

same qualities in his new office. He will never consent to provoking a conflict with the Reichstag; he will be conciliatory and yet firm, while his high social rank and mature experience will weigh with the Emperor, who cannot treat him as a general bound to obey. Moreover, he does not enter upon his task as Bismarck's successor; he will not be constantly stumbling over the shadow of that great predecessor as did Caprivi even in his best actions; he is not a man like the latter, possessing not an acre, and living upon his salary, but a large landed proprietor, and is not burdened by a commercial policy which he has not originated. But, admitting these advantages, the question arises, Will a man at his age (seventy-five) be equal to the burden laid upon him? Will he have the debating power necessary for struggles in the Reichstag? Will he be able to parry the demands of the Agrarian party, which cannot be fulfilled, and yet are countenanced by high Court influence? If so, Prince Hohenlohe will take a high rank amongst German statesmen. The next few weeks will probably test whether his ability corresponds to his wish to serve his country.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOOD AND EVIL.

IN a former paper an attempt was made to illustrate and elucidate the relationship of spirit to matter, by drawing a parallel with that of thought to language; and having followed out the analogy in some detail, and having given what seemed a weighty and sufficient reason for regarding the life which is manifested in Nature as spiritual and not merely a "mode of the Unknowable," we left the subject at the moment of coming face to face with the awful and all-important question: If the "principle which within us and without us is necessarily manifesting itself" be divine, what does the contradiction of evil mean? Supposing even (and as was then said this is a large supposition—too large to be admitted), that it could adequately be accounted for by that struggle for expression which was compared to the struggle of thought for utterance, *still why should such a struggle be?* There cannot be a doubt that this problem weighs heavily on the hearts and minds of the present generation, more heavily perhaps than in the case of any that have preceded it, though in all ages there have been those whom the contemplation of it has driven to the bitter conclusion: "Either God is not, all good, or He is not all wise, or He is not all powerful, or there is no God at all." This last is the form of negation to which preference seems to be given in our own day, and the writer has no hesitation in agreeing that if it be accepted, any attempt towards forwarding a solution of the problem of evil must be hopeless. It is equally hopeless, however, if we exclude from consideration the data with which science now so abundantly provides us regarding the development of the "material" universe, and more especially of its organic division.* Accepting the facts of science, and of the Christian Revelation, modern discoveries may do much towards convincing us that we are not

forced to make a choice between the four alternatives named above, but that even though Reason cannot yet do more than try her wings in a region which so far transcends that of her ordinary flights, she may yet perceive that the goal towards which she is struggling is identical with the starting point of faith; that not *despite* but *because* of the existence, the all-goodness, the all-power and the all-wisdom of God, the problem of evil has been formulated and will be solved.

The great advantage which science affords to those who attempt, either from the side of philosophy or religion, to approach the deeper questions of existence, is in supplying correct and carefully verified facts by which theory may be tested, and this is an advantage peculiar to modern times. The ancient philosophers were compelled to construct a universe *a priori*, evolving its laws from their own minds, and the marvellous insight which they showed, and the remarkable manner in which their conjectures sometimes closely approximated to later discovered truth, give proof of the very real correspondence between the intelligible world and the intelligence that desires to apprehend it. But these great thinkers had no objective data upon which to go; their reasoning was purely deductive and continually open to the objection of Kant: "It is indeed a very common fate of human reason first of all to finish its speculative edifice as soon as possible, and then only to inquire whether the foundation be sure,"* to build, in fact, a veritable castle in the air, instead of a solid brick and stone edifice. In our own age we are confronted by a different danger; it is not from a dearth of facts we suffer, but from unwillingness or incapacity to use the facts we have. Metaphysic has fallen into such disrepute (though signs of a reaction are not wanting) that it is almost taken for granted a metaphysician must be one "who speculates without data," a proceeding which the nineteenth century rightly looks upon with supreme contempt. But with the data which are now forthcoming, no philosopher need be at a loss for solid material, and some have already shown that they are abundantly willing to accept the inductive basis which science provides, and to prove their appreciation of it by endeavouring to raise a superstructure worthy of the foundation, one in which a wider, clearer view shall be obtained from the upper stories than from the basement, a result which Science herself should be the first to recognise and appreciate.

The great fundamental cosmic process with which we are brought face to face in every branch of natural science is evolution; and evolution points pre-eminently to a self-determining principle in nature. It is this, no doubt, more than its supposed incompatibility with the Scriptural account of the origin of the universe and of man, which has caused so much unfounded alarm among religious persons.

* "Critique of Pure Reason." Introduction.

"Now, origins as well as causes are reduced to resident forces and natural law; now, nature is sufficient of itself, not only for sustentation but for creation. Thus science has seemed to push God farther and farther away from us, until now, if this view be true, evolution finishes the matter by pushing Him quite out of the universe and dispensing with Him altogether."* But this, as the same writer subsequently points out, is a very superficial way of regarding the matter, and as misleading as superficial conclusions usually are. What the knowledge of this principle of evolution has really done for us is to give an intellectual insight, hitherto unattainable, into the relationship between God and nature, and this is a gift not to be despised; for the intellect is no less intrinsically human than the moral qualities, and it is the whole man which needs to know God and to be known of Him, though the intuitive perception by the religious consciousness of a great truth may precede—in this very instance has preceded—by long ages its verification by the reason. The apostles and early Christian fathers, owing to their firm grasp on the truth of the Incarnation, clearly saw the double aspect of the divine relationship to nature theologically expressed as the immanence and transcendence of God. "In Him we live and move and have our being." "In Him all things hold together." Yet, at the same time, "He is before all things," "God over all, blessed for ever." And here we may remark that the teaching of the New Testament is rather to see nature in God than God in nature. All things, we are given to understand, are in God; but not until self-consciousness is attained, not till there is light as well as life is He known to be also in them—known, that is, to be not only sustaining His creation in existence, but to have communicated to it His own life. Nature in God, and God in man; this would seem to be the order of the Christian Revelation, and it is the truth of the communicated life which the great facts of evolution at once vindicate and uphold, because they teach us to regard the universe as a mighty organism, in every part of which the life of the whole is present. This is the true meaning of an organism, "a unity of organisms, organic in all its parts," animated by a life which, "though embraced in a wide circle, is still centred in itself."† None can deny that this is the kind of life which modern science teaches us to see in nature. "For myself," says Professor Huxley, "I am bound to say that the term 'Nature' covers the totality of that which is. The world of psychical phenomena appears to me to be as much a part of nature as the world of physical phenomena; and I am unable to perceive any justification for cutting the world into two halves, one natural and one supernatural."‡ And again, Professor Le Conte:

* Professor Le Conte, "Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought," p. 281.

† "Hegel," by Professor E. Caird, p. 179.

‡ "Essays on Controverted Questions," p. 35 note.

"What is spirit? We know things only by their phenomena; what are the phenomena of spirit? Consciousness, will, intelligence, memory, love, hate, fear, desire—surely these are some of them. But has not a dog or a monkey all these? Pressed with this difficulty, some have indeed felt compelled to accord immortal spirit to higher animals. But we cannot stop here. If to these, then also to all animals, for we have here only a sliding scale without break. Can we stop now and make it co-extensive with sentience? No; for the lowest animals and lowest plants merge into one another so completely that no one can draw the line between them with certainty. We must extend it to plants also. Shall we stop here and make immortal spirit co-extensive with life? We cannot, for life-force is certainly correlated with, transmutable into, derivable from physical and chemical forces. We must extend it into dead nature also. Therefore everything is immortal or none."*

Thus inorganic, organic, and super-organic phenomena are all manifestations of a single developing life, whether we choose to call that life natural or spiritual. But, as has been pointed out in previous essays, if this be the case, the only standpoint from which we can get anything like a satisfactory and comprehensive survey of this life is the highest known manifestation of it, and that is man. Anthropomorphism becomes a necessity forced upon us by Science herself. We had no right, while the "material" universe and man were considered as two separate entities, to interpret the one by the other. Now we are compelled to do so, or to leave any attempt at interpretation alone, and this the mind of man cannot consent to. "In that which is in any sense self-determined, the intelligence recognises its counterpart,"† and so recognising, feels that it carries within itself the key to all the problems with which it is vexed, nor will it rest until they are solved. Hitherto, however, the modern tendency, despite the teaching of evolution, has been towards a solution which endeavours to explain away self-determination, and to place all nature—man, of course, included—under necessity. We are so accustomed "to regard objects as determined, not by themselves, but by other objects, that to modern science this mode of viewing them seems the only natural one, and instead of finding its own freedom in the world, the mind rather begins to consider itself, like all other objects, as subjected to the law of external necessity." But such reasoning is based upon a total misapprehension of what evolution involves—viz., a union of freedom and necessity. In it these are opposed only as two sides of one truth are opposed. The truth is self-determination, the opposite sides are freedom and necessity. That which is determined must be determined according to some law; that which is externally determined according to an external law, then we have

* "Evolution and its Relation to Religious Thought," p. 293. Professor Le Conte explains afterwards that such immortality is valueless to a human being, and is in fact, regarded from man's point of view, not immortality at all. It is *perseverance of personality* which alone constitutes immortality to a human being, and this of course is impossible below the human stage because personality has not even been attained.

† "Hegel," by Prof. E. Caird, p. 191.

necessity only ; that which is internally or self-determined according to an internal law, then we have freedom and necessity both—a law of liberty. A theory of the universe as subject to external necessity regards it as a manufacture ; a theory of the universe as subject to internal necessity regards it as an organism. *free to develop*. That is what freedom means, not an exhibition of irresponsible caprice, but a manifestation of law, inexorable because it is not imposed upon the life from without, but is developed from within as the expression of that life's essential nature. Regarding the universe in this way,—and it is the only way in which we can regard it if it is an organic whole, we are compelled to allow that there is a “certain independence” in its life. It has not been made ; it has been made to make itself, and the outcome of this process, the epitome in which we are to study it, is man, man in whom lies the knowledge of good and evil.

A very high scientific authority *—one, too, to whom the spread of popular knowledge on the subject of organic evolution is largely due,—has recently laid down the from him somewhat astounding proposition, that at a certain stage of development—viz., the ethical, man and the universe part company, that “the cosmos has no sort of relation to moral ends,” and that man's future progress depends on the courage and capacity with which he combats the cosmic process. He further says that “if the cosmos is the effect of an immanent, omnipotent and infinitely beneficent cause, the existence in it of real evil, still less of necessarily inherent evil, is plainly inadmissible.” With regard to the “necessarily inherent evil,” we may at once concede the point. With regard to real evil that is only rendered inadmissible if we regard nature as the “totality of that which is,” thus making God and nature convertible terms, but scientific considerations point to no such conclusion. The facts of evolution, as science knows them, are, superficially, equally compatible with the Spinozean doctrine, which in calling nature “the totality of that which is” Professor Huxley appears inclined to adopt, or with the Christian faith ; but if the latter is able to supply a clue to the meaning of those facts while the former is not, it is to the Christian faith that intellectual adherence must be given, and that on precisely the same grounds that adherence is given to the undulatory instead of to the emissive theory of light, or to “the origin of species” through the operation of natural causes, instead of by special creation. It is possible that there may be some—perhaps even many—educated persons who would say that they did not know in the former of these two cases which theory to regard as true ; a few might even assert that the knowledge was unattainable. Such agnostics would not be regarded as very reliable guides by physicists ; and agnostics in religious matters who take for granted

* Professor Huxley in his Romanes Lecture, “Evolution and Ethics,” 1893.

that the unknown to them is to all the unknowable, because they will not be at the pains to make the necessary investigations themselves, and are unable or unwilling to give credence to those who do, place themselves on the same level with the agnostics in scientific matters who do not know for the simple reason that they do not care to know.

The problem of evil cannot perhaps be better presented from the scientific point of view than in the following words of Professor Huxley :

"The propounders of what are called the 'ethics of evolution,' when the 'evolution of ethics' would usually better express the object of their speculations, adduce a number of more or less interesting facts, and more or less sound arguments, in favour of the origin of the moral sentiments, in the same way as other natural phenomena, by a process of evolution. I have little doubt, for my own part, that they are on the right track; but as the immoral sentiments have no less been evolved, there is, so far, as much natural sanction for the one as for the other. The thief and the murderer follow Nature just as much as the philanthropist. Cosmic evolution may teach us how the good and the evil tendencies of man may have come about; but in itself, it is incompetent to furnish any better reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil than we had before." *

It is just where "cosmic evolution" shows itself to be incompetent that the Christian religion steps forward and declares its competency. Let us then see whether it is indeed equal to the formidable task it has undertaken. In the first place, a few preliminary statements must be made.

1. The position laid down by Professor Huxley that the "cosmic process" has no sort of relation to moral ends, cannot be accepted. The moral qualities are an outcome of the "cosmic process"; the fact that, however devoid of "reason" it may be, we have an unconquerable conviction that "what we call good is preferable to what we call evil," would seem to indicate that the "thief and the murderer" do *not* "follow Nature just as much as the philanthropist." Moreover, the "cosmic process," of which super-organic evolution is necessarily a part, tends finally to eliminate the evil. Whether conscious or unconscious this is certainly "a moral end." †

2. A provisional definition must be given of the meaning of

* "Evolution and Ethics," p. 31.

† In Note 19 in the Appendix to his Romanes Lecture, Professor Huxley seems himself to feel the need of some qualification to the very unqualified statements quoted above. He there says: "Of course, strictly speaking, social life and the ethical process, in virtue of which it advances towards perfection, are part and parcel of the general process of evolution, just as the gregarious habit of innumerable plants and animals, which has been of immense advantage to them, is so. . . . Among birds and mammals societies are formed of which the bond seems in many cases to be purely psychological—i.e., it appears to depend upon the liking of the individuals for one another's company. The tendency of individuals to over self-assertion is kept down by fighting. Even in these rudimentary forms of society love and fear come into play, and enforce a greater or less renunciation of self-will. To this extent the general cosmic process begins to be checked by a rudimentary ethical process, which is, strictly speaking, part of the former, just as the 'governor' in a steam engine is part of the mechanism of the engine." This qualification is so thorough-going that it amounts to a contradiction.

"good" and "evil." For this we may turn to Mr. Spencer: "Under all circumstances we call that good which is fitted to the purpose for which it was intended, we call that perfect which is perfectly so fitted." * Evil, of course, is the converse of this.

3. We must be allowed to assume the truth of the Christian Revelation for the purpose of testing its competency to deal with the problem of evil. This is only following scientific precedent. To quote one instance out of many, the theory of "caloric" was not rejected until the appeal to experiment decided against it. It was not rejected first and the experiments made afterwards.

4. Since ethical man is the outcome of the cosmic process, and since he is its highest outcome, we shall find the problem of evil most distinctly stated in him. Consequently we shall study it in him, and in him endeavour to read its meaning for that which is below him.

According to the definition given above (2), What is man's "good?" The Christian Revelation supplies no uncertain answer to this question. Human nature has received the stamp of sonship to God; for human life to be "good," therefore, it must be fitted to enter into conscious union with the Divine Life; to attain perfection that union must embrace the whole nature of man. His environment is God, and at all points he must respond to that environment, or his life is less good than it is capable of being. Conscious union with God is the "purpose for which" man "was intended"; it is consequently the supreme need of his nature. The practical recognition of this fact makes the Bible the Book of Books, and Christianity the Faith of Faiths. To become one with God, not by submergence in the infinite gulf of the Divine Being, but by conscious, uninterrupted communion with the Divine Self, this is the goal of man as represented in Christianity, the end for which he came into existence, and this is his good. Such a conception of good leads to a corresponding conception of evil. It is that which unfits man to respond to the divine environment, to lead a life of conscious sonship to the Divine Father. *It is separation from God.* And the separation of man from God involves separation from his fellows, for it means that he has become self-centred instead of God-centred; confined within the narrow compass of his own individuality he is unable to receive, unable to contribute, his share of the common life. Such isolation is death wherever it occurs, for it is not from man only that the debt to the environment is due, but from every individualised existence which has drawn from the common store the material which it has annexed and transmuted into new powers of organic development. Every natural process impresses this fact upon us. The rivers whose waters were originally drawn from the ocean ultimately return to it again, not as formless vapour, but as separate and mighty streams, each

* "Data of Ethics," § 8 p. 21.

having contributed to the wealth and fertility of the countries through which it has flowed. The plants which obtain from soil and air the materials for their self-development, and store the solar energy to which they owe their existence, give it forth again ages afterwards as light and heat for man, or in dying minister to the animal life which without them could not be. Animals whose higher vitality makes a proportionately larger demand upon the environment, unconsciously modify and enrich the surroundings which are the conditions of their existence, so that throughout the whole range of nature we find a union of giving and receiving, which presents the law of sacrifice under the aspect of restitution. Nor is it otherwise when we reach the human stage. Man who has received the supreme gift of self-conscious life, is least of all able to sustain and develop that life in isolation. In order to his self-realisation, he makes imperious demands upon the external world; all that is must contribute to form the raw material transmuted by his self-conscious preception into the experience which feeds his sensuous, intellectual, and ethical life. He levies almost boundless contributions, and contracts equally boundless obligations, most of all towards his fellows. To them he consciously turns for help, for sympathy, for affection, for the satisfaction and exercise of all that part of his nature which marks him out as man, and to those on whom he is thus dependent he owes an equal service. In order either to realise himself, or to contribute to the self-realisation of others, however, he must be open on all sides to the Divine Life which is the parent of his own. The self which he has received from it he must render to it again, not through annihilation of everything that makes it a self, but by laying it with all its conscious powers on the altar of voluntary service. Thus the inter-union of giving exhibited throughout the cosmos reaches in man the height of willing sacrifice and mutual intelligent love. This is the law of his life, and to disobey it is, in so far as the disobedience goes, to perish to God and man alike.

We must next remark that the knowledge of good and evil is divinely claimed. Whatever interpretation we may put upon the opening chapters of Genesis, however freely we may concede that in scientific insight they do not go beyond the time in which they were written, still as Christians we believe, and we must bear in mind, that they were intended by the all-wise Father to convey to His human children real and eternal spiritual truths. The existence of evil was to press and has pressed, throughout the whole era of human life on earth, as a sore and heavy burden; it was to be a problem whose apparent hopelessness would drive many of the noblest hearts and intellects to despair. Such being the case, we should expect to find in the treatment of evil in the inspired records, some clear unmistakable guidance as to the way in which this dread, this tre-

mendous problem was to be regarded and stated, and this in the very first pages of the Bible we do find: "Behold, the man has become as one of us to know good and evil." *

Whatever these words may mean, and their deep import can hardly fail to strike any serious student of Scripture, they must at least mean this, that the abyss of evil has been sounded by the Divine Omniscience, that by the knowledge of evil,—as knowledge merely,—man is not separated from his God; nay, as these words imply, and as the whole teaching of the Bible, and specially of the New Testament makes us dare to hope and to believe, by this knowledge a closer union between the Divine and the human is rendered possible. The manner of the divine knowledge we cannot venture to conjecture. The manner of the human knowledge can be but one *experience*, for save by experience it is not possible for man to know anything. In other words, for man to know what evil—*i.e.*, separation from God means, he must undergo that separation. The necessity for that knowledge seems at any rate not altogether beyond our comprehension, and to it we will presently return; but it is advisable first to notice that this conception of evil is incompatible with regarding it as a lower form of good. Even partial want of correspondence with the environment can never be otherwise than inimical to life. In so far as it exists there is death and not life; were it complete, death would have conquered life. It never has been complete in the case of man; he has been always more or less conscious of his deficiency, always striving, however blindly and imperfectly, to remedy it, "seeking after God if haply he might find Him." That such a separation should have been possible at all is due to "the certain independence of life," pointed to, as we have already observed, by the principle of evolution. The relationship of man to God is expressed as sonship; the whole course of evolution has tended to the actualisation of this sonship, making that which was in the beginning a mere "promise and potency" an accomplished fact. If man is a son, the whole universe partakes in his sonship. Now the life of a son though impossible without the life of the Father is yet not synonymous with it. So much the human relationship may teach us; and since it has been chosen to express the Divine, our wisdom is to accept the light thus unmistakably given. The life which is in man—and in the universe—is of divine origin because communicated by God; it is free or self-determining (consequently not under compulsion by God) because it is *derived*, not *shared*, and in this power of self-determination the possibility of evil—*i.e.*, of separation lies. The son can rebel against his father because he

* It is not of course intended, as the context will abundantly show, to make this solitary passage bear the whole weight of proof of the divine knowledge of good and evil. The proof lies in all revelation taking this word in its widest sense, and remembering (as is pointed out later) that holiness is incompatible with ignorance of evil.

is a son and not an instrument or member, a mere temporary and partial manifestation of "the totality of that which is." It may be added also that the possibility of separation from God depends on His personal Being. If we are to regard the Divine Principle as "the restless fiery energy operating according to law, out of which all things emerge and into which they return in the endless successive cycles of the great year; which creates and destroys worlds as a wanton child builds up and anon levels sand-castles on the sea-shore,"* we cannot of course conceive of separation from it, for it is not only *in* all things, it *is* all things. Personal beings can be separated, can hate instead of loving one another even though they share a common life, because in each one that life is individualised, in each the self-determining principle exists, and differentiates itself from itself as manifested in other individuals and in the whole. It is thus that human beings are distinct and yet share in a common nature. When we regard their relationship to God instead of to one another, we may still—following the Christian Revelation—to some extent apply the same reasoning, because of the Fatherhood which is the substance of that revelation, the true community of nature which the Incarnation implies.† If we could shake ourselves free from pre-conceived notions of what ought to be, and listen to the divine teaching as to what is, accepting the simple and obvious meaning of these names "Father" and "Son," they would be a revelation in themselves by which even the darkest problems would be seen capable of solution, however partially that solution can as yet be worked out. And if they seem to confer upon man too high a dignity, or, to our limited apprehension, derogate too much from the supreme majesty of God, we must remember that He Himself selected these names to express the relationship between man and Himself, and that they must therefore more accurately represent its true nature than any terms we can invent.

It may appear at first that thus throwing the possibility, and consequently the ultimate reason of evil, upon the fact of man's sonship to God, makes the problem even more terrible than before. The whole teaching of Revelation, the whole inward consciousness of ethical man, make manifest the truth that evil is utterly antagonistic to the divine nature, is hateful to and abhorred by Him, in whom is no darkness of separation, but the clear and unsullied light of perfect unity and union. Why then should sonship entail that which threatens to obscure—nay, destroy it? In other words, why should God have permitted separation from Himself in a universe which derives its life from His,—in a being the end of whose existence is full and conscious union with the Father of his spirit? There can

* "Evolution and Ethics," p. 23.

† "Since, then, the children are sharers in flesh and blood, He Himself likewise partook of the same."—Hebrews ii. 14 (R.V.).

be but one answer to this question. The separation was allowed in order that the realisation of the Divine Life in the universe might be complete, that the union of man with God might be perfect, the result of intelligent love, aspiration, and obedience, not of inability to choose. The knowledge of good and evil, we have said, is a divine knowledge. We assert this every time that we assert the holiness of God, for holiness is not compatible with ignorance of evil; the latter state is one of innocence, beautiful, indeed, but with a purity which appeals to us by its weakness, not by its strength; whose safety lies in being unaware of, not in overcoming evil. For man to be united to God, it is not sufficient that he should be innocent, he must be holy; hence his education through the experience of evil. And if the question be still pressed: Why could no other education have sufficed? It must be answered, no other was possible.

"The possible only is possible of accomplishment even to the Almighty. And one of the impossibilities is having made man free [*i.e.*, self-determining] to compel him to act as if he were necessitated [*i.e.*, under external law]. To suspend the will when it inclined to sin, were to prevent sin by the destruction of freedom. And sin were in that case not prevented, for the will that had meant to do evil [*i.e.*, to separate itself from the will of God, 'to substitute self for God as the law and end of being'] were an evil will, and could never be restored to being without being restored to evil. Evil once intended may be vanquished by being allowed; but were it hindered by an act of annihilation, then the victory would rest with the evil which had compelled the Creator to retrace His steps. And, to carry the prevention backward another stage, if the possibility of evil had hindered the creative action of God, then He would have been as it were overcome by its very shadow. Into this discussion, then, omnipotence cannot enter. . . . But if 'permit' in its physical sense is irrelevant, in its ethical it has here no place. God did not 'permit' sin to be [save 'by creating a being capable of sinning, and only thus could He create a being capable of obeying']; it is in its essence the transgression of His law, and so His only attitude to it is one of opposition." *

But of what law is it the transgression? Of nothing less than the law of God's own Being, of that perfection of moral nature which He reveals to us as His. We forget often that law is the expression as well as the rule of the life which is conformed to it. God is not *under* law, but His whole universe tells us that law is divine, pertaining, that is, to His nature, a condition of His existence. Man, in so far as he separates himself from God, is lawless, and so at variance with "the principle which within him and without him is necessarily realising itself." Yet it is by this principle he lives, so that, in opposing himself to God, he opposes himself to himself.† But

* "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," Fairbairn, p. 456.

† "I find then the law, that, to me who would do good, evil is present. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I see a different law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity under the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me out of this body of death?"—Rom. vii. 21 (R.V.).

that which enables man to oppose himself to God, is the personal—*i.e.*, the self-determining life which is his, and which is what it has been agreed to call spiritual.* The often-insisted-upon opposition between spirit and matter, to which some have referred the existence of evil, is therefore seen to be resolved into an opposition of spirit to itself. This may appear clearer by referring to the analogy of thought and language.† Thought cannot be opposed to, though it may be inadequately rendered by the language which is its expression; but thought can be in contradiction with, or opposed to itself. This is entirely conceivable—nay, it is a matter of experience. In like manner spirit cannot be opposed to, though it may be imperfectly expressed by matter which is its manifestation, but it can, because of the variety of manifestation entailed by the personal element, be opposed to itself. In the fact that the opposition is to itself, however, lies the hope—nay, the assurance—of ultimate reconciliation and unity. “No absolute defeat of the spirit—no defeat that does not contain the elements of a greater triumph,—can possibly take place in a world which is itself nothing but the realisation of spirit.”† Nor must we, in thus recognising the fact of the opposition of spirit to itself, fall into the error of supposing that the divine nature is opposed to itself. The life of the universe is *derived from*, not *shared with* God. God is not nature, but the Source of nature; He is not mankind, but the Father of mankind, so that men have the distinctiveness, the individuality, the freedom of sons.

Though the subject so far transcends the limits within which it must be here confined, the Christian Revelation has nevertheless been shown competent to do that which “cosmic evolution” of itself cannot do—*viz.*, “furnish a reason why what we call good is preferable to what we call evil,” and that without denying the reality testified to by “the universal experience of mankind” of “pain and sorrow and wrong”; for if man’s “good” be union with God, and if for its realisation man must be holy because God is holy, then the “moral sentiments” have produced credentials which the immoral never can, and the separation from God of which the latter are a sign is seen to be theoretically, as well as practically the source of all that we call “evil.” There remains, however, the supreme form of the question asked sometimes in assumed indifference, often in the agony of despair: Is life under such conditions worth having? Will the issue justify the long travail-pangs which are its antecedent? Since “the immense multitude of sentient beings which (it is said) cannot profit by man’s discipline” suffer with him, since to man himself the partial and temporary separation from God is fraught with anguish so intense, can any subsequent bliss be a sufficient compensation, not to some

* See Essay in this REVIEW, September, 1894, on “Spirit and Matter.”

† “Hegel,” Professor E. Caird, p. 141.

individuals only, but to the whole race, the whole universe, or would it for man and nature alike have been better not to be? It is hardly now,—in the present stage of transition and imperfection,—when the outlook is still so dim and the pain so keen, that this question can be adequately answered. There are some—thank God there are many,—who in the midst of the conflict are so assured of the certainty and the worth of victory, that they can unhesitatingly reply in the affirmative. All Christians who are true to their faith are among these. Others, again, are driven to despair and defiance by what appear the hideous ironies and relentless cruelties of uncontrollable conditions. To all such it may be said: We cannot judge of the goal till the goal is reached. “We must not think of Creation as completed; it is only in process,” and part of the process is the experience of evil, not because God created evil,—He could not create separation from Himself,—but because the ideal of His universe is sonship, and because the perfect union of sonship could not have been attained without the freedom to choose between that and separation. And what applies to man, applies in lower measure to lower nature. His hope is its hope, for their lot is cast in together and they cannot be divided. In the meanwhile, during the time of discipline and education, the very depth of the anguish which separation from God entails, is some measure of the joy which full and perfect union with Him must mean. The capacity for happiness is gauged to a great extent by the capacity for pain, and this being so, the one unanswerable reason for boundless hope may well lie in what seems at first sight unfathomable despair.

There remains yet one point which must not be left unnoticed; for it is impossible to terminate an essay in which the supreme question of free-will has been under consideration, without reference to what is known as “universal restoration,” the attainment, that is, of every individual man to the full and complete union with God which is his good. As has already been shown, such perfect union can only be the result of intelligent love, aspiration, and obedience, of free and conscious self-surrender in fact. For this reason it has seemed to many deep thinkers, among others to Frederick Dymson Maurice, that to look upon universal restoration as a certainty is impossible, because self-surrender cannot be *forced*. Were God to compel the surrender of man’s will, that will would have ceased to be free, and, therefore, it would seem we have no alternative but to regard persistence in evil—*i.e.*, in separation from God as a possibility. The only adequate answer to this difficulty would appear to lie in the following consideration. The life of man—as of the universe—is in its origin divine. That very principle of self-determination, through which the possibility of evil has arisen, is a proof of it. But if the origin be divine the goal must also be divine; we come from God,

and we return to God not by external compulsion, but by necessity of nature, that internal necessity in whose operation freedom is an element, and therefore however long in individual cases the separation may last, however terrible the experience of that separation may be, ultimately it must be perceived as that which it is, the source of all suffering, darkness and confusion; and once so perceived, the will without compulsion turns towards the sole remedy, self-surrender and union. That such a conclusion is at variance with popular theology need not deter us from accepting it. There is much in popular theology entirely alien to the Christian Faith, not least that deification of evil which however decently veiled and draped, would nevertheless divide the universe between it and God. Such a division cannot really be, and however dim and distant may appear that "divine event to which the whole creation moves," Christians at least can have no doubt as to what it is—the attainment of the divine Ideal, "when God shall be all and in all," and the last and most erring of His sons enter into that voluntary union which is the one and perfect good.

EMMA MARIE CAILLARD.

THE STATE AS A PATIENT.*

SOME time ago a conversation took place in reference to the competence of some teachers in a village school near me, and the suggestion was made by one of the interlocutors that the less people knew the better they were able to teach. When I first heard this doctrine I thought it novel. But I have observed that it is more often acted on than expressed, especially in matters of politics; that ignorant teachers undertake to teach, and people who know that the teachers are ignorant go to them to learn. Whether the results be always satisfactory, I am not sure; and therefore it is not without some surprise that I find that in asking me to address you, you too are acting, perhaps without thinking of it, on the proposition to which I have alluded. For you, gentlemen, are a body of teachers, and teachers I am sure whose efficiency results not from your ignorance but from your knowledge—teachers on the great subjects of History, of Social Science, and of Political Philosophy—subjects on which I cannot venture to think myself an expert or a proficient. It is therefore with very sincere distrust that I address you this evening, and I confess that I have not been able to find any one theme with which I could satisfactorily occupy your attention, and I shall therefore beg you to put up with a few somewhat disjointed reflections and observations on political societies in general.

We know, on the indubitable authority of Lucian, that when Charon got away from his boat and his oar and came to the upper world, and, as good luck would have it, fell in with his friend Mercury, one of the things which he wanted to see was the great cities of which there was so much talk in the world below—Nineveh and Babylon and Mycenæ and Cleonæ, and especially Troy, which for

* Being, with some slight alterations, an Address to the Social and Political Education League, delivered 12th June, 1894.

ten years kept his ferry so busy that he never got time to clean up his boat. "Nineveh, my good ferryman," said Mercury, in reply, "has already perished, and not a trace of it remains, and you cannot tell where it stood. That little place there is Babylon, once so celebrated for its towers and its size; but you will soon have to search for it as for Nineveh; and as for Mycenæ and Cleonæ, I should be ashamed to show them to you, and Troy still more so; for I am sure that when you get back to Hades you would haff Homer to death for the bombast of his epic poetry. But, nevertheless, these cities were once flourishing and prosperous, but now they too are dead. For cities, good Mr. Ferryman, die like men, ἀποθνήσκουσι γὰρ, ὡς πορθμεῦ, καὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι."

That is a grave word which the scoffing Lucian has uttered—cities die like men. Will it ever come to pass that this mighty London, with her crash and her roar, will be silent as Persepolis and Susa; that no more souls will depart thence to load the boat of Charon; that her palaces will be buried in their own rubbish like the Birs Nimroud and Koyunjik; that antiquaries will discuss the question of her site, and learnedly puzzle over the relation of London to Westminster, or, the position of Holborn and the Strand; that the soil of Cheapside and Lombard Street will fetch no more than the desert round the mounds of Babylon and Nineveh?

States, so far as we yet know them, are mortal beings, capable of long life or short life, but, so far as experience yet goes, they are mortal like men. We talk, it is true, of Rome as the Eternal City, and the long continuance of her existence under kings, under consuls, under emperors, under popes, is one of her characters that impress our imagination and make Rome what she is, in one sense, the mistress of the world. But how short is her eternity in point of time! and if from the city we turn to the State, of which she has been the home and the metropolis, then she is only the most striking illustration of the death of States. It is because the great State of Rome, the mightiest empire in some senses which the world has ever seen, has passed away and yet left behind it the physical city of Rome, that that city is so vastly impressive as the funeral monument and epitaph of the mightiest of States, "Mundus clamat: ruinæ namque illius voces ejus sunt."

Politics I conceive to be the art of physic for the maladies of States; and whereas the physicians of our bodies act and prescribe under a sense of the mortality of their patients—of the possibility of lengthening their life by skill and of hastening their death by malpractice—the physicians of the maladies of the State seem to me too often to forget the mortal character of their great patient, and to try the most random experiments, in the full belief that nothing can kill the sick man. Partly this is due to the cheerfulness of general

ignorance, partly to the fact that the life of a State, even of a very sickly one, is long in proportion to the life of a single man. You never see a dead donkey, they say, because they live so long; you rarely see a dead State, because the life of the sickliest is long in comparison with that of the healthiest man; and therefore it seems lawful to treat with equal brutality the long-lived donkey and the long-lived State. In the ears of all these careless and cheerful physicians I should like to repeat loud and long the words of warning, ἀποθνήσκουσι καὶ πόλεις ὥσπερ ἄνθρωποι.

Gross negligence in a physician is criminal by our laws, and I suppose by all reasonable laws; it may amount to manslaughter, and be punished accordingly. And the rules and practice of society impose real penalties even when the law does not. But what about the physicians of the State? about those who ignorantly and carelessly intermeddle in things too high for them and inflame the spots where irritation is getting set up, and aggravate the diseases to which this part and that part of the body politic is particularly liable; or who, ignorant of the constitution of the patient, yet prescribe for him? There has somehow grown up a strange indifference to this presumptuous sin; and whilst the sense of the sacredness of human life has been on the increase, the sense of the sacredness of the life of society has been on the decrease. Men see rebellion without detestation, and I fear that public opinion would nowadays be shocked at the execution of a man for an attempt on the life of the State.

Some years ago going, like everybody else, over the Doge's palace at Venice, I was shown the celebrated dungeons, close against the sea, in which the prisoners were confined; the upper gallery, consisting of small cells, was dank and dark and bad enough; the lower gallery was beneath the level of the water and was danker and more miserable still. The first set was reserved for offenders against the person or property of their fellow-citizens; the second was appropriated to those who had committed crimes against the State. I thought that the old republic had judged rightly.

It is strange to observe that whilst knowledge is universally admitted as a requisite for the physician of the natural body, it is thought by some to be a disqualification for the physician of the body corporate. It shows one to what a length prejudice and the desire to please the great and uneducated mass of mankind may lead even men of the highest culture to find that education, cultivation, knowledge—all that distinguishes the few from the many—should be held up to scorn as disqualifications for political power. But your society is, I conceive, established to counteract, so far as in you lies, any such mischievous doctrine, and therefore it is that it has my warm approval. You recognise the fact that political opinion, and therefore political action, is a thing of the greatest importance

and of no small difficulty ; that opinion can rightly be formed only on the basis of history, of social science, and of political philosophy. You recognise the serious (I had almost said the solemn) nature of political action, and that opinion ought to be formed on other lines than those of the exigencies of party or the hopes or fears of some individual statesman.

I have spoken of the decay and the death of States. It might form an interesting subject of inquiry to consider the relative longevity of different forms of government. The kingdoms of Egypt and Persia, the empires of China and Byzantium, occur to me as some of the instances of the greatest longevity presented by the States of the world. I can recall no true democracy of any magnitude which has had more than the briefest span of existence. The petty States of Switzerland, and the *bunds* which have gone to build up the Grisons may be able to trace their history back into the early Middle Ages, and they present still a prospect of continued life. But Pericles had scarcely carried to its furthest point the development of democracy in Athens when it fell before its aristocratic rival. Cyrene, which had flourished under royal and aristocratic rule, perished as a democracy ; and the Plebs had scarcely acquired a true equality with the Populus in Rome when the whole machinery of government collapsed, or was upborne only by centring all the offices of State in the hands of one man. The century since France declared herself a republic has been varied by fits of royalty and imperialism. And the great Republic of America, a republic in which the will of the people is controlled and checked by barriers of the most stringent kind, has as yet had a short life in comparison with that of some of the older monarchies. Perhaps Aristotle was right when he held that it is difficult to preserve long in life that true democracy which gives a share in the State to every citizen.

Historically, the democratic form of government is often the development of a State in its old age, and is the last of a long series of changes, and it may plausibly be suggested that old age is apt to be short lived.

It is certain that many of the movers in the earlier stages of the French Revolution, and I think also some of the so-called philosophical Radicals of England of fifty years ago, were misled in their enthusiasm for democratic change by a misapprehension of the lessons of history. They conceived of the republics of Greece and Rome as if they had been true democracies, and as if their glories were due to the purity of their structure. But in point of fact they were nothing of the kind. The working classes of Athens in the days of its extremest republicanism were slaves, and so far from being endowed with supreme political power they were not even trusted with personal liberty ; and in Rome the existence of the vast slave population, increasing

apparently as Rome approached nearer and nearer to democracy for the free classes of its citizens, is a matter in every one's knowledge. These republics, then, were, as it were, democracies for the upper Ten Thousand; but for the lower classes they were the rule of cruel masters. "La cité," says the great student of ancient, municipal life, "s'était constituée comme si ces classes n'eussent pas existé." These States throw, therefore, no light on the great experiment of modern England, and perhaps of modern Europe. To constitute a State in which the supreme power shall be given to the lower orders, in which they shall be clothed with the power to tax and to spend the money raised by taxation, whilst the wealthy class alone shall pay these taxes, this is, so far as I know, an experiment in State-craft which has never been tried with any other result than one—namely, the determination of the majority to live upon their right of voting. It may be doubted whether there is anything in history—~~to~~ pay more, whether there is anything in the nature of man—to justify the boundless hope and enthusiasm with which the experiment is regarded by many very influential persons.

If, passing away from the mere fact that States die, we proceed to consider the causes of their death, we shall have before us a field of very vast proportions; and in this connection it has often occurred to me that the decline and fall of the Roman Empire is the precedent most likely to throw light on the dangers which beset our own empire. You will recollect that in the destruction of the middle class of society—the class which formed the mass of the citizens of the provincial towns of the empire—M. Guizot found the principal cause of the destruction of the empire; and later students of the same great problem have not found reason to doubt at least the great, if not the predominant, importance of this cause. That class was destroyed by the systematic fiscal oppression to which it was subjected. The vast demands of the Treasury for the defence of the empire, the ever-increasing extent of the boundaries of that empire, the necessity of appeasing the populace of Rome by perpetual largesses and food, by *panem et circenses*—these causes were perpetually increasing the demands of the empire on its subjects; and as regards the municipal and local expenditure, the notion of civic life, the desire to beautify the locality, the increasing demands made by opinion on the pockets of the wealthier townfolk, all these things I suppose increased from generation to generation and ultimately blotted out the class on whom the great burthen of imperial and municipal taxation fell. Whether any warning is to be gathered from these facts for us of this generation, I leave to your better judgment.

I can fancy that then as now the duty of the State to provide this good thing and the other good thing for its subjects may have often been appealed to. Now, as regards expenditure of money by the

'State there is one distinction which it often appears to me is too little regarded. Has the State a balance of its own money in its hands independent of taxation, or has it from year to year to make up what would otherwise be a deficit by means of taxation? If it have such a balance, then the demand that this thing or that thing shall be done by the State is only a suggestion that it is a useful object on which the State may expend its surplus moneys. But if the like demand is made where the money is raised by taxation, then the suggestion is that so much money shall be taken out of the pockets of the taxpayer to be expended for the benefit of some or all of the subjects of the State; and when one class pays and another class is benefited by the expenditure, the State is only a veil interposed to give decency to the robbery of Peter for the payment of Paul. The word "*frée*" is somehow thought peculiarly fit to express this process: a free breakfast table means a table where one man eats and another pays; free education is where one man begets a child and another man pays for his schooling; just as a freebooter means a man who is free to take money from one man's pocket and put it into another's. All the applications of the public money above mentioned may be necessary or justifiable, but it often appears to me that the real nature of the transaction is obscured to the popular view by the interposition of the conception of the State.

And not only is the State often spoken and thought of as if it were a being with a full pocket of its own: it is often supposed to have a soul, a character, faculties of its own, and that of so exalted a kind that almost anything may be hoped from an appeal to that soul or from the exercise of those faculties; whereas, in fact, the State is only an association of men to attain the solution of certain questions of great importance and difficulty.

What is the problem—problem, I say, not theorem—which the State is formed for the solution of? I conceive that it may be thus stated. How can we men, each of us with passions more or less base, each of us endowed with a conscience—but a conscience which is oftentimes too weak to restrain the worse parts of our natures—how can we form a society which shall tend to promote the better parts of our nature and to repress the worser elements within us? How shall we form a machine to work for good out of elements each of which, when working alone, too often works for evil? How shall man in society erect himself—to use the poet's words, above himself—above the average man or even above the lowest man? Will not the strength of society be like that of a chain, the strength of its weakest link? The problem may well seem desperate, and in fact is never solved with more than moderate success; but when it is solved with any success at all, it seems to establish a claim on every member of the society to protect that society from destruction or contempt. The

problem is so difficult that a slight change in the arrangements of a successful society may well absolutely cripple and disable it. The organisation of the physical body of man is wonderful and fearful. Not less is that of a body of men, united in a social compact, when that society really attains the high object for which it has been got together.

How difficult is the formation of any successful form of political society we may partly learn from the consideration of savage life. It is quite true that travellers and hasty students of these forms of life are apt to be deceived by the superficial aspects which they present, and to pass over undiscovered the slight traces of law or custom which exist and more or less modify the absolute savagery of their life. But allowing for this, it will be seen that a very large part of humanity—of men whose races are as old or older than those from which we are descended—have never been able to attain to true social or political life; or even where some organisation has arisen in the family or the village it has stopped there, and no step has been taken to enlarge the area of this organisation or to widen the bounds of the society. Thus men have lived within sight and hearing of each other for untold generations and never reached the political condition.

What is the particular quality which has been present in the one case and absent in the other; what is the condition the presence or absence of which determines or prevents the onward progress of the race,—the step from family to tribe, from tribe to State, I know not. Perhaps, as suggested by a great French scholar, it is a narrow and stunted conception of the Divine Being; perhaps it is some want of brotherly love, some excessive strength of the fetters of habit or of prejudice. But whatever it be, we may, I think, safely conclude that it is something not in the external surroundings of the race, but something in the unseen nature of the man. For as regards society, like human things in general, the seen and outward is regulated and governed by the unseen.

To the death of States I have already alluded; but even where States do not die, but continue to live, there are continually here and there evidences of the strong disintegrating forces which are always at work. Appeals to physical force by the members of an organised society, the injuries of one man upon the person or the property of another, all these things are attempts of the constituent atoms of society to set themselves free from the laws of the organisation and to revert to condition of raw material. They are like the attacks in the physical body of the chemical forces on the matter subjected to the higher forces of life; they are cases of incipient mortification.

And when that which seeks disintegration and a return to the lower form of existence is not a single atom, a single man, but a whole group of atoms, a whole class of men, then the disease

is assuming a yet more dangerous form, and the duty of the physician of the State becomes at once more urgent and more anxious, and unless speedy remedy be found, the whole State is in peril.

Again, if we consider the raw materials out of which society is made, it is perhaps wonderful that its high aim is even imperfectly attained. For as the State is built up of men, it can only reproduce in gross what man as an individual displays in the small; and no theory of the State, or of its duties, or its power, can ever be verified in practice which attributes to the State anything beyond the elements out of which it is built. The society may give prominence to the better parts of man—nay, it can hardly continue to subsist unless to do so—it may reach, but it can never get beyond the highest development of human nature, any more than we can get beyond the solid earth on which we live; and all sober men should bear this in mind, and not form dreams of a State in which men are thought of as angels. I know how commonplace and trite these observations must seem; but, nevertheless, they appear to me worthy of notice in an age when the wildest Utopias, the vainest dreams of a heaven upon earth are leading many men away from the paths in which they can tread usefully to try to fit on wings to fly in the pathless air in which they can never float.

You recollect the proposition of a philosopher, which expressed the limits of the human intellect: "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu.*" May I paraphrase this to express my thought about political society, and say, "*Nihil est in civitate quod non fuerit in cive.*" But as the first maxim was justly amended by a second philosopher by the addition of the clause "*Nisi ipse intellectus,*" so my sentence must also stand amended by a concession, and it must run "*Nihil est in civitate quod non fuerit in cive nisi ipsa civitas.*"

A naked, bisexual biped, with an omnivorous stomach, is the essential element out of which society is built up. But then this biped is something more. He is a being endowed with a conscience—with that mysterious gift, & sense of duty—with "large discourse of reason, looking before and after"—nay, more, haunted (I had almost said troubled) with "thoughts that wander through eternity"; and therein lies the possibility of the formation of a political society; for the State, like every other thing in the world that is worthy of admiration, is, as I have said, an outcome from the invisible into the visible world.

Of this human being one of the very deepest facts is his consciousness of individuality—of his personal identity. He knows that he is—that he is separate from all others; that in some senses he is more to himself than any other being can be; that with this awful sense of individuality not the nearest or dearest friend can inter-

meddle. It has been said by one writer : "The great vision of our single proper solitary being . . . overshadows our spirits. We have each one this burthen of a separate soul and we must bear it." And by another writer :

"Yes, in the sea of Life enisled,
With echoing straits between us thrown,
Dotting the shoreless watery wild,
We mortal millions live *alone*."

Now any society which attempts by the exaggerated force which it attributes to the State—by any scheme of collectivism, or socialism, or any other ism—to run counter to this primary fact of the individuality of man attempts, as it appears to me, an impossibility. In one sense, of course, every State subsists, and subsists only, by abstracting something from individual liberty. But as individualism, modified and controlled by the social instincts, produces the highest single man, so a political society in its highest development must rest upon individualism modified by those social instincts which might be called socialistic. The social instincts play upon and influence the individual; personal identity is assumed in the conception of the influences of one man upon another; it is prior, therefore, alike in thought and in nature to these influences, and any scheme of society which puts socialism first and individualism second transgresses the nature of the citizen.

The earliest modification of self-love, the first gleam of altruism (to use a now familiar if odious word), arose, one may suspect, from love between the sexes, and, consequent upon that, the love of parent for child; and however much in its earlier forms this relation of man and woman may have been smirched by sensuality and sullied by selfishness, it nevertheless contained in it the germs of some of the noblest and most unselfish developments of human character. It has often appeared to me that nothing is more indicative of the spirituality of the system of the universe, as judged by the end and aim towards which it tends, than the fact of sexuality. In its earliest forms it is a simple physiological fact. But nevertheless it dominates in one mode or another the whole realm of vegetable and animal life. It gives beauty and splendour to the flower, it gives song to the birds, it gives the joys of society to almost all the animal world; in man it becomes not only the foundation of all of our romance and much of our poetry, but the abiding source of the noblest and most self-denying devotion; and in it St. Paul can find his least inadequate metaphor to express the love and care of the Divine Being for His people upon earth. This great and dominant fact of human nature some modern reformers would wish to neglect or to degrade, and they would subordinate the family life to the life of the State. All schemes to relieve woman from "that dependence on the *individual* man which has been her fate in the past," all plans for a 'national insurance against motherhood,' all schemes for nurseries and *crèches* to relieve

mothers from the care of their infants, strike me as infringing the sexual and parental relations in their most elevated condition, and as tending to recall us to them in their lowest and most brutal form. They may be taken as illustrations of that species of political philosophy which seeks to perpetuate the raw materials of society in their lowest form; which takes man on his animal side only, and leaves out all that should be used to curb and correct those elements; which adopts the natural and not the spiritual man as its type and model.

One of the most manifest limitations on human activity is imposed by space. No man can act at a distance as effectually as he can near at hand. Perhaps we may roughly say that man's influence on man diminishes at the square of the distance. (Parenthetically let me confess that there are some excellent but tiresome people for whom my affection increases directly as the square of the distance.) This limitation of human activity is the foundation—it is the justification of patriotism as opposed to an universally diffused benevolence, and the apology for the limitations of our political societies. It is not because the men of London are more worthy of my regard than the men of Peking that I am more interested in the one than the other; it is because the one set are nearer to me than the other, and because they can therefore influence me more and I can influence them more. A benevolence so diffusive that it wishes to act alike upon those who are far off and those who are near is lost in the space which it attempts to traverse. For practical efficiency we must narrow the bounds at once of our affections and of our activity, and to give the best of these to our family, the next to our neighbours, the next to our country, and last to the world at large, is open to no just rebuke; it is only to act on the principle of the utilisation of energy. Some of the efforts of good people in this country for the benefit of distant foreigners seem to me very much like using up good lamp-oil in London for the purpose of lighting rooms in Peking.

One of the most important duties of the individual man is the careful study of himself—of his inclinations, his tendencies, his temptations, his easily besetting vices. But if he pause there—and still more if he accept the tendencies of his nature, so ascertained, as indications of what he ought to be and ought to do—it is, I think, abundantly evident that he will go wrong. He will act very much as a physician would if after observing all the symptoms of disease he were to use his observation merely for the sake of intensifying these symptoms and fostering the disease of which they are the evidence. Now, strangely enough, it often seems to me this is exactly what is done by our political physicians. "The scientific attitude" of which we sometimes hear in politics consists in the accurate and reverential observation of the tendencies of thought, the shiftings of opinion of the mass of our fellow countrymen. A certain kind of democrat

accepts the voice, even the transient uncertain voice, of the masses as if it were the absolute criterion of truth, and as though the whole duty of the statesman consisted in giving effect to the truth thus ascertained. It is too often forgotten that just as in the individual many tendencies of his nature ought to be known only to be corrected and governed by nobler considerations, so in the State the wishes of the majority ought often to be studied and ascertained only that they may be corrected, that the errors on which they repose may be confuted, and that their influence upon the action of the nation may be overborne. The lower man (the natural man in the theological usage of the word) of the individual reappears in larger proportions upon the larger canvas of the State and requires to be subdued by the spiritual man upon the like magnified scale.

And now I will bring to an end these, I fear, somewhat incoherent observations. If I have seemed to dwell too much on the dangers of political society in the present day, you will not forget that I am treating you as the physicians, whose business is to cure the diseases in the body politic, nor that a knowledge of pathology and morbid anatomy is essential to the learned physician, though it may not be the most cheerful or inspiring part of his learning. But if my tone shall have seemed to any of you to be too gloomy, let me assure you that, whilst I am not unconscious of the dangers which beset the State, I yet do not despair of the republic; and to you in your invaluable work of endeavouring to promote amongst your fellow-citizens the spread of true learning and sober thought, I would say most emphatically "*Nil desperandum, auspice Deo.*"

EDWARD FRY.

THE SHEPHERD BEAUTIFUL.*

OFt as I muse on Rome—and at her name
Out of the darkness, flushed with blood and gold,
Smoulders and flashes on her seven-fold height
The imperial, murderous, harlot Rome of old,
Rome of the lions, Rome of the awful light
Where “ living torches ” flame—
I thread in thought the Catacombs’ blind maze,
Marvelling how men could then draw happy breath,
And cheer these sunless labyrinths of death
With one sweet dream of Christ told many ways.

The Shepherd Beautiful ! O good and sweet,
O Shepherd ever lovely, ever young,
Was it because they gathered at Thy feet,
Because upon Thy pastoral pipe they hung,
That they were happy in those evil days,
That these grim crypts were arched with heavenly blue,
And spaced in verdurous vistas lit with streams ?
Ah, let me count the ways,
Fair Shepherd of the world, in which they drew
Thee in that most divine of human dreams.

* “ The adjective in the Gospels is not *ἀγαθός*, ‘ good,’ but *καλός*, ‘ beautiful ’ ” (Farrar : “ The Life of Christ as represented in Art ”). Observe, too, in a book in which attributive adjectives are of the rarest, the emphasis is given to “ beautiful ” in *ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός*. ●

THE SHEPHERD BEAUTIFUL.

They limn'd Thee drawing near the wattled shed,
The strayed sheep on Thy shoulders, and the flock
Bleating blithe welcome. Seasons of the year—
Spring gathering roses swung athwart the rock,
Summer and Autumn, one with golden ear
And one with apple red,
And shrivel'd Winter burning in a heap
Dead leaves—they pictured round Thee ; for they said,
" All the year round "—and joyous tears were shed—
" All the year round, Thou, Shepherd, lov'st Thy sheep."

Sometimes they showed Thee piping in the shade
Music so sweet each mouth was raised from grass
And ceased to hunger. In some dewy glade
Where the cool waters ran as clear as glass,
This one or that Thou seem'dst to call to Thee,
" Thou'st made me glad, be happy thou in turn ! "
And sometimes Thou would'st sit in weariness—
My Shepherd ! "*quærens me*
" *Sedisti lassus* "—while Thy dog would yearn,
Eyes fixed on Thee, aware of Thy distress.

So limn'd they Christ ; and bold, yet not too bold,
Smiled at the tyrant's torch, the lion's cry ;
So nursed the child-like heart, the angelic mind,
Goodwill to live, and fortitude to die,
And love for men, and hope for all mankind.
One Shepherd and one fold !
Such was their craving ; none should be forbid ;
All—all were Christ's ! And then they drew once more
The Shepherd Beautiful. But now He bore
No lamb upon His shoulders—just a kid.*

WILLIAM CANTON.

* " He saves the sheep, the goats He doth not save."
So spake the fierce Tertullian."

MATTHEW ARNOLD ; " The Good Shepherd with the Kid."

A NEW THEORY OF THE ABSOLUTE.

II.

IN a former article, dealing with Mr. Bradley's "Appearance and Reality," it was argued that Mr. Bradley's condemnation of phenomena, as "mere appearance" or "illusion," rested on a misapplication of the logical law of identity or non-contradiction, which led him to treat diversity as absolutely incompatible with unity. And it was further maintained that this fundamental presupposition reappears in his theory of the Absolute, which harmonises differences only by "fusing" or "suppressing" them in a supra-relational intuition, conceived after the analogy of primitive, undifferentiated feeling. Such an Absolute, it was contended, reproduces the completely indeterminate Substance of Spinoza, or "the abyss" of the Mystics. If finite existence is illusory, and if its distinctions simply disappear, then, of necessity, the unity reached by the denial of these distinctions is quite characterless. This is not, however, the only line of thought in the volume, and I propose in the present article to examine more closely the two conflicting tendencies which seem to me to strive with one another for mastery in Mr. Bradley's mind. In conclusion I will indicate the significance which his volume appears to possess at the present time. But first it will be well to examine the arguments by which Mr. Bradley reaches his Absolute; for an analysis of these, throws, I think, an instructive light upon its nature and the value which the result can have for us.

The Absolute is a high-sounding title, and rouses proportionate expectations. Let us inquire whether these are satisfied; let us ask ourselves precisely how much Mr. Bradley's arguments suffice to establish. "Reality," he says, "must be a single whole." "The character of the real is to possess everything phenomenal in a harmonious form." Absolute Reality, therefore, "embraces all differences"

in an inclusive harmony" (pp. 140, 143). "The standard" is always "the same," and it is applied always "under the double form of inclusiveness and harmony" (p. 371). Now if this were advanced as a definition of the Absolute, it would obviously be a true, though not an exhaustive, definition. Taken as implying the existence of the Absolute, it might also be accepted as the expression of an inextinguishable metaphysical faith. But when the Absolute in this sense is thrust upon us as "indubitably real," something which it is actually impossible to doubt, the very excess of protestation awakens suspicion as to how much the harmony and all-inclusiveness imply. And upon scrutiny, it seems to me, I must confess, that the assertion resolves itself into something very like an identical proposition. The mere consideration, it might be urged, that the universe exists—that Being is—proves that it is in some sense a harmony. All its aspects co-exist, and the business of the universe goes on. Then, as to the systematic unity of the real, I doubt much, here too, whether what is really proved is not unduly magnified by the nature of the terms employed. Mr. Bradley successfully disposes of the idea of a plurality of reals, for each real would in that case be a universe by itself, or rather a bare unqualified point, and plurality could never emerge. The mere co-existence of objects in Knowledge—the fact that we are able to pass from one object to another—is sufficient proof that they are not absolutely independent reals, but exist as parts of one universe; that is, exist, in some sense, together. To suppose anything else would be to imagine the continuity of existence to come, as it were, suddenly to a stop *in mediis rebus*. But does the postulate that the universe is one in this sense carry us beyond the fact which it explains or names, the fact that we *are* able to pass indefinitely from one fact to other facts, reducing them to law as we proceed? Does it carry us beyond the infinite progress of finite knowledge and give us any real idea of an experience which resumes the life of all the worlds in a central or focal unity? I do not see that it does. Yet unity, harmony, system, must mean more than the almost tautologous result we have just considered, if their presence or absence is to be of any vital concern to men.

But it will be said that these formal and abstract criteria must be supplemented by the further principle that reality, existence of any kind, is one with "sentience" or "sentient experience." Even if this be granted, however, I do not see that Mr. Bradley's criteria enable us to pass from an aggregate of experience to "one comprehensive sentience" or "total experience" (elsewhere spoken of as "an absolute intuition," "an individual intuition.") in the sense of a living, or if I may so express myself again, a focal unity. They do not guarantee unity or harmony except in the abstract and tautologous sense already considered; and the fact that all the

varieties of sentient experience co-exist somehow, and are therefore compatible—resulting even in a balance of pleasure on the whole—is by no means equivalent to the assertion of a single being by whom these experiences are felt as a whole, and who enjoys the balance of pleasure which, when “neutralised,” “complemented,” and “blended,” they may be supposed to yield. The notion of a single life, in which and for which the experiences organically relate themselves, is derived by Mr. Bradley not from his criteria but from the nature of the Self, although strangely enough, in the sections of his book devoted to the Self, he does his best to disintegrate it into a mere aggregate. To extend the analogy of the Self to the Absolute is probably inevitable, and I am far from objecting to it, although in the form in which Mr. Bradley presents the idea, it seems to come dangerously near to the crude conception of a *Weltseele*, or soul of the world—a fused aggregate or mass of sentience. As a speculation, however, that might pass, criticism in detail being reserved. But what I cannot see is, how Mr. Bradley can claim the result as the immediate consequence of his criteria, and how he can speak of it as absolutely “certain” and “indubitably real.”

This claim is repeatedly made by Mr. Bradley in a piece of reasoning which is sufficiently remarkable to challenge examination. The argument is introduced a great many times, almost in the same words, as finally closing discussion; and evidently great stress is laid upon it. Curtly stated it is this—“What is *possible* and what a general principle compels us to say *must be*, that certainly *is*” (p. 196); or still more shortly, “What *may be*, if it also *must be*, assuredly *is*” (p. 199).* “Here, as before, possibility is all we require to prove reality” (p. 218). The first of these passages is the concluding sentence of the chapter on “Error;” the second occurs in the chapter which follows on “Evil;” and the third in the chapter on temporal and spatial appearance. In the next chapter (chap. 19), on “The This and the Mine,” the argument is again repeated in exactly the same way, to clinch Mr. Bradley’s position: “This consummation evidently *is* real, because on our principle it is necessary, and because again we have no reason to doubt that it is possible” (p. 227). These four chapters deal with recalcitrant facts or aspects of experience, which an opponent might advance as inconsistent with the view of the Absolute expounded. In them Mr. Bradley must be said to treat the difficulties in question somewhat lightly. He expressly repudiates the design of “showing how” the facts are reconciled in the Absolute, and limits himself to the suggestion of possibilities—which he seems sometimes not to take very seriously himself. Having done so, he turns upon us with the assertion that the abstract possibility is enough, for we have behind us the general

* The italics in these two quotations are Mr. Bradley’s.

principle of a "must." The Absolute *must* be all inclusive and harmonious; there is nothing about which we cannot say that possibly it *may* be included in the Absolute; therefore everything is included in the Absolute. I cannot see that there is any real advance in the argument here. Unless we can "show how," *i.e.*, give some reasonable theory of the relation of these aspects to the Absolute, we may as well remain content with the first step: the Absolute *must* be all-inclusive and harmonious, though we are quite unable to see how. How far we are from being able to see how, may be exemplified from a passage in Mr. Bradley's treatment of evil.

"Our old principle may still serve to remove this objection. The collision and the strife *may* be an element in some fuller realisation. Just as in a machine the resistance and pressure of the parts subserves an end beyond any of them, if regarded by itself—so at a much higher level it *may be* with the Absolute. Not only the collision but that specific feeling, by which it is accompanied and aggravated, *can be* taken up into an all-inclusive perfection. *We do not know how this is done*, and ingenious metaphors (if we could find them) would not serve to explain it. . . . Such a perfect way of existence *would*, however, reconcile our jarring discords; and I do not see how we can deny that *such a harmony is possible*" (p. 203).

This language is surely far more suggestive of pious hope than of philosophic insight, and yet, Mr. Bradley proceeds in the very next sentence to conclude—"But if possible, then, as before, it is indubitably real." The reference here—and repeatedly—to "our old principle" recalls us, however, to the precise meaning which we found that principle must bear. It is simply the principle that reality must be one. "It must be single, because plurality contradicts itself" (p. 519). "Reality is one system which contains in itself all experience" (p. 536). "It must include and must harmonise every possible fragment of experience" (p. 548). These statements, taken from the recapitulatory and concluding chapters of the volume, prove afresh that the general principle, on which the whole is founded, is so extremely general as to be of no avail in "harmonising" experience in any vital sense. The "conclusion is certain and to doubt it logically is impossible" (p. 518); but it is the perfectly abstract conclusion or assumption already discussed, that existence is in some sense one, and does not fundamentally contradict itself, inasmuch as we see that "birth proceeds and things subsist." We are forced, therefore, to conclude that this argument, from necessity through possibility to reality, is more specious than sound, seeing that it passes from a unity and harmony which, as necessary, are purely abstract, to a unity and harmony which, as real, are understood to imply the concrete "perfection" of a single Being, and to include the "consummation" of "the main tendencies of our nature" (p. 148). It is, to all intents and purposes, an argument based on our ignorance

of the possibilities, coupled with the general conviction that things must get along together somehow; since it is plain that existent fact contains all opposites within itself, and still exists. This is certainly "a faith as vague as all unsweet," but I greatly fear that all conclusions about the universe, which it is logically impossible to doubt will be found, on examination, to partake of a similar tautology, and to be of no more real value in proving the universe a harmonious and perfect system.

Lest I should seem to exaggerate the vagueness of the result, I will add here a few quotations from Mr. Bradley's Second Book, a selection from a larger anthology. These passages seem to me to bear out the contention that, instead of solving the contradictions of the First Book, the Second Book is mainly devoted to "laying them to rest in the Absolute" with a large draft upon our metaphysical faith. "*Somehow* an identical Self must be real," said Mr. Bradley in Book I., "but then the question is *how*?" And accordingly the identical Self was curtly dismissed as riddled with contradictions. But "*somehow*" is the very word which has inscribed itself on page after page of Book II., with an almost pathetic frequency of repetition. Or if the word itself does not occur, there is the admission that "we do not know how" the reconciliation is effected: but still "we may be sure" that the reconciliation is a fact.

"We may say that everything which appears is *somehow* real in such a way as to be self-consistent" (p. 140).

"The bewildering mass of phenomenal diversity must hence *somehow* be at unity and self-consistent" (p. 140).

"We know what is meant by an experience, which embraces all divisions, and yet, *somehow* possesses the direct nature of feeling" (p. 160).

"If we can realise at all the general features of the Absolute, if we can see that *somehow* they come together in a way known vaguely and in the abstract, our result is certain" (p. 160).

"*We cannot understand how* in the Absolute a rich harmony embraces every special discord. But, on the other hand, *we may be sure* that this result is reached" (p. 192).

"As with error, even our one-sidedness, our insistence and our disappointment *may somehow* all subserve a harmony and go to perfect it" (p. 201).

Then follows the significant passage already quoted as to the possibility of collision and strife being an element in some fuller realisation.

"*We do not know how this is done.* Such a perfect way of existence would, however, reconcile our jarring discords" (p. 209).

"All differences, we have urged repeatedly, come together in the Absolute. In this, *how we do not know*, all distinctions are fused, and all relations disappear" (p. 208).

"*We do not know how* all these partial unities come together in the Absolute, but *we may be sure* that the content of not one is obliterated" (p. 204).

"To explain time and space, in the sense of showing how such appearances

come to be, and again, how, without contradiction, they can be real in the Absolute is certainly not my object. Anything of the kind, I am sure, is impossible" (p. 205).

"Hence we are led to the conclusion that subject and predicate are identical, and that the separation and the change are only appearance. They *somehow* are lost, except as elements, in a higher identity" (p. 220).

"The plurality of presentations is a fact, and it, therefore, makes a difference to the Absolute. And the Universe is richer, *we may be sure*, for all dividedness and variety. Certainly, in detail, *we do not know how the separation is overcome*. But our ignorance here is no ground for rational opposition. *Our principle assures us that the Absolute is superior to partition, and in some way perfected by it*" (p. 226).

"The collision is resolved within that harmony where centre and circumference are one" (p. 229).

"We have no basis on which to doubt that all content comes together harmoniously in the Absolute. All this detail is not made one in any way which we can verify. *That it is all reconciled we know, but how, in particular, is hid from us*" (p. 239).

"The Reality, therefore, must be One, not as excluding diversity, but as *somehow* including it in such a way as to transform its character" (p. 241).

"We laid stress," he says in his "Recapitulation" (p. 242), "on the fact that *the how was inexplicable*."

"The material world is an incorrect, a one-sided, and self-contradictory appearance of the Real. In other words, it is a diversity, which, as we regard it, is not real, but which *somehow*, in all its fulness, enters into and perfects the life of the Universe. But, *as to the manner in which it is included*, we are unable to say anything" (p. 266).

"Certainly, in the end, to know *how* the One and the Many are united is beyond our power. *But in the Absolute somehow, we are convinced, the problem is solved*" (p. 281).

"*How* these various modes come together into a single unity *must remain unintelligible*" (p. 457).

"We have seen that the various aspects of experience imply one another, and that all point to a unity which comprehends and perfects them. And I would urge next, that the unity of these aspects is unknown. By this, I certainly do not mean to deny that it essentially is experience, but it is an experience of which, as such, we have no direct knowledge. . . . *In the end the whole diversity must be attributed as adjectives to a unity which is not known*" (pp. 468-9).

Mr. Bradley's candour in this array of passages is obviously beyond all praise, but they surely amount precisely to the assurances of the mystic choir at the end of "Faust": "*Das Unzulängliche, hier wird's Ereigniss; Das Unbeschreibliche, hier ist es gethan*." Or in plain prose, so far as the result is metaphysically certain, it seems too vague to be of use; where it offers itself as more, it remains the expression of a deep-seated faith, whose roots are ethico-religious and æsthetical rather than purely intellectual.

That brings us, however, to an important turning-point in our investigation. It has been hinted more than once that Mr. Bradley's volume seems the product of two conflicting tendencies or lines of thought. The first of these, the Spinozistic or Scellingian tendency, which is, on the whole, predominant, has been criticised in the pre-

ceding pages. It shapes, perhaps unconsciously, the general view of the Absolute. In his second line of thought Mr. Bradley stands much more closely under the influence of Hegel. I propose in what follows to examine this second line of thought and to consider the relation of Mr. Bradley's theory as a whole to the Hegelian philosophy and also to the limitations of human knowledge.

The Spinozistic tendency, I have said, is, on the whole, the predominant tendency; but the second line of thought appears in some important chapters, and also in the author's statement, towards the close, of the purpose he had in view in writing the book. The chapter which seems to me most fully to represent the second point of view is that on "Degrees of Truth and Reality." According to the Spinozistic view, appearance is throughout illusion, and the nature of the Absolute is to be reached by passing beyond appearances to a wholly different mode of being. But this Being above or behind appearances, we naturally find to be entirely predicateless, for in abstracting from appearance we cut ourselves off from all positive knowledge. According to the second view, which I have called for convenience the Hegelian, appearances are not contrasted in a body with the Absolute, and branded as untrue or illusory: on the contrary, it is recognised that, except in the world of appearances, we have and can have no clue to the nature of the Absolute. Attention is concentrated, therefore, in Hegelianism upon the world of appearances, with the result that this world is shown to be a graded or hierarchical system. In this system as a whole the Absolute is said to be realised or revealed, but appearances only become a safe guide when regard is had to the systematic or hierarchical character of the revelation. This doctrine of degrees belongs unquestionably to the abiding essence of the Hegelian philosophy; and, although we have seen that Mr. Bradley's speculations often convey another impression, it would appear from his account of the purpose of his volume (given in the concluding paragraphs) that this is the lesson his pages were meant to enforce. The immense importance of the Hegelian position as against a twofold error could not in fact be more forcibly put than is done by Mr. Bradley in these sentences:

"It is a simple matter to conclude . . . that the Real sits apart, that it keeps state by itself and does not descend into phenomena. Or it is as cheap, again, to take up another side of the same error. The Reality is viewed, perhaps, as immanent in all its appearances, in such a way that it is, alike and equally, present in all.* Everything is so worthless on one hand, so divine on the other, that nothing can be viler or can be more sublime than anything else. It is against both sides of this mistake, it is against this empty transcendence and this shallow Pantheism, that our pages may be

* "As full, as perfect in a hair as heart," according to a line which Hegelian writers are fond of putting in the pillory.

called one sustained polemic. The positive relation of every appearance as an adjective to Reality; and the presence of Reality among its appearances in different degrees and with diverse values—this double truth we have found to be the centre of philosophy" (p. 551).

This view is most consistently maintained, as I have indicated, in the chapter on "Degrees of Truth and Reality" (chapter xxiv.), and those that follow. It is recognised as the ideal of a system of metaphysics "to show how the world, physical and spiritual, realises by various stages and degrees the one absolute principle" (p. 359). In another place he sketches the task of a "philosophy of Nature" thus:

"All appearances for metaphysics have degrees of reality. We have an idea of perfection or of individuality; and, as we find that any form of existence more completely realises this idea, we assign to it its position in the scale of being. And in this scale (as we have seen) the lower, as its defects are made good, passes beyond itself into the higher. The end, or the absolute individuality, is also the principle. Present from the first, it supplies the test of its inferior stages, and as these are included in fuller wholes, the principle grows in reality. Metaphysics, in short, can assign a meaning to perfection and progress"—

though, as he immediately explains, there would, in setting out the various kinds of material phenomena "in an order of merit," be no reference to the scientific questions of genesis and progress in time.

"In a complete philosophy," he proceeds, "the whole world of appearance would be set out as a progress. It would show a development of principle, though not a succession in time. . . . On this scale pure Spirit would mark the extreme most removed from lifeless Nature, and at each rising degree of this scale, we should find more of the first character with less of the second. The ideal of Spirit, we may say, is directly opposed to mechanism. Spirit is a unity of the manifold, in which the externality of the manifold has utterly ceased" (pp. 197-8).

And in the opening of the final chapter he returns to emphasise this hierarchical aspect of appearances: "In the end no appearance, as such, can be real. But appearances fail of reality in varying degrees, and to assert that one, on the whole, is worth no more than another, is fundamentally vicious" (p. 511).

Yet all through these chapters, too, Mr. Bradley is still bent upon reaching an esoteric existence of the Absolute *as such*, in contradistinction to its existence in the system of its appearance. And if this quest does not lead him exactly to an "empty transcendence," it lands him in an abyss of Brahmanic indifference, which threatens to throw us back into the "shallow Pantheism" from which the doctrine of degrees was to deliver us. It prompts him to a series of utterances which, though the qualification of an "*as such*," may save them from the charge of direct verbal contradiction, are still the expression of

two opposite philosophies. Thus, when he tells us (p. 486) with the aid of italics, "The Absolute *is* its appearances," and again, with the same aid (on p. 411), "The Absolute *is not* its appearances," he may perhaps claim with some reason to be enunciating two complementary half-truths. But when he tells us emphatically in an eloquent passage (p. 550):

"There is no reality anywhere except in appearance, and in our appearance we can discover the main nature of reality. . . . It is, really and indeed, this general character of the very universe itself which distinguishes for us the relative worth of appearances. . . . Higher, truer, more beautiful, better and more real these, on the whole, count in the universe as they count for us."

Or, again (p. 430), "Whether anything is better or worse does without doubt make a difference to the Absolute; and certainly the better anything is, the less totally in the end is its being over-ruled"; and when he yet says at other times that "The Absolute is perfect in all its detail, it is equally true and good throughout" (p. 401); that, "viewed in relation to the Absolute, there is nothing either good or bad, there is not anything better or worse." (p. 411); that "we may even say that every feature in the universe is absolutely good" (p. 412)—we feel that we are losing our hold upon the first view altogether, and drifting back into the gulf of absolute indifference which the poets of mysticism, Eastern and Western, have hymned. The passages I have quoted all occur, it is perhaps worth noting, in the chapter on Goodness, in which Mr. Bradley's zeal against what he calls "the common prejudice in favour of the ultimate truth of morality or religion" is perhaps not untinctured by counter-prejudice. His anxiety to expose what he quaintly calls "the radical vice of all goodness" betrays him into expressions which seem to take all vital meaning out of the first set of phrases, and make the doctrine of degrees itself an illusion, instead of reflecting, as he says elsewhere, "the essential nature of the world." The essential nature of the world for metaphysics turns out once more to be the identity in which all distinctions vanish, to which all things, therefore, are the same. This is brought out with almost startling distinctness in the description in this chapter of the kind of consummation which the finite attains in the Absolute:

"In the Absolute everything finite attains the perfection which it seeks; but, upon the other hand, it cannot gain perfection precisely as it seeks it. For, as we have seen throughout, the finite is more or less transmuted, and, as such, *disappears in being accomplished*. This common destiny is assuredly the end of the Good. The ends sought by self-assertion and self-sacrifice are each, alike, unattainable. The individual never can in himself become a harmonious system *In the complete gift and dissipation of his personality*, HE, as such, must vanish; and with that, the Good is, as such, transcended and submerged. . . . Most emphatically no self-assertion nor

any self-sacrifice, nor any goodness or morality, has, as such, any reality in the Absolute" (pp. 419-20).*

Comment would but weaken the audacious irony of phrases which make accomplishment tantamount to disappearance, and interpret the gift of personality as meaning the dissipation of the personality in question. But it is plain that if every aspect of finite existence—if all appearances, even the highest—cease or disappear, "as such," in the Absolute, and we have no knowledge whatever of the Absolute "as such," in which they are said to be preserved ("transmuted," "merged and recomposed," p. 306), then surely the Absolute is for us, in the Kantian phrase, as good as nothing at all. To say we know that it is experience, when it is not like any experience that we know, does not seem greatly helpful. Mr. Bradley tells us himself that "an absolute experience for us, emphatically, could be nothing" (p. 550); and again he says more explicitly in a passage which has been already quoted: "The unity of these aspects is unknown. But this I certainly do not mean to deny, that it essentially is experience, but it is an experience of which, as such, we can have no direct knowledge. . . . *In the end the whole diversity must be attributed as adjectives to a unity which is not known*" (pp. 468-9).

The last passage certainly carries us very near the perilous verge of Agnosticism, if indeed it does not take us well over it. What becomes of the sustained polemic against "empty transcendence" (of which Agnosticism is the most accentuated expression) if we are forced to admit that though the Absolute engulfs, and in engulfing harmonises, all we know, it is itself not known? We have no reason to suspect either the good faith or the accuracy of the account which Mr. Bradley gives of the purpose of his book. Much of the polemic of the latter part of the book is directed against empty transcendence and shallow Pantheism; and when this polemic is going on, and Mr. Bradley is insisting that the Absolute *is* its appearance ("there is no reality at all anywhere except in appearance," p. 550), then he is also found teaching the doctrine of degrees and insisting that our scale of worth discovers to us the main nature of reality. But when he is engaged in his favourite occupation of dissolving finite experience in contradictions and insisting that the Absolute is *not* its appearances, the other half-truth seems forgotten. In discarding appearance, he falls back himself into an empty transcendence which, by the very energy with which it repudiates all the distinctions of finite existence, reduces all the aspects of experience to a dead level of indifference, and thus strikes round once more into that shallow Pantheism, from which we were promised a deliverance—the Pantheism

* In this short passage it will be observed the phrase "as such" occurs no fewer than four times; it would be interesting to calculate how often it occurs in the course of Mr. Bradley's volume. It exactly corresponds to Spinoza's *quatenus*, which has been described as the magic formula which makes all things possible in his system.

"to which "nothing can be viler or can be more sublime than anything else." For empty transcendence and shallow Pantheism are two sides of the same mistake, and although Mr. Bradley makes a strenuous effort in his second or Hegelian line of thought to combat and disavow the error, he cannot cut himself loose from the implications of his Spinozistic logic. The result is, that what I have called the Hegelian passages have the air of being more or less inconsequent disclaimers in a book which, as a whole, expresses an essentially Brahmanic attitude of mind.

Nevertheless Mr. Bradley seems to me to have rendered a very important service to philosophy in this book. I will endeavour shortly to indicate what I consider that service to be. Mr. Bradley has attempted to supplement Hegel, or to make an advance upon Hegel, in one important particular. Hegel's philosophy is notoriously a philosophy of immanence, and a vindication of the validity of knowledge; its polemical emphasis is directed against the Agnostic relativism of the Kantian Critique, with its doctrine of the thing in itself, and against the easy mysticism of the Schellingian *Identitäts philosophic*, which are both expressions, in different directions, of an empty transcendence. By exposing the impossible nature of the ideals which underlie these doctrines, and vindicating the omnipresence of difference as woven into the very fibre of existence, Hegel closed one long chapter of philosophical thought—although his results in this respect may doubtless not have been assimilated even yet by many of our popular leaders of opinion. But in reaction against this error, Hegel's gift of forcible statement led him into expressions which seem to imply a no less questionable extreme. In preaching the truth that the nature of the Absolute is revealed in the world of its appearances, not craftily concealed behind them, he seems to pass to a sheer identification of the two. Now it is unquestionably true that the two aspects must be everywhere combined: an Absolute which does not appear or reveal itself, and an appearance without something which appears, are correlative abstractions. But that is not tantamount to saying that the appearance of the Absolute to itself is identical with the appearance which the world presents to the Hegelian philosopher. Hegel, however, tends to put the philosopher in the place of Deity, and literally to identify the history of humanity with the development of the Absolute. It was this aspect of the Hegelian system which called forth Lotze's sarcastic reference to the dialectical idyll of an Absolute whose spiritual evolution was confined to the shores of the Mediterranean. I do not think the presence of this tendency in Hegel can fairly be denied. It is an overstatement, as I hold, and as I may partly be able to show, of a great truth; but to my mind the deification of humanity only requires to be clearly stated in order to condemn itself. This aspect of the Hegelian

system found an inadequate counterpoise in the logical dialectic of the categories, from which standpoint the time-process is reduced to a projection of thought-distinctions in a series of dissolving views, and the ultimate reality of existence seems to be placed in a timeless system of abstract conceptions. The logical strain in Hegelianism had been showing some signs of vitality in England when Mr. Bradley, in his "*Principles of Logic*" (1883), uttered his memorable protest against the reduction of the universe to an "unearthly ballet of bloodless categories." Since then it may be said to have fallen into the background, much as it did in Germany, and the school has mainly devoted itself to the historical development of God. Sometimes this is done, as it is by Hegel himself, with an attempt, either unconscious or deliberate, to keep out of view the ultimate implications of the position as bearing on the doctrine of the being and nature of God. At other times the identification of man with God is made with an under-current of negative polemic, resulting in a phase of thought which may be described as Hegelian positivism.

If I read Mr. Bradley aright, he has clearly realised that neither of these positions can be entertained for a moment as literal and ultimate truth. Life is more than logic, and God is more than man. The categories—that is to say, the structure of reason—may be said to constitute the essence of God, the ground-plan of the world; we can understand the statement and recognise the truth it expresses. But "neither gods nor men are in very truth logical categories." And again, God is in history without doubt, but yet we trust He has a richer outlook than He enjoys through any pair of human eyes. Realising, then, these twin defects of the Hegelian position, Mr. Bradley in this volume has made a strenuous attempt to treat the life of the Absolute as a reality. With the instinct of the true thinker, he recalls us from a narrow Humanism to an insight into the vastness of the sustaining life that "operates unspent" throughout the universe. This insight is no doubt as simple as it is profound, and it is sufficiently strange that man should forget his position as a finite incident in the plan of things, and measure himself with the immeasurable Spirit of the Universe. Still the fact remains that the most elementary truths are sometimes most easily forgotten in the eagerness of a polemic against some particular error. We become so preoccupied with the ideas which we perceive to be true in that particular reference, as against the error we are combating, that we forget the essentially limited nature of the truth we are defending. We forget the limited sphere within which both affirmation and denial have relevancy. Indeed, we become so jealous on behalf of the truth for which we fight, that we cannot brook the least criticism upon it. We confound in a common condemnation the man who denies its legitimate truth, because he lags at the standpoint of the exploded error, and

the man who, having got beyond these controversial issues, calls attention to the modifications which the principle must submit to before it can be advanced as the absolute verity.

Elemental, therefore, as the truth is, the stress, which Mr. Bradley lays throughout his volume upon the necessarily superhuman character of the Absolute—its inexpressible and incomprehensible transcendence of human conditions of being and thinking—is a salutary correction to a good deal of current speculation. After all, if it comes to a question of reality, the Absolute is the great and only Reality. *We* have reality only within its all-comprehensive bounds. True, therefore, as it is, in the proper reference, to say that the Absolute realises itself in human self-consciousness, it becomes fundamentally absurd if the saying is taken to mean that the Absolute exists, so to speak, by the grace of man, and lives only in the breath of his nostrils. Is it not both absurd and blasphemous to suppose that the Power which cradles and encompasses all our lives is not itself a living fact, and that it is reserved for man to bring the Absolute, as it were, to the birth? A moment's reflection convinces us that it is so, and also that it must be essentially impossible for a finite being to realise the manner of that Absolute Life.

But Mr. Bradley has not been content simply to restore to us this fundamental insight. He is a metaphysician, and his book, if not presenting a complete system of philosophy, yet contains a pretty definite theory of the Absolute. And the curious thing is that, based as it is upon an important truth, and aiming at correcting an undoubted defect in the Hegelian statement, the theory turns out to be further from the truth—turns out, at all events, to be more misleading—than the theory it attempts to improve. But I perhaps exaggerate the strangeness of the phenomenon, for the result is, strictly speaking, inevitable as soon as we proceed to a constructive account of absolute experience. As water cannot rise higher than its source, so our speculative grasp cannot transcend the experience which is ours in this seed-plot of Time. The higher may comprehend the lower, but how shall the lower reach out to comprehend the higher? Denying, therefore, that the life of the Absolute can be construed in terms of our actual human experience, even in its highest reaches, Mr. Bradley is obliged, as we have seen, to fall back upon the analogy of a lower life out of which our conscious experience seems to rise—the life of feeling.

It would be trite to dwell here on the ambiguities of the term "feeling" and the varieties of usage in its regard. It will be sufficient if we understand the meaning Mr. Bradley intends to convey. Mere feeling, he would probably acknowledge, is a state which we never actually realise, though we seem to approximate to it at times, and conceive it to be approached asymptotically in the lowest forms of organic life. Nevertheless, it is not to be deemed that feeling, in Mr. Bradley's

usage, represents one feature—one fundamental aspect—of our actual experience. All our experience is rooted in the immediacy of perception, and feeling names this perceptual or immediate aspect as opposed to the conceptual or abstract world, which we rear on the basis of inner or outer perception, and offer as its explanation. I foresee the outcry that will be raised in certain quarters against this way of stating the fact, and I hasten to add that this in no way implies the separability of these two aspects in actual experience. Our actual perceptions are full of the distinctions of thought; a state of pure perception entirely without the shaping presence of the conceptions of the understanding can only be regarded as a *πρώτη ὕλη*, a vanishing-point or limitative conception, essentially unrealisable within experience. The notion from which empiricism started, that the object of perception is given, as we perceive it, without any activity of thought—the notion that thought simply analytically assorts the objects of which we thus passively become aware, doing them up into classes and discovering their laws of combination—this complete severance of perception from thought we are surely at liberty to treat nowadays as an exploded fiction. But the amplest acknowledgment of the victory of transcendentalism in this controversy leaves the immediacy of perception untouched, and leaves the difference as wide as ever between the concrete world of fact, which reveals itself in perception (inner and outer), and the abstractions of conception as such. Conception deals wholly with *abstracta*, with isolated aspects or points of view. Such are the discrete or abstract units which, in its own nature, it cannot fuse into continuity, and the multiplicities which it cannot resolve into unity. It can never, therefore, express the facts of experience as they exist; in trying to do so, it inevitably falls into contradictions or antinomies. It then proceeds, on the basis of its own impotence, to impeach our whole experience as contradictory and no better than an illusion. But if its impotence is perfectly intelligible—is seen indeed to be inevitable—then experience itself can hardly be called unintelligible. It may be unintelligible in a technical use of the word; in the sense that it cannot be reduced to, or exhaustively expressed in, the abstractions which the isolating touch of understanding frames. But this is merely to say that understanding is not itself life, but a useful instrument in the service of life. In the only reasonable sense of intelligibility, life or experience is itself the norm of intelligibility. We find united there all the aspects which, merely by detecting and naming, understanding tends to fix in isolation and mutual repugnance. Take the typical instance of unity and multiplicity which furnished forth Mr. Bradley's whole First Book; the unity of the Self and its states is the sufficient and the only possible answer to the so-called contradiction. True, you cannot name unity and multiplicity in the same indivisible moment of time; you must get your breath, as it were, after articu-

lating the one before you go on to the other. And what applies to the articulation of the words applies to the mental thinking of the thoughts; if you think of the unity of the Self, you necessarily pause upon that aspect before supplementing it by turning round the eye of the mind to the other aspect, multiplicity. In conception the mind, as it were, *takes a step* from the one to the other, and so the two come to appear separate. And dialectic supervenes and tells us that A is A, and so these two can never be brought together; whereas we have simply looked at one fact from two sides. And that one fact—our own inmost experience—exhibits the two sides indissolubly united, and, instead of calling this a contradiction, we adopt it as the norm of all our explanations.

All our experience, then, is rooted in the immediacy of perception, and experience from the perceptive side is a continuum in which we make distinctions. As we do not "make" them in an arbitrary sense, we may also be said to find them. They were not there for us till we made them, but in making them we hold ourselves to be analysing more exactly what was implicit in the presentation from the first—to be acquiring, in short, a fuller and truer knowledge of the fact. The whole progress of knowledge appears, therefore, as the breaking up of what is given as a vague mass of feeling or undefined consciousness which can hardly as yet be described even as general awareness. Inasmuch as this state is assumed to occur in the experience of some individual creature, and to constitute the whole state of the creature in question, it may be permissible to speak of it (with Mr. Bradley) as an undifferentiated *unity*, an undivided *whole*. This inexhaustible background of "feeling" constitutes for us the *being* of the world (including ourselves), and, in that sense, it is the ultimate subject of all predication; but obviously it is only so far as it becomes determined or formed that we can say anything about it. In its character of unexhausted remainder it is not anything we actually realise; it cannot itself be properly spoken of as experience, although it is that out of which all experience seems to arise. It is essentially a limitative conception, and as such it is the necessary implicate of our experience; but again, as such it cannot be constructed within experience. We approach it *per viam negativam*, only approximating towards it by throwing out one determination after another; and, if we examine our supposed realisation, we find that we have merely thrown our negatives into a positive form.

But what is itself describable only by negatives, and what, if realisable, would mean a lapse into unconsciousness, cannot be expected to throw any valuable light upon the nature of an absolute experience. That experience, as we have seen, is to be a whole in which the distinctions elicited in the progress of knowledge are again to be merged in such a way that thought returns to the immediacy of feeling; but it is added that, "in that higher unity no fraction of anything is

lost" (p. 182). We have already examined this notion, and come to the conclusion that, though Mr. Bradley *says*, and is bound to say, that all the "richness," all the distinctions, of the world we know are somehow conserved for the Absolute, the main principle on which his criticism depends points directly to the collapse of all distinction whatever, and he seems himself continually impelled in that direction. Here we need only add that, if the utter unity of feeling out of which our experience seems to take its rise is an utter unity into which all distinctions collapse, and so a purely negative conception, it will be equally negative when transferred to the other end of the scale, and used to illustrate the transcendent unity in which all the differences of finite experience are resolved. In short, in the one case as in the other, we are dealing with a limitative conception which it is sheerly impossible for us positively to construct, or, in any true sense, to conceive. Our experience has the stamp of incompleteness upon it: it has the appearance of moving from an unknown source to an unknown goal. This incompleteness is expressed in the two limitative conceptions we have had before us, the unity below and the unity above experience, the extreme of mere sense and the extreme of omniscience. *Within* experience we may approximate to one extreme or the other, but any attempt positively to realise either leaves us baffled with nothing in our grasp. Beyond experience, in short, all is and must be, for us, absolute emptiness, and whatever "sail-broad vans" we spread for flight, we drop at once plump down, like Milton's Satan, in a vast vacuity.*

It is impossible, therefore, to construct for ourselves, even in outline or vague generality, the nature of an absolute experience. Our general descriptions are seen on examination to be either purely formal, and as I have argued, identical propositions, or they are postulates of faith to be realised somehow, but always with this for an afterword, that the "how" is hidden from us. And this is so for the simplest of all reasons, because we are men and not God. We are ourselves immersed in the process of the universe. We can only live our own life, and see through our own eyes. If we could do more, that would mean that we ourselves had vanished from the universe; the place which had known us would know us no more, and there would be, as it were, a gap created in the tissue of the world.

Take the crucial case of time. "If time is not unreal," says Mr. Bradley, "our Absolute is an illusion" (p. 206). But, however "contradictory" we may find the infinite progress to be, which time

* Mr. Bradley gives the example of "a constant sound" which may be at first the object of attention, then, "a setting or fringe to the object," but finally passes, "lower into the general background of feeling"—passes "into that Self for which the Not-Self exists." Such a "lapse" into "the internal mass of feeling" seems equivalent to a withdrawal from psychical existence altogether till the effect of the stimulus reappears in the shape of some vague sub-conscious unrest which eventually draws attention to itself. At all events, the unity of feeling into which it relapses is so utter that it

involves, can we even adumbrate to ourselves what "a timeless reality" would be? I am quite certain, for my own part, that the utmost we can attain is the idea of something permanent *in* time, lasting unchanged through time; but that leaves us with all the difficulties of the infinite series still on our hands. Mr. Bradley's suggestion that there may be many time-series in the Absolute, unrelated to one another, seems to me to throw no light on the subject whatever. The notion of many "times" seems to me one of these empty possibilities—~~an~~ conceivable verbal combinations—which Mr. Bradley, elsewhere, I think, discourages. All our notions of reality being drawn necessarily from our own experience, and all our experience being in time, a timeless reality remains for our minds as inconceivable as a wooden iron. Besides, the difficulty of passing from the timed to the timeless remains just as great, whether the times be many or one.

Mr. Bradley's attempt to determine the Absolute "as such"—*i.e.*, the Absolute as beyond or more than the process of human experience—has the unexpected result, therefore, which I indicated a few pages back. It proves an unexpected vindication of the real strength of the Hegelian position. The cloud of negations in which the attempt involves us, the abstract and empty character of the Absolute supposed to be reached, are a fresh and involuntary confirmation of Hegel's wisdom, in refusing to step beyond the circle of knowledge and the process of history. I have said, and I repeat, that Hegel's identification of the Absolute with human experience is indefensible. Nevertheless his refusal to seek the character of the Absolute elsewhere than in its appearances—*i.e.*, in human experience—was entirely justified. As we have no predicates save those drawn from this experience, the attempt to determine the Absolute, so far as it is something more than this experience, necessarily throws us back upon the purely indeterminate, and we drift easily towards the doctrine of the Unknowable. Professor Royce has already accused Mr. Bradley of this tendency. The fruitfulness of Hegel's philosophy lay in his repudiation of this barren search. The real is revealed in its appearances, and is not to be sought behind or beyond them. Extension of experience will bring increased and deepened knowledge of the Absolute:

"For all experience is an arch wherethro'
Gleams that untravell'd world whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move."

But as we shift our margin and enter that untravell'd world, however far we go, the new is still an extension of the old on the same plane, the plane of finite experience, not a passage to another species of insight. Along with this resolute correlation of the real with its manifestations, there goes in Hegel the organisation of the phenomenal world itself. Relieved from an impossible quest, he devotes himself

to the exposition of experience as the only possible revelation of the Absolute for us, and he finds it to be not an indifferent congeries, but a graded system. The significance of this doctrine of degrees I have already dwelt on, in commenting upon what seem to me two conflicting lines of thought in Mr. Bradley's book. The result for Hegel of this doctrine, taken together with his fundamental correlation of the real with its manifestation, was, not unnaturally perhaps, a theory which identified, or seemed to identify, the Absolute with the culminating aspects of human experience in art, religion, the State and philosophical system. The theory is false only so far as it is taken to confine the Spirit of the Universe to these earthly tabernacles. So understood, it cabins the spirit of man within a narrow and self-sufficient positivism. It undermines the sentiment of reverence, and dulls our sense of the infinite greatness and the infinite mystery of the world. But it is profoundly true, so far as it asserts that only by predicates drawn from these spheres can we determine the Absolute at all, and that moreover such determination is substantially, though doubtless not literally, true :

"So weit das Ohr, so weit das Auge reicht,
Du findest nur Bekanntes, das ihm gleicht,
Und deines Geistes höchster Feuerflug
Hat schon am Gleichniss, hat am Bild genung."

The dangers that lurk in any attempt to determine the Absolute as such are well exemplified, I think, in the negations to which Mr. Bradley is driven. Thus, "morality cannot (as such) be ascribed to the Absolute" (p. 197). "Goodness as such is but appearance and is transcended in the Absolute" (p. 429). "Will cannot belong as such to the Absolute" (p. 413). In the Absolute even thought must "lose and transcend its proper self" (p. 182). "If the term 'personal' is to bear anything like its ordinary sense, then assuredly the Absolute is not merely personal" (p. 531). "The Absolute is not personal, nor is it moral, nor is it beautiful or true" (p. 533). What is the inevitable result upon the mind of this cluster of negations? Surely it will be this: Either the Absolute will be regarded as a mere Unknowable with which we have no concern, or the denial of will, intellect, morality, personality, beauty and truth will be taken to mean that the Absolute is a unity indifferent to these higher aspects of experience. It will be regarded as non-moral and impersonal in the sense of being below these distinctions, and our Absolute will then remarkably resemble the soulless substance of the materialist. Nothing is more certain than that extremes meet in this fashion, and that the attempt to reach the super-human falls back into the infra-human. Now Mr. Bradley, of course, intends his unity to be a higher, not a lower unity. "The Absolute is not personal, because it is personal and more. It is, in a word, super-personal" (p. 531). And he is not blind to the danger that lurks in his denials.

"It is better," he even warns us, if there is a risk of falling back upon the lower unity, "to affirm personality than to call the Absolute impersonal." But there is more than a risk, I maintain; there is a certainty that this will be the result. And therefore the conclusion deducible from Mr. Bradley's discussion seems to me to be that the attempt metaphysically, scientifically, or literally (I use these here as equivalent terms) to determine the Absolute as such, is necessarily barren. Where the definition is not tautologous, it is a complex of negations, and if not technically untrue, it has in its suggestions the effect of an untruth. Our statements about the Absolute, *i.e.*, the ultimate nature of things, are actually nearer the truth when they give up the pretence of literal exactitude and speak in terms (say) of morality and religion, applying to it the characteristics of our own highest experience. Such language recognises itself in general (or, at least, it certainly should recognise itself) as possessing only symbolical truth, as being, in fact, "thrown out," as Matthew Arnold used to say, at a vast reality. But both religion and the higher poetry—just because they give up the pretence of an impossible exactitude—carry us, I cannot doubt, nearer to the meaning of the world than the formulæ of an abstract metaphysics.

Such a conclusion may be decried as agnostic, but names need frighten no one. The Agnosticism which rests on the idea of an Unknowable thing in itself—the Agnosticism which many of Kant's and Spencer's arguments would establish—is certainly baseless; but there are regions of speculation where Agnosticism is the only healthy attitude.

Such a region I hold to be that of the Absolute as such. If it be objected that the mere mention of such an Absolute is an acknowledgment of the Thing-in-itself, I must allow myself Mr. Bradley's privilege, and simply "doubt if the objector can understand" (p. 183). It is, in a word, not an Absolute-in-itself, but the Absolute-for-itself, of which we are speaking—in other words, it is the nature of the existence which the Absolute has or enjoys for itself. This is incomprehensible, save by the Absolute itself. Because it is incomprehensible by the finite mind, it does not, however, follow that such an all-embracing experience is not a Reality; and the denial of such a possibility would seem to be more than presumptuous. So far, therefore, as the Hegelian philosophy disregarded this wider outlook, and implicitly identified the Absolute with the process of finite experience, its scheme of things is out of proportion, and the ineffable transcendence of the Absolute as such required reassertion. But this reassertion must not be construed to mean that our own existence is a vain show which throws no light on the real nature of things. Rightly agnostic as regards the nature of the Absolute as such, no shadow of doubt need fall on our experience as a true revelation of the Absolute for us. Hegel was right in seeking the Absolute within

experience and finding it, too; for certainly we can neither seek it nor find it anywhere else. The truth about the Absolute which we extract from our experience is, doubtless, not the final truth. It may be taken up and superseded in a wider or fuller truth, and in this way we might pass in successive cycles of finite existence from sphere to sphere of experience, from orb to orb of truth. But even the highest would still remain a finite truth, and fall infinitely short of the truth of God. But such a doctrine of relativity in no way invalidates the truthfulness of the revelation at any given stage. The fact that the truth I seek is the truth for me, does not make it, on that account, less true. It is true, so far as it goes; and if my experience can carry me no further, I am justified in treating it as ultimate *until it is superseded*. Should it ever be superseded, I shall then see both how it is modified by being comprehended in a higher truth, and also how it and no other statement of the truth could have been true at my former standpoint. But *before* the higher standpoint is reached, to seek to discredit our present insight by the general reflection that its truth is partial and requires correction, is a perfectly empty truth which, in its bearing upon human life, may easily come to have the effect of an untruth. We hear much in denunciation of the practice of testing truth by its supposed consequences. And no doubt the argument is often a weapon in the hands of obscurantism and timid conservatism. Yet in the long run, truth and life are not dissevered, and there is a line of Goethe's which expresses, with his usual calmness and breadth, the insight of which the popular doctrine is a superficial distortion, *Was fruchtbar ist, allein ist wahr*.

While Mr. Bradley's main thought, therefore, undoubtedly possesses a real importance as emancipating us from the too narrow humanism of a dogmatic Hegelianism, the impression produced by his volume upon an unbiassed mind will be, I fancy, to foster a wise Agnosticism in regard to assertions about the Absolute as such. Human experience, not as itself the Absolute "bodily," but as constituting the only accessible and authentic revelation of its nature to us, is the true subject-matter of philosophy. And here, as Mr. Bradley says, "the doctrine of degrees in Reality and Truth is the fundamental answer to our problem" (p. 487). Mr. Bradley, as we have seen, acknowledges his special indebtedness to Hegel, in this part of his discussion, but, in its general form, the doctrine is no exclusive property of any philosophical school. Rather it has always been

"Der Völker löblicher Gebrauch
Dass jeglicher das Beste was er kennt,
Er Gott, ja seinen Gott, benehmt?"

We speak most truly and most in accordance with the real nature of things when we thus characterise the Absolute in terms of the best we know.

But that Hegel has given systematic expression to this old world-wisdom gives his system a place in history quite beyond the brilliant but arbitrary speculations of individual genius, and ensures for it an abiding influence upon modern thought. It must be acknowledged, however, that, in his hands, the doctrine of degrees tends to assume a too purely intellectual and formalistic character. If we look simply at his own methodic statement, the scale seems to resolve itself into a series of repetitions of the fundamental formula of the One and the Many. As we rise in the scale, we get more comprehensive wholes—wholes, too, which include a more intricate complexity of detail, and which embrace their detail in a more intimate union. We have thus a series of types (different powers or *Potenzen*) of the same scheme. But the realisation of this abstract scheme possesses in itself no interest or importance. It is the content of any experience which makes it “higher” in any vital sense, and makes it of decisive importance in an inquiry as to the meaning of experience as a whole. Hegel’s results in this connection are substantially true, just because they are based not upon the mere application of a formula, but upon an implicit reference to the content of experience and the judgments of value which that legitimates. The formula itself is derived, in fact, from the self-conscious life of man, and to Hegel, in even a wider sense than to Kant, man in his typical activities is an End-in-himself.

The life, that is to say, which is guided by the ideals of Truth, Beauty, and Goodness, and which partially realises these, possesses an absolute and indefeasible worth. It is only in such judgments of value that we can be said to possess “an absolute criterion.” Mr. Bradley says in more than one place that we possess such a criterion, but he also, like Hegel, confines himself too exclusively throughout his book to the intellectual necessities of all-inclusiveness and internal harmony, which, we found, did not carry us so far as he supposed. Our idea of what the Absolute must be is founded on the ideal necessities which our nature compels us to acknowledge. But the ideal necessities in question are not merely intellectual; they are æsthetical, ethical, and religious as well. For “we must believe” (to quote Mr. Bradley’s own words) “that Reality satisfies our whole being; our main wants—for Truth and Life, and for Beauty and Goodness—must all find satisfaction” (p. 159). The necessity of our belief is not due, however, to any esoteric assurance on the point which we possess direct from the Absolute. It is an absolute certainty in the sense simply that it is an ultimate judgment on our part. It represents our deepest conviction as to absolute and relative worth—a conviction which does not admit of being supported, and therefore does not admit of being assailed, by argument.

THE FICTITIOUS FRENCH CLAIM TO MADAGASCAR.

MOST people fully believe that France possesses by treaty-right a "protectorate" over that vast island in the Indian Ocean, which in extent is nearly twice the size of the United Kingdom. Some who remember from history how Mauritius, when held by France, was used, in the last century, as a basis for privateers to harass English trade, may feel very uncomfortable at what they maintain to be the existing legal state of things. They naturally think that Madagascar in the hands of a Power, a rival of, or under circumstances hostile to, this country, could be converted into a strong place of arms, forming a standing threat both to the Cape route and the Red Sea route of England to her Eastern Empire.

But uncomfortable thoughts apart, how many are there who doubt the treaty-right in question? Has not M. Hanotaux asked for a credit of 65,000,000 francs in order to "secure the full realisation of our protectorate"? And has not Lord Salisbury, as far back as 1890, "recognised the protectorate of France over the island of Madagascar, with its consequences"? Does not that settle the matter?

No. It does not do so in international law. Two persons cannot dispose of the property of a third one without the latter giving his consent. In the same way, an agreement made by the Governments of two nations that another nation should be saddled with a foreign protectorate cannot be held binding upon the latter unless it has yielded its assent. Now, the French Republic may use "the last argument of kings" for imposing her will upon the Hova nation, but she cannot claim a protectorate in virtue of a treaty concluded with the Government of Antananarivo. Lord Salisbury has "recognised" that which legally does not exist.

• In vain will the Convention of December 17, 1885—which was

signed on January 10, 1886, by General Digby Willoughby, the commander of the Malagasy army, in the name of Queen Ranavalona, on board the French war vessel *Naiade*—be searched for the word "protectorate." It is not there.

There had been long negotiations on the subject. As early as June 13, 1883, an ultimatum had been sent out by France, claiming "the rights of sovereignty or of protectorate" over certain territories on the coast, where Sakalava tribes dwell. It was during a rebellion of those rather barbarian, semi-negroid tribes against the Malagasy Government that France had, in 1841 and 1842, gained some influence with certain Sakalava chiefs, and prevailed upon them to accept a treaty. Naturally, the Government at Antananarivo did not recognise this action of rebellious subjects, who were afterwards subdued and placed again, as they had been before, under the central Hova authority.

On November 26, 1883, the Malagasy plenipotentiaries, in answer to a French ultimatum, informed those of France that such claims of sovereignty or protectorate over special portions of the island

"must not be repeated any more (*les Français n'exerceront plus désormais de répétition à cet égard*); Madagascar having, for a long time, been in perfect possession of her independence, and fully resolved upon maintaining the advantageous position which she holds, and the cession of which she will not offer to anybody else, whoever he may be."*

This peremptory answer was a very clear hint at a rupture. Thereupon the French plenipotentiaries put a little water into their strong wine. Admiral Galiber declared that "France had never had the pretension of conquering Madagascar," that she "never dreamt of touching the independence of the country," and so forth. Still, on August 27, 1885, another treaty-draft came forth from Paris, in which, dropping the claim of a special sovereignty or protectorate over a small part of the island, a more vaguely general protectorate of France over the whole of Madagascar was proposed.

All these claims were rejected. At last, the French plenipotentiaries themselves did not even dare to mention the subject any more, considering that the French troops, during protracted hostilities, had not been able to penetrate further inland than a few miles, only to retreat even from there.

"We have not insisted on the insertion of the word 'protectorate,'" wrote M. Patrimoine on January 18, 1886, to M. de Freycinet—the Minister for Foreign Affairs—"because we knew beforehand that otherwise this would once more prove a cause of rupture." When the Convention was submitted to the Chamber of Deputies for the necessary ratification, Count Douville Maillefeu, on February 25, 1886,

* "Documents Diplomatiques : Affaires de Madagascar, 1881-1886." Paris, 1883 and 1886.

pointedly referred to the fact that "*the word 'protectorate' is not in the Treaty.*" M. de Freycinet, of course, did not gainsay it; the fact being before every one's eyes.

The protectorate claim, both special and general, having been struck out, Article I. of the Treaty runs thus :

"The Government of the Republic will represent Madagascar in all her foreign relations. The Malagasy abroad will be placed under the protection of France."

Now, the merest tyro in diplomacy knows that such a protection of the subjects of a country residing abroad does not constitute a protectorate over that country itself.

This entire absence of the word "protectorate" from the Treaty of 1885-86 did not please the Chauvinist party. M. de Freycinet, therefore, at first tried to hoodwink the Chamber into a belief that a protectorate had been established, by wilily using the phrase, on January 16, 1886, in a Ministerial declaration to the Senate and the House of Deputies: "We shall organise the protectorate over Annam and Tonquin, as well as that over Madagascar, upon bases of an extremely simple character." Again, on February 17, he said of Article I.: "This article entails the effective protectorate by France over Madagascar in all its force. Our protectorate, however, is confined to the foreign politics of the Hovas." Yet, in the same speech he had to confess that the Hovas would have been frightened by the word "protectorate," and that M. Baudais, the French agent, was placed on half-pay for having "shown a want of dexterousness (*maladresse*)" by intimating that France was bent upon an interference even with the internal administration of the island.

It was only the imprudence, the want of dexterousness, the hasty previousness—as the Americans phrase it—which M. de Freycinet objected to in his agent. The thing itself he certainly wanted to be done by-and-by. Speaking of Article II., which says :

"A Resident, representing the Government of the Republic, will preside over the foreign relations of Madagascar without interfering in the internal administration of the country,"

M. de Freycinet actually did not scruple to throw out this significant and rather cynical hint: "Our Resident cannot interfere against the will of the Hovas; but it is not doubted that the Resident will, by degrees, edge himself also into the internal administration of the island."

Furthermore, the French Foreign Minister observed: "If you have from the outset the pretension to plant sub-agents over the whole island, the Hovas will not consent to it. But if, later on, Frenchmen are established at certain points, we shall then be able to appoint

there a Delegate or Resident." And in order to impress the Chamber by another argument in favour of granting the ratification, the resourceful statesman, though declaring that the Malagasy Government were glad to have the war ended on account of the sufferings endured by their people, directed attention to the fact that, after all, "*the Hovas had not been beaten.*"

This occurred in the debate of February 17, 1886. On February 25, when Count Douville Maillefeu's somewhat startling remark about the absence of the word "protectorate" had been made, M. de Freycinet exclaimed :

"I have consulted all the expert military officers. Consult them yourselves, and they will tell you that, to reach Antananarivo and impose your will in an unmistakable, rapid, and decisive manner, it would need 10,000 men ; 10,000 more to guard the communications, and still 5000 more as a corps of reserve. With such an alternative before you, I believe you can vote the proposition submitted to you."

In other words, the Minister tried to make the House feel that it would be rather a big job to defeat Madagascar, and that it would be best to remain satisfied for the nonce with what had been obtained. Previously, M. de Freycinet, though endeavouring to delude the Chamber as to the existence of a protectorate, had literally to make this avowal as to the former French claim of a protectorate over the Sakalava :

"We consider that the Government of the Hovas ought to extend over all the island. It is the Hova people who, in our view, are alone capable of ruling over the whole island. The other populations are not sufficiently developed."

What an involuntary satire upon the former French attempt to rouse the backward and barbarian Sakalava against the central authority of the more cultured Hova !

But worse remains behind as to the tortuous tactics of French diplomacy. In the negotiations between M. Patrimonio and Admiral Miot and the representatives of Queen Ranavalona, it had been distinctly agreed, before the Treaty was signed, that "the French establishment at Diego Suarez will not pass beyond one mile and a half along the south of the bay, as well as along its contour from east to west, and four miles around the north contour of the bay." Also, that the escort of the French Resident shall be composed of not more than fifty horsemen or foot soldiers, and that this escort shall not enter the precincts of the Royal Palace. Further, it was promised that "the Government of the Republic will obviously not lend its assistance to the Queen of Madagascar for the defence of her State unless such assistance is solicited by her Majesty the Queen." Again,

it was acknowledged that the Malagasy Government can, as heretofore, continue to conclude treaties of commerce with foreign Powers.

All this was distinctly settled in answer to definite questions of the plenipotentiaries of Madagascar. The document containing these assurances was drawn up on January 9, 1886, and forms an "appendix," or "letter," or "postscript," to the Treaty which was signed on the following day, January 10, 1886. The signatures of the Queen and the "Prime Minister" were, as stated in the valuable work of Captain Pasfield-Oliver,*

"only affixed to the Treaty by their plenipotentiary [General Digby Willoughby] as conditional and dependent on the satisfactory explanations afforded by the Letter and Postscript, and that the Treaty is consequently to be read by the light of the Appendix, without which it is null and void."

But what did M. de Freycinet do, when asked, in the Chamber, whether he considered himself bound by the Appendix as to the boundary line around the bay? He coolly answered that he would take no heed of the Appendix at all. He said: "No. I only hold by the Treaty. I trust that we shall bring about a progressive extension of that boundary line."

Seldom has faithlessness been shown more openly in matters diplomatic. Whilst letting his agents give the most formal assurances to the representatives of Madagascar in a sense quieting their apprehensions, the French Minister was not ashamed to avow in open Parliament that he meant to ride rough-shod over the clear text of the Treaty at the first opportunity. In accordance with this audacious design, the Appendix, without which the Treaty itself is invalid, was not only not submitted to the Chamber, but bluntly disavowed.

Who, then, is bold enough to say that the Government of Madagascar, which gave its signature on the understanding that the Treaty and the Appendix hang together, and that the one must be interpreted by the other, is under any treaty obligation whatever, considering the gross breach of faith of which the French Government has become guilty? A legal opinion, given by an English jurisconsult already in October 1886, which is embodied in Captain Pasfield-Oliver's work, puts this in the clearest light. But even waiving that point, it will have been seen from the facts above detailed, that a French protectorate was not only not established in 1885-86, but that that claim was, after protracted negotiations, formally rejected, and purposely kept out of the Treaty. Without knowing Goethe's "Faust," the Malagasy fully felt the meaning of the suggestion of Mephistopheles:

* "Madagascar." London. 1886. 2 vols.

*"Mit Worten lässt sich trefflich streiten,
Mit Worten ein System bereiten,"*

and they therefore refused to grant the word "protectorate" to the insidious French diplomacy.

Here it may be brought to recollection that when Ravaninahitrinirivo, the Foreign Secretary and Ambassador of Madagascar, came with his colleague, Ramaniraka, to London, twelve years ago, he laid a statement before Lord Granville, in which the French claim to either a local or a general protectorate was most firmly opposed. These Malagasy—as I can testify from having repeatedly seen them and had them as guests at my house, in company with the English Vice-Consul, Mr. W. C. Pickersgill—did not lack shrewdness. One of the sentences of their memorandum, referring to the French claim of a local protectorate over certain semi-barbarous Sakalava tribes, merits being quoted. It was to this effect:

"No civilised nation can ever recognise the rights of a section of their people, while in rebellion, to alienate any portion of its territory to a foreign Power."

The Embassy went on in their statement:

"The Foreign Office [at Paris] insisted upon the signing of an ultimatum by which the French would have a right of protectorate over the West coast of Madagascar, with general rights over the whole island. As it was impossible for us to sign this, we were immediately informed that we were no longer considered the guests of France, and that our flag must be removed from the hotel."

In conclusion, the Malagasy Envoys remarked that they were "fortunately aware of an understanding entered into some years ago between Great Britain and France whereby the independence of Madagascar was mutually agreed to." They consequently trusted that Lord Granville would use his influence for ensuring to their nation a proper protection from molestation and foreign aggression.

That protection was not given. Madagascar had to defend her independence against French aggression by force of arms. She succeeded in keeping the foe at bay. France won no laurels in that campaign, and had finally to give up the desired insertion of "protectorate" in the Treaty. Nevertheless, Lord Salisbury, four years afterwards, allowed himself to be deluded into a one-sided "recognition" of this non-existent protectorate! Who knows whether the text of the Treaty of 1885-86, and the diplomatic documents referring to the long negotiations that preceded it, were ever properly studied at the Foreign Office?

Be that as it may, nobody will be able to deny the gravity of the questions at issue. Speaking of the strategical, apart from the commercial, value which the large island of Madagascar would possess in

the hands of a powerful enemy, a journal which supports the present Cabinet, as it has supported that of Mr. Gladstone—namely, Sir Charles Cameron's *North British Daily Mail*—rightly says :

"That this is no figment of Jingoism is shown by the fact that, when the Mauritius was in the possession of France, our Eastern commerce was so terrorised by French raids from that basis that we were compelled to make a conquest of the island at the beginning of the century. There is nothing to prevent the French establishing another such base at Diego Suarez, or other Madagascar ports."

And the same paper continues thus :

"The arrangement concluded by Lord Salisbury and M. Waddington four years ago was of a comprehensive character, and while it gave France a free hand in Madagascar, it at the same time bound that country to recognise a line from Say to Barruwa as the southern limit of French influence in the hinterland of Algeria. It is notorious that the French have ignored this stipulation, and that they have been claiming to exercise an influence in the Western Soudan south of that line, which constitutes, of course, a *serious departure from the general arrangement concluded in 1890*. . . . But the French Colonial party are desirous of overriding the obligations of the 1885 Treaty under cover of the agreement of 1890, and to this, of course, we cannot be a party. It is the same *parti colonial* who are making mischief for us on the Niger, in the Western Soudan, and on the Upper Nile."

If this description is correct, the Paris Government³ has not fulfilled the conditions of the agreement of 1890 towards England, even as it has not observed the stipulations of 1886 with regard to Madagascar. This alone would make the Convention of 1890 no longer binding upon this country, quite irrespective of its having never been binding, from the point of view of international law, upon the Malagasy victim. Unfortunately, such legal considerations do not restrain the French Republic, whose declared object it is to force her alleged "protectorate" upon Madagascar by a war which cannot be otherwise called than a war under false pretences.

KARL BLIND.

LECONTE DE LISLE.

WHEN the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW asked me to write something about the great poet we have just lost, I was busy correcting proofs of the lecture devoted to him in my book, "Evolution de la Poésie Lyrique au XIX^e Siècle," a collection of the lectures given by me at the Sorbonne in 1893. Leconte de Lisle was then still amongst us, and we in no wise expected his end was so near. For although he had passed his seventieth year, age had neither bowed his frame nor marred the Olympian character of his appearance; and some of his finest poems—"Les Parfums" and the "Enlèvement d'Europeia," published that year in the *Revue des deux Mondes*—make it superfluous for me to remind my readers that his inspiration had never been more noble, his art had never been more completely within his mastery, even in the maturity of his powers. And this is the well-deserved reward of all who, like him, seek to express in their works only that which they have conceived of, according to the fine saying of the philosopher, "sous l'aspect de l'éternité!" It is their consolation and the pride of those who love them, that living, so to speak, two lives, of which the outer one is, as with all of us, abandoned to the rapid and changeful stream of actuality, the inner one secretly devoted to the cult of science or of art, they have never experienced the wild joys of popularity, but neither have they known, nor will they ever know, its fickleness; and by just so much as they have thrust aside from their work the passionate element, it has suffered neither from hesitation nor faltering, and their talent has not departed from them with their youth. Let us steer clear of the passions. We of to-day no longer feel, no longer love, as our fathers did in 1830, after the furious fashion of Dumas'

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or Hugo's heroes, and the change suffices to make "Anthony" and "Ruy Blas" intolerable to us.

"Mais la Beauté flamboie, et tout renaît en elle ;
Et les mondes encor roulent sous ses pieds blancs." *

Which is precisely the point I desired to enforce in the lecture, for which I must apologise for having alluded to above, and from this I have nothing to withdraw, nothing to modify. For the reasons already given, the unexpected death of Leconte de Lisle shed no light upon his works which I had not already found there. But it is the peculiarity of great writers that one may speak of them over and over again, and when one thinks all said, still find something further to say, or may repeat the same things in a different manner. Besides, one says them better the third or fourth time than the first ; and since, after all, truth can only be impressed upon man's wandering mind by means of repetition, the very last vanity of the critic or historian of literature should be that of always wishing to appear original.

In order to form a correct idea of the work of Leconte de Lisle, and to fix the relative importance of his "Poèmes Antiques" and "Poèmes Barbares" in the history of contemporary poetry, it is above all necessary to see therein, as in the writings of Flaubert to whom I shall more than once compare him, especially the "Tentation de Saint-Antoine" and "Salammbô," a protest against the Romantic school. I do not mean to say that both Flaubert and Leconte de Lisle did not largely benefit by the revolution brought about by Hugo. The solidarity uniting the generations of man never permits us to get entirely free from the influence of those who preceded us, and it would be as impossible to explain Leconte de Lisle without Hugo as it would have been to explain Racine without Corneille, or Malherbe without Ronsard. But though the author of "Phèdre" and of "Athalie" were to owe even more than he does to the author of "Polyeucte" and of the "Cid," no one in these days fails to perceive that the dramatic system of Racine differs fundamentally from that of Corneille, even if one does not admit it to be the antithesis ; and it is thus that Leconte de Lisle was able to avail himself of the freedom won for poetry by Hugo, though his "Poèmes Antiques" and "Poèmes Barbares" have not on that account any the greater similarity to the "Légende des Siècles." I have pointed out on this subject that, while the Grecian cult of the Beautiful permeated the whole of the "Poèmes Antiques," in the "Légende," on the contrary (I refer to the first series of 1859), there was not one single piece inspired by the mythology, the traditions, or the history of Greece. In this immense fresco, wherein the poet had set himself, according to his

* But Beauty flames, and in her all things are born again ; And the worlds still roll beneath her white feet.

own account, no less a task than that of depicting humanity simultaneously and successively "under all its aspects"—history, fable, religion, philosophy, science—there was no place for the gods, or for the heroes, artists, or poets of Greece; and even Rome was represented there merely by the "Lion d'Androclos." On the other hand, the personal opinions of the poet were conspicuous even in his choice of subject; thus, for instance, he only conceived such a masterpiece as "*La Rose de l'Infante*," to get a chance of telling Philip II. of Spain, the Pope, and Roman Catholicism, what he thought of them. Anti-Christian fanaticism is the sole resemblance I find between Hugo and Leconte de Lisle.

In every other respect they stand far apart, and while the Romantic School, sprung partly from the revolt against the "Greeks and Romans," remained faithful in the "*Légende des Siècles*" to its origin, the mere title, "*Poèmes Antiques*," is both eloquent and significant. I say nothing of the preface, to be found in the early editions, and since the poet thought well to suppress it, I will not quote from it. But some lines taken from the beautiful poem, "*Hypatie*," the virgin of Alexandria and Cyril's victim, are not less characteristic:

"Ô vierge, qui, d'un pan de ta robe pieuse,
Couvris la tombe auguste où s'endormaient tes Dieux,
De leur culte éclipsé prêtresse harmonieuse,
Chaste et dernier rayon détaché de leurs cieux !

"Je t'aime et te salue, ô vierge magnanime !
Quand l'orage ébranla le monde paternel,
Tu suivis dans l'exil cet (Edipe sublime,
Et tu l'enveloppas d'un amour éternel." *

This is a real profession of faith. With a touch of impiousness, the poet goes back beyond those Middle Ages—of which the Romanticists, while exploiting them for their picturesque odds and ends, formed, nevertheless, so false an idea—to Grecian sources, to draw thence, together with the favourite subjects of his Muse, the long-lost feeling for plastic art.

"Marbre sacré, vêtu de force et de génie," †

he cries, addressing himself to the Venus of Milo,

"Déesse irrésistible au port victorieux,
Pure comme un éclair, et comme une harmonie,
Ô Vénus, ô beauté, blanche mère des Dieux." ‡

* O virgin, who, with a fold of thy pious robe, Didst cover the august tomb wherein thy gods slumbered, Musical priestess of their extinguished worship, Chaste and last ray fallen from their heavens !

I love thee and greet thee, O great-hearted maiden ! When the tempest shattered the world of thy fathers, Thou didst follow that sublime Oedipus into exile, And thou didst enfold him with an eternal love.

† Hallowed marble, clothed with power and with genius.

‡ Irresistible goddess, of victorious mien, Pure as the lightning, and like a harmony, O Venus, O beauty, white mother of the gods.

But the lines that follow are still more definite :

"Tu n'es pas Aphrodite, au bercement de l'onde,
Sur ta conque d'azur posant un pied neigeux,
Tandis qu'autour de toi, vision rose et blonde,
Volent les Rires d'or avec l'essaim des Jeux !

"Tu n'es pas Kythérée, en ta pose assouplie,
Parfumant de baisers l'Adonis bien heureux,
Et n'ayant pour témoins sur le rameau qui plie
Que colombes d'albâtre et ramiers amoureux.

"Et tu n'es pas la Muse aux lèvres éloquentes,
La pudique Vénus, ni la molle Astarté,
Qui, le front couronné de roses et d'acanthos,
Sur un lit de lotos se meurt de volupté." *

And again :

"Iles, séjour des Dieux ! Hellas, mère sacrée,
Oh ! que ne suis-je né dans le saint Archipel,
Aux siècles glorieux où la Terre inspirée
Voyait le Ciel descendre à son premier appel." †

It would not be possible to declare war more openly against the Romantic School, or to go over more resolutely to the side of those "classics" whose altars the Hugos, the Dumas, and the Mussets imagined themselves to have completely overthrown ; it would not be possible more frankly to write oneself down an enemy to the "Génie du Christianisme," or to renew more deliberately the tradition of Chénier, Racine, and Ronsard.

The truth is, as to-day we see clearly, that that for which the Romantic School had the least perception was the Beautiful ; in the preface to "Cromwell" it had actually been denied as a legitimate end or aim of art, and in its place was substituted the representation of what was called "character," although it would have been more candid to have named it the "ugly" outright. Of all the heroes of Homer's epic, Hugo cared for none but Thersites, the "Ursus," or "Quasimodo" of the Trojan war ; and of all the Greek plays, I doubt whether he understood much else than the low jesting in the "Frogs." But the Beautiful, merely a word for the Romanticists, and a word which they misunderstood, was a reality for the author of the "Poèmes Antiques" ; indeed, the only reality. Though the ideal model perhaps nowhere existed, it is the glory of art to have created it. Something of it was to be found in the Parthenon and

* Thou art not Aphrodite, cradled by the wave, On thy azure shell poisoning a snowy foot, Whilst round thee, a fair and rosy vision, Flutter golden Laughters, with Merriments in swarms !

Thou art not Cytherea, in thy languid pose, Perfuming with kisses the thrice-happy Adonis, And having for witnesses, on the bending branches, Only doves, alabaster-white, and fond ring-doves !

And thou art not the Muse with eloquent lips, The bashful Venus, nor the soft Astarte, Who, her brow crowned with roses and acanthus, On a bed of lotos dies of delight.

† Islands, abode of the gods ! Hellas, holy mother ! Oh, why was I not born in the sacred Archipelago, In those glorious ages when the inspired Earth Saw Heaven descend to her first entreaty ?

the Venus of Milo ; something in those legends which alone consoled him for the spectacle of contemporary ugliness and mediocrity ; and an idyll of Theocritus, or an ode of Anacreon, appeared to him as much superior through the correctness of sentiment, the perfection of execution, and the depth of æsthetic emotion to Musset's "Nuits," for instance, or Hugo's "Orientales," as a statue of the already decadent school of Pergamus, the Farnesian Bull, the Laocoon, or a Praxitelean Venus to the declamatory style of sculpture of David of Angers. I do not say he was altogether in the right. Were I here to discuss his opinions, I might reproach him with some little injustice towards the Romantic School, some little weakness for the antique. Twenty centuries can scarcely have gone by without profit for Humanity, and therefore for Art. But what is for the moment of more importance, is to follow out through the poet's works his development of these premisses, and to observe, as we proceed, how his teaching combats point by point that of the Romanticists.

What his example teaches first of all is the cult of Art, and rigid respect for Form. No lesson was at that time, about the year 1852, more necessary than this one, when in the silence maintained by Hugo for over a dozen years, Lamartine's easy grace and Musset's literary dandyism had begun to found a school of their own ; unless indeed it were to re-learn how to write verse which was genuine verse. There is none more beautiful in the French language than Leconte de Lisle's, and his "Midi" is invariably quoted in proof.

"Midi, roi des étés, épandu sur la plaine,
Tombe en nappes d'argent des hauteurs du ciel bleu." *

Now that the poet is dead, I venture to quote these lines in my turn, for I may remark, he did not much care to hear them quoted, and to find that his name invariably recalled them to mind ; it had on him the same sort of effect which Flaubert experienced, on always hearing himself spoken of as the author of "Madame Bovary." But one may quote at hazard from the "Poèmes Antiques" :

"O jeune Thyoné, vierge au regard vainqueur,
Aphrodite jamais n'a fait battre ton cœur ;
Ah ! si les Dieux jaloux, vierge, n'ont pas formé
La neige de ton corps d'un marbre inanimé,
Viens au fond des grands bois, sous les larges ramures,
Pleines de frais silence et d'amoureux murmures.
L'oiseau rit dans les bois ; au bord des nids mousseux.
O belle chasseresse ! et le vent paresseux
Berce du mol effort de son aile éthérée
Les larmes de la nuit sur la feuille dorée." †

* Noon, the king of summer seasons, showered upon the plain, Falls in sheets of silver from the heights of the blue heaven.

† O young Thyoné, virgin with the conquering glance, Never has Aphrodite made thy heart beat ; Ah, if the jealous gods, virgin, have not formed Thy snowy body from inanimate marble, Come to the depths of the vast woods, under the great branches, Full of cool silence and amorous murmurs. The bird laughs in the woods, on the edge of his mossy nest, O beautiful huntress ! and the lazy wind Softly sways with its ethereal wing The tears of the night on gilded leaves.

And here are some lines in a less idyllically graceful style, which I take from "Héraklès au Taureau":

"Or, dardant ses yeux prompts sur la peau lionne
Dont Héraklès couvrait son épaule divine,
Irritable, il voulut heurter d'un brusque choc
Contre cet étranger son front dur comme un roc.
Mais, ferme sur ses pieds, tel qu'une antique borne,
Le héros d'une main le saisit par la corne.
Et, sans rompre d'un pas, il lui ploya le col,
Mourtrissant ses naseaux furieux dans le sol.
Et les bergers, en foule, autour du fils d'Alkmène,
Stupéfaits, admiraient sa vigueur surhumaine,
Tandis que, blancs dompteurs de ce soudain péril,
De grands muscles roidis gonflaient son bras viril." *

Ut pictura poesis. If ever one has painted, or, better, carved in verse, it is in such lines as these, which, naturally, I have selected with the intention of thereby showing how care for form is united to the study of the antique. Gautier, who was no great scholar, and assuredly no "great Greek," had also had a glimmering of the same idea. But he was too devoted to Spain; and besides, how could he possibly free himself from his early Romanticism? The "Poèmes Antiques" did that which neither the "Psyche" of Victor de Laprade (for which the honour has sometimes been claimed, although this poem is but Lamartine over again, and a more hazy and obscure Lamartine) nor even the too few poems in "Émaux et Camées" could do. Leconte de Lisle won no fame thereby, above all, no popularity; but the Antique was vindicated from the stupid contempt it had been the fashion to affect for it during the last quarter of a century, the classic tradition was again taken up where Romanticism had broken it, and Romanticism itself was stricken, in the breed of spurious Elegiacs who fancied they represented it.

II.

And in fact, these did represent it; for should one inquire what in France was the essential character of the Romantic movement, it would be found, as I have already sufficiently pointed out, to be neither broader nor deeper than the personal exaltation or hypertrophy of the poet himself. Under the specious name—freedom in art—the Romanticists in general sought merely to emancipate themselves from social usages, literary traditions, and the conditions of Art herself. In consequence, they succeeded only in the Ode and in the Elegy, and

* So, flashing his swift eyes upon the lion's skin Wherewith Heracles draped his divine shoulder, Angered, he clashed, with sudden onset, His rocky front against the stranger. But, firm of foot as an old-world landmark, The hero with one hand seized him by the horn, And without swaying even a step aside, forced down his neck, Bruising his furious nostrils against the earth. And the shepherds, crowding round Alcmena's son, Bewildered, marvelled at his superhuman strength, While, white victors of this sudden peril, The huge rigid muscles bulged on his manly arm.

perhaps in lyrical satire. But even here, and in a style which may be properly termed personal, we know to what—with their talent for exaggeration, or rather licence in all things, which is not the least interesting or displeasing trait in their physiognomy—they eventually fell; to what depths of imbecile self-analysis and self-exposure. Did a mistress deceive them? Instantly they must inform the whole universe of the fact. Had not Lamartine, Hugo, Musset, and Sainte-Beuve already set them the example?—and even the further one of “confessing” in public; very little to the advantage of God and morality, still less to that of poetry.

Nothing could be more opposed to the genius of Leconte de Lisle, and here again one cannot imagine a greater contrast than that between the “*Poèmes Antiques*” or the “*Feuilles d’Automne*,” for instance, and Musset’s “*Nuits*.”

“Tel qu’un morne animal, meurtri, plein de poussière,
La chaîne au cou, hurlant au chaud soleil d’été,
Promène qui voudra son cœur ensanglanté
Sur ton pavé cynique, ô plèbe carnassière !

“Pour mettre un feu stérile en ton œil hébété,
Pour mendier ton rire ou ta pitié grossière,
Déchire qui voudra la robe de lumière
De la pudeur divine et de la volupté.

“Dans mon orgueil muet, dans ma tombe sans gloire,
Dussé-je m’engloutir pour l’éternité noire,
Je ne te vendrai pas mon ivresse ou mon mal,

“Je ne livrerai pas ma vie à tes huées,
Je ne danserai pas sur ton tréteau banal,
Avec tes histrions et tes prostituées.” *

Those who knew the poet know how faithfully these well-known lines express the depths of his feelings. Unexpansive in character, infusing usually a shade of irony into manners of exquisite courtesy, he held himself always in perfect self-command; but did you desire to draw him out of his habitual reserve, you had but to get him on this subject to see that he would never forgive the Romanticists their prostitution of Art to base uses. “*Les Montreurs!*” is the title he himself gave to that sonnet, the rough energy of which testifies to the strength of his indignation. After this I have no need to add that, faithful to the first article of his *Æsthetics*, he but once or twice makes allusion in his writings to the history of his personal feelings :

* Like a poor beast, wounded, covered with dust, A chain round its neck, moaning to the hot summer’s sun, Let who will drag his bleeding heart Through thy cynical streets, O bloodthirsty rabble !

To bring a barren gleam to thy dull eye, To beg thy laughter, or thy coarse pity, Let who will rend the luminous robe Of heavenly modesty and of passionate joy.

In my dumb pride, in my inglorious tomb, Even though I must remain buried through black eternity, Yet will I not sell thee my ecstasy or my pain.

I will not deliver up my life to thy shouts, I will not dance on thy vulgar stage, with thy mummers and harlots.

in the "Manchy," one of his best known poems, and in "Illusion Suprême":

"Celui qui va goûter le sommeil sans aurore
Dont l'homme ni le Dieu n'ont pu rompre le socau,
Chair qui va disparaître, âme qui s'évapore,
S'emplit des visions qui hantaient son berceau,

"Rien du passé perdu qui soudain ne renaisse :
La montagne natale et les vieux tamarins,
Les chers morts qui l'aimaient au temps de sa jeunesse
•Et qui dorment là-bas dans les sables marins. . . ."

And this is but a sigh, at once repressed, from the poet's overcharged heart; and the involuntary confidence promptly fades away into a description of the splendours of the scene:

"Sous les lilas géants où vibrent les abeilles,
Voici le vert coteau, la tranquille maison,
Les grappes de Letchis et les mangues vermeilles
Et l'oiseau bleu dans le maïs en floraison."†

But Leconte de Lisle disliked the Romanticists no less on account of their perpetual self-absorption than for what was the natural consequence of this, the enormity of their ignorance. And although some few among them have figured in politics, it must be admitted that save there and in poetry, they were indeed ignorant. Put aside some two or three, with Sainte-Beuve at their head; it would be impossible to imagine an indifference more complete than Musset's, unless, indeed, it were Hugo's, for the great historical, philosophical, and scientific movement with which they were contemporary. Such indifference exasperated Leconte de Lisle, who held that "science and art, too long divided as the result of diverging efforts, should be linked by the intellect in intimate union, if not totally merged one in the other." He wrote again: "Art is the primitive revelation of the Ideal in Nature, Science its reasoned and enlightened exposition. But Art has lost its intuitive spontaneity, or rather has exhausted it. It is for Science to recall the meaning of its forgotten traditions, and infuse them with a new life under suitable characteristic forms." And thus, having made himself master of these "forms" before composing the "Poèmes Antiques," he found himself led to the expression of nothing but what was "objective" or impersonal as the forms themselves; while in the "Poèmes Barbares" he was brought to realise in an unexpected manner, through the alliance of Science and Art, a more contemporary ideal, if

* He who is to taste the sleep that has no morrow, Whereof neither Man nor God has been able to break the seal, Vanishing flesh, soul melting into air, He is filled with the visions that haunted his cradle.

Nought of the lost past but is suddenly born anew: His native mountain, and the old tamarind-trees: The dear ones dead who loved him in the time of his youth, And who sleep, away yonder, in the sands of the shore.

† Under giant lilacs, where bees are humming, There is the green hillside, there the quiet house, There are the clusters of letchis, and the scarlet mangoes, And the blue bird in the flowering maize.

I may so describe it, than that of the most determined partisans of "modernity in Art." Let me try to define this, and make clearer the difference between it and the ideal of the Romantic School.

"On the monuments of Persepolis," says Ernest Rénan, "you may see the various nations, tributary to the King of Persia, represented by an individual clothed in the fashion of his own country, and bearing in his hands specimens of its produce, to offer in homage to his suzerain. Such is Humanity; every nation, every intellectual, religious, or moral movement leaves behind it a brief formula which is, as the abridged type, surviving to represent those forgotten millions who once lived and died grouped around it."

It is this representation of the "abridged type" of the race which Leconte de Lisle sought first of all to immortalise in his work; in "Qaïn," in the "Vigne de Naboth," in "Néféro-Ra," the "Verandah," the "Mort de Valmiki," the "Epée d'Angantyr," and in other poems which differ from the apparently analogous poems of the "Légende des Siècles," exactly in so far as the erudition of truth differs from the caprices of the imagination.

"Ils s'en venaient de la montagne et de la plaine,
Du fond des sombres bois et du désert sans fin,
Plus massifs que le cèdre et plus hauts que le pin,
Suavés, échevelés, soufflant leur rude haleine
Avec leur bouche épaisse et rouge, et pleins de faim.

"C'est ainsi qu'ils rentraient, l'ours velu des cavernes
À l'épaule, ou le cerf, ou le lion sanglant
Et les femmes marchaient, géantes, d'un pas lent
Sous les vases d'airain qu'emplit l'eau des citernes.
Graves, et les bras nus, et les mains sur le flanc.

"Les ânes de Khamos, les vaches aux mamelles
Pesantes, les boucs noirs, les taureaux vagabonds
Se hâtaient, sous l'épieu, par files et par bonds,
Et de grands chiens mordaient le jarret des chamelles;
Et les portes criaient en tournant sur leurs gonds." *

In these fine lines there is not a word, not a detail, which does not serve to paint some prehistoric trait; not one which is the mere invention of the poet. The exact contrary may be asserted of Hugo's sense of conscientiousness, and of his "Qaïn." The "Poèmes Barbares" are to the "Légende des Siècles" what Flaubert's "Madame Bovary" is to the "Indiana" or "Valentine" of George

* They came from the mountain and from the plain, From the depth of dark woods, and from the limitless desert, More massive than the cedar, and taller than the pine, Sweating, dishevelled, breathing in harsh gasps, With their thick red mouths, and full of hunger.

It was thus that they came home; the shaggy cave-bear Slung from their shoulders, or the deer, or the bleeding lion. And the women, giantesses, marched with slow steps, Bearing brazen urns filled with the water of the cisterns, Grave, their arms bare, their hands on their hips.

Asses of Khamos, cows with heavy udders, Black rams, wild bulls, Hastened under the goad, in leaping ranks, And great dogs worried the heels of the she-camels; And the gates screamed as they turned on their hinges.

Sand; or in another line, what Taine's "*Origines de la France Contemporaine*" is to Lamartine's "*Girondins*," or Michelet's "*Révolution*." As with the historian and the novelist, the poet, abdicating his own personality, has set himself to get at the truth of things, and taking advantage of all the information afforded him by the erudition of the age, was the first to turn out really critical and naturalistic work. His conception of Egypt was obtained through the younger Champollion; and though ignorance of the language prevented him from reading the "*Baghavata-Purana*," or the "*Salita-Vistara*," in the vernacular, he has nevertheless written of India and of Buddhism, on the authority of Lassen and Burnouf. To put it again in another way, Leconte de Lisle did not see in history or tradition a personal pretext for the composition of sonorous verse, but he consecrated his Muse to the utterance of truths acquired by means of tradition and history. His attitude was not that of the mere scholar, but actually that of the zoologist or botanist, towards his own special subject; and it was thus that he first realised in a truly novel manner, and in one that completely satisfied his ambition, the alliance or union of Science and Poetry.

For this reason, too, while his conception of history differs fundamentally from that of the Romanticists, his conception of nature is no less divergent from theirs. Theirs, in the main, is Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's and Chateaubriand's; his, Humboldt's, and even Darwin's. Impregnated with humanism and anthropomorphism, the disciples of Hugo and Lamartine continued to make this world the centre of all things, and man himself the masterpiece, above all the spoiled child of creation:

"Mais la nature est là qui t'invite et qui t'aime,
Plonge-toi dans son sein qu'elle t'ouvre toujours."*

Lamartine, like Hugo, understanding by this that some benevolent Deity had scattered stars over the heavens, flowers over the earth, for the delight of our eyes; and Ruth asks herself:

"Quel Dieu, quel moissonneur de l'éternel été!
Avait en s'en allant négligemment jeté
Cette faucille d'or dans le champ des étoiles?"†

Such was their method of looking at nature. They belittled it to man's measure, and, while never tired of chanting its praises, cut down the whole universe to their own field of vision. Going further still, they held that man had been given the world in fief, and that the birds of the air, no less than the fishes of the sea, had been in a manner created for his benefit. But it is precisely now, when we

* But nature is there, calling thee and loving thee. Throw thyself on her bosom, which she holds ever open to thee.

† What God, what harvester of the eternal summer, Had, in passing, carelessly tossed This golden sickle in the field of stars?

most wish for such a belief, that we can no longer hold it; and the author of "*Poèmes Antiques*" and "*Poèmes Barbares*" never held it. He knew that we, like the beasts of the field, are but tenants of a day on the earth's surface, and if, on the infinite ladder of life, we stand perchance on the topmost rung, nevertheless we are yet a part of the whole; hence, in his works, the characteristics of so many of his descriptions, which are no less antithetical to those of Lamartine and Hugo than to those even of Lemercier and the Abbé Delille—see, for instance, the "*Éléphants*," the "*Hurleurs*," the "*Sommeil du Condor*," the "*Rêve du Jaguar*," the "*Panthère noire*," or the "*Chasse de l'Aigle*":

' Sous les noirs acajous, les lianes en fleur,
 Dans l'air lourd, immobile et saturé de mouches,
 Pendent, et, s'enroulant en bas parmi les souches,
 Bercent le perroquet splendide et querelleur,
 L'araignée au dos jaune et les singes farouches,
 C'est là que le tueur de bœufs et de chevaux,
 Le long des vieux troncs morts à l'écorce moussue,
 Sinistre et fatigué, revient à pas égaux.
 Il va, frottant ses reins musculeux qu'il bossue;
 Et, du mufle béant par la soif alourdi,
 Un souffle rauque et bref, d'une brusque secousse
 Trouble les grands lézards, chauds des feux de midi,
 Dont la fuite étincelle à travers l'herbe rousse.
 En un creux du bois sombre interdit au soleil
 Il s'affaisse, allongé sur quelque roche plate;
 D'un large coup de langue il se lustre la patte;
 Il cligne ses yeux d'or hébétés de sommeil;
 Et, dans l'illusion de ses forces inertes,
 Faisant mouvoir sa queue et frissonner ses flancs,
 Il rêve qu'au milieu des plantations vertes,
 Il enfonce d'un bond ses ongles ruisselants,
 Dans la chair des taureaux effarés et beuglants.*

Then read "*Le Bernica*," the "*Ravine Saint-Gilles*," the "*Forêt vierge*," a "*Coucher de Soleil*," each matchless for truth, without analogy in the history of French poetry—like Barye's animals in the history of sculpture—and notice the philosophic sense and tendency of all these descriptions. In the instincts and desires of the brute world, the poet unveils for us the far-off origins, the obscure genesis of our own, and, indeed, we recognise ourselves therein. In the bosom of nature we constitute no empire in an empire, and there is no such thing as a reign of humanity. Here lies the novelty, here,

* Under the dark mahogany-trees, In the heavy air, motionless and swarming with winged insects, Hang the flowering lianas, and twining themselves amongst the stems beneath, Cradle the splendid and quarrelsome parrot, The yellow-backed spider, and the wild monkeys. Thither the killer of bees and horses, Amid dead tree-trunks, with moss-grown bark, Returns, weary and sinister, with regular steps, He goes, rubbing and lashing his muscular loins, And from his gaping muzzle, heavy with thirst, A gasp, hoarse and short, with a sudden shock, Startles the great lizards, hot with the glare of noon, Whose flight glitters through the russet grass. In a hollow of the sombre wood forbidden to the sun, He sinks down, at full length, on a flat rock; With a long sweep of his tongue, he licks his paw; He blinks his golden eyes, stupid with sleep; And in the illusion of his inert strength, With swaying tail and quivering flanks, He dreams that in the midst of green plantations, He plunges in a bound his streaming claws Into the flesh of maddened and bellowing bulls.

the originality of these "pictures," which might each be taken straight out from Humboldt's "Cosmos." The elephants that roam over the desert, the dogs that howl upon the water's edge—these, too, have souls, though it may be but rudimentary ones :

"Devant la lune errante aux livides clartés,
Quelle angoisse inconnue, au bord des noires ondes,
Faisait pleurer une âme en vos formes immondes ?
Pourquoi gémissiez-vous, spectres épouvantés ?" *

The answer is simple : something is taking place in them, analogous to that which takes place in us ; for they, like us, are but the mobile and ever-changing expression of nature's manifestations within them. The whole of nature is One, always the same groundwork beneath a multiplicity of forms ; a truth which the ancient wisdom of India and mythology in general understood well. When the albatross, king of space and of the "shoreless seas "

"Vole contre l'assaut des rafales sauvages," †

though he cannot speak of it, the pride of combat, and the joy of victory display themselves in every beat of his wings. And when the eagle carries off from the valley prey for his young he is neither cruel, rapacious, nor sanguinary, as we in our narrowness are wont to describe him, but is simply acting according to his nature, just as we act according to ours ; and his so-called ferocity is but the manifestation of his paternal love. He works for his own preservation, and for that of his species. Here are sentiments which are not, I think, common ; and if these are the soul of Leconte de Lisle's descriptions, it is that, as I said just now, which makes them above all things scientific and philosophic.

By a natural consequence—a necessary one even, as could be proved—his well-defined preoccupation with nature led him to study in a special manner the various religious systems, religion being in reality nothing but the expression of man's relations with the world around him. Ernest Renan, about the same time, was saying, in his own fashion, the same thing when he announced his celebrated paradox, "the desert is monotheistic." With Renan, therefore, and I am not the first to remark upon it, the author of "*Poèmes Antiques*" and "*Poèmes Barbares*" sought the abridged type, the ethnical formula which the vanished races bequeath as memorials to those which come after them in religious symbols. Such is the meaning of "*Sûryâ*," "*Bhagavat*," the "*Vision de Brahma*," of "*Kybèle*," and of "*Khiron*"—which two last, by-the-by, one could wish he had called "*Chiron*" and "*Cybèle*" like all the

* Beneath the wandering moon, with its livid light, Beside the dark waters, what unknown anguish Made a soul weep in your, unclean forms ? Why did you moan, terrified spectres ?

† Flies against the assault of savage blasts.

world—and, again, of “Qain,” of the “Légende des Nornes,” and of the “Massacre de Mona.”

“Salut, Vierge aux beaux yeux, rayonnante de gloire,
Plus blanche que le cygne et que le pur ivoire,
Qui sur ton cou d'albâtre enroule tes cheveux ;
Reçois, belle Ganga, l'offrande de mes vœux.
Mon malheur est plus fort que ta pitié charmante,
O Déesse ! Le doute infini me tourmente,
Pareil au voyageur dans les bois égaré,
Mon cœur dans la nuit sombre erre désespéré.
O Vierge, qui dira ce que je veux connaître :
L'origine et la fin et les formes de l'Être ?” *

Such lines as these could not fail to earn him accusations of profanity, which in fact were not wanting. And if for the believers of a given religion, profanity consists in not choosing to except their particular form of belief from all other religious forms, but while treating it with due respect, nevertheless to criticise it, according to its historical rôle, then certainly no one was more profane than the author of “Dies Iræ,” which concludes the “Poèmes Antiques” :

“Soupirs majestueux des ondes apaisées,
Murmures plus profonds en nos cœurs soucieux !
Répandez, ô forêts, vos urnes de rosées !
Ruisselle en nous, silence étincelant des cieux !
“Consolez-nous enfin des espérances vaines :
La route infructueuse a blessé nos pieds nus.
Du sommet des grands caps, loin des rumeurs humaines,
O vents ! emportez-nous vers les Dieux inconnus !
“Mais si rien ne répond dans l'immense étendue,
Que le stérile écho de l'éternel désir,
Adieu, déserts où l'âme ouvre une aile éperdue,
Adieu, songe sublime, impossible à saisir !
“Et toi, divine Mort, où tout rentre et s'efface,
Accueille tes enfants dans ton sein étoilé,
Affranchis-nous du temps du nombre et de l'espace,
Et rends-nous le repos que la vie a troublé !” †

Alfred de Vigny has uttered the same cry in the “Destinées” :

“Le juste opposera le dédain à l'absence,
Et ne répondra plus que par un froid silence
Au silence éternel de la Divinité.” ‡

* Hail, Virgin, of the lovely eyes, radiant with glory, Whiter than the swan, and the pure ivory, Who round thy alabaster throat windest thy tresses ! Receive, O Ganga, the offering of my vows. My sorrow is stronger than thy enchanting pity, O goddess ! Infinite doubt torments me ; Even as a traveller astray in the forest, So through the dark night my heart wanders, hopelessly. O Virgin, who will tell me that which I long to know :—The source, the purpose, and the forms of being ?

† Majestic sighing of the lulled billows, Deeper murmurs of our anxious hearts ! Pour out, O forests, your urns filled with dew ! Stream into us, shining silence of the skies !

Console us, at last, for our vain hopes. The barren path has wounded our bare feet. From the summits of great headlands, far from human noises, O winds, bear us to the unknown gods.

But if nothing answers in the immense space, Save the sterile echo of eternal longing, Farewell deserts, where the soul stretches its aimless wings, Farewell, sublime dream, impossible to grasp.

And thou, divine death, wherein all things enter and are lost, Take thy children to thy starry bosom, Free us from time, from number, and from space, And give us back the rest which life has broken.

‡ The just man will answer absence with disdain, And will no more reply save with a cold silence To the eternal silence of the Divinity.

But the vibration of the note has gained, so to speak, in length, by all that the contemplation of universal suffering has added in intensity to the knowledge of our own woes, and henceforward the poet thunders his anathema against the six days of the Creation, and all therein.

If this is the real metaphysical direction of his writings, I have no need to point out that nothing differentiates it more completely from those of the Romantic school. I know no more determined optimists than Lamartine and Alfred de Musset; and though Victor Hugo, and George Sand have sometimes appeared to believe in the existence of evil, on the other hand, they have always believed—the “*Misérables*” and the “*Compagnon du Tour de France*” had no other end but to prove it—and they have died believing that just a little good-will was all that was necessary to drive poverty, suffering, injustice, crime and vice from off the surface of the globe. Leconte de Lislè held, on the contrary, that a man’s greatest happiness was never to have been born; the next best was his death; which is the very formula of both Schopenhauer’s and Sakya-Mouni’s pessimism. Having discovered in nature, and in history, and above all in the religions of the world, nothing but reasons for despairing of God, the author of the “*Poèmes Antiques*” and “*Poèmes Barbares*” went to the root of the doctrine. Nothing is less Romantic, we must confess. For Romanticism means hope, is the chimera or hippogriff that one spurs across the impossible; it is faith also, and the heart’s reasoning, which one sets up triumphantly against the “reasoning of the intellect.” And doubtless, here is one form of poetry, but the “*Dies Irae*,” quoted above, shows that another kind also exists; nor is it the less elevated, or the less noble for having preserved, even in negation, that serenity which perhaps belongs to the definition of Art. I would here remind my readers that want of “sentimentality” in nowise implies “impassibility.”

In truth, we must not confound two very different things; the natural facility we all possess for eloquent complaints respecting our own sufferings; and the difficulty we experience even in understanding those of our neighbour. I will not again quote from “*L’Illusion Suprême*,” or “*Le Manchey*,” but assuredly the poet who wrote “*La Fontaine aux Lianes*,” was neither, “impassive” nor “insensitive”:

“Jeune homme, qui choisis pour ta couche azurée
La fontaine des bois aux flots silencieux,

De quelles passions ta jeunesse assaillie,
Vint-elle ici chercher le repos dans la mort ?

“Pourquoi jusqu’au tombeau cette tristesse amère ?
Ce cœur s’est-il brisé pour avoir trop aimé ?
La blanche illusion, l’espérance éphémère,
En s’en volant au ciel l’ont-elles vu fermé ?” *

* Young man, who chooseth for thine azure bed The woodland pool, with its silent

I have already quoted a few lines from "Qain," but who among his emulators has written anything more broadly human than this single strophe from "La Fin de l'Homme"?

"Salut, ô noirs rochers, cavernes où sommeille
 Dans l'immobile nuit tout ce qui me fut cher,
 Hébron ! muet témoin de mon exil amer,
 Lieu sinistre, où, veillant l'inexprimable veille,
 La femme a pleuré mort le meilleur de sa chair !" *

One is not "impassive"—as I have already said, and—as I repeat—because one has not called the universe to witness one's love-betrayals, which is in itself an indiscretion, nay, an infamy, since our love affairs necessarily concern another as well as ourselves. One is not devoid of "sensibility" for having chosen to lend one's voice to human agony and suffering in general, rather than dedicate one's genius to the elegy of one's own grief. But the real truth is that the Romanticists had prostituted the very meaning of the word "sensibility"; they had exaggerated it, caricatured it even. So let ours be the task to re-establish it in the simplicity of its original meaning, and to extend it far beyond the egotistical circumference within which the most renowned of the Romanticists had sought to enclose it; and should the superficial fear that in thus extending it we force its meaning, we can assure them that the very contrary is the effect. For we are human first, our individual selves second, and the poet can only express in his writings that which for him is personal and unique.

III.

But of what worth are these examples and these lessons? Anyhow one cannot deny they have worked great results. Although during many years Leconte de Lisle was known only to a few dwellers on Mount Parnassus; to a few enthusiasts for Criticism and Art, such as Flaubert and Sainte-Beuve, his influence was not the less felt, since it was exercised over just those few, those chosen disciples, who serve best to uphold and to win favour for the master's teachings. What does it signify that the vulgar herd, and even some few poets such as Hugo and Lamartine, only learned much later the poet's name? He had already passed his sixtieth year before he was elected to Hugo's seat in the French Academy. But all the same, for a score of years, he had been leader of a school of young writers, proof of

waters, By what passions assailed does thy youth Come hither, to seek repose in death?

Whence this melancholy bitter even unto the grave? Is thy heart broken, having loved too much? Thy bright illusion, thy hopes of a day Have they, flying heavenward, found heaven closed?

* Hail, O black rocks, O caverns wherein slumbers In the immobile night all that was dear to me; Hébron! mute witness of my bitter exile, Sinister spot, where, watching through the unutterable vigil, The woman wept the death of her own dearest flesh.

which could be found, were it needed, in the way in which Gautier, in his "Rapport sur l'État de la Poésie," spoke of the "Poèmes Antiques." Much more recently, in a letter with which M. José de Heredia prefaced his "Trophées," he took pleasure in recalling the days when Leconte de Lisle, teaching young poets "the rules and subtle secrets of his art, taught them, too, the love of pure poetry and of pure French." And down to about 1880 it would have been difficult to name a poet who did not show some deference for the author of "Poèmes Barbares" and "Poèmes Antiques." The dignity of his life, the correctness of his conversation, the very severity of his rule, retained near him those who were first attracted by the brilliancy of his powers. M. Stéphane Mallarmé himself and M. Paul Verlaine in the beginning docilely followed his guidance. Baudelaire's influence came later.

The character of his genius and the most frequent sources of his inspiration were in perfect harmony with the tendencies of his age. I have compared his purposes with some at least of those of Renan, and I mentioned that this similarity of ideas had not escaped the notice of some of his contemporaries. On the other hand, were but the Preface to the "Poèmes Antiques" the work of one more accustomed to the prose handling of abstract ideas, the close likeness of design between it and Taine's "Philosophie de l'Art" would be very striking. Man has two methods through which to attain to a knowledge of the stable and creative causes on which his own being and that of his fellow-man depend: the first is Science, which seeking first-causes and fundamental laws, expresses them in exact formulas and abstract terms; the second is Art, which exhibits these laws and causes for us in a striking manner appealing not only to the intellect, but also to the heart and feelings of the most mediocre man. Do but delete the phrase "most mediocre man"—over which opinions might differ—and have we not here precisely the same idea as that expressed by Leconte de Lisle a little way back? And if one desired a running commentary on the innermost meaning of his chief works, none more ample, instructive, or more naturally improvised one could be met with than the "Correspondance de Gustave Flaubert"; which commentary would be more eulogistic still, had not Flaubert in his secret heart reserved for his friend Louis Bouilhet, author of "Fossiles" and of "Mélarnis," the rôle which Leconte de Lisle was about to enact. But these hasty notes are no doubt sufficient.

Between the years 1850 and 1860—for one must not here be too precise as to dates—weariness of the exaggerations of the Romantic school now nearing its end, led to a general expectation in all branches of art, even in that of the theatre, of what Pascal denominates "un renversement pour un contre"—an upsetting of the existing order of things for their exact contrary. The school of reason had

already come to grief, as had also a certain utilitarian or industrial school which took upon itself to introduce into poetry, steam, ballooning, and telegraphy. Maxime du Camp, if I am not mistaken, was one of the "masters," or "strong men" of this school. But it happened on the contrary, that Leconte de Lisle's first poems suited the needs of the time. "Thyoné," "Kybèle," "Khirôn," as a reaction against Romanticism, were precisely that return to the antique, which Ronsard's "Lurère" and Laprade's "Psyché" had so cruelly compromised, and he who reads the following lines :

"Le bambou grêle sonne au vent ; les mousses hautes
Entendent murmurer leurs invisibles hôtes ;
L'abeille en bourdonnant s'envole ; et les grands bois,
Épais, mystérieux, pleins de confuses voix,
Où les sages, plongés dans leur rêve ascétique,
Ne comptent plus les jours tombés du ciel antique,
Sentant courir la sève et circuler le feu,
Se dressent rajeunis dans l'air subtil et bleu," *

though unable to deny the superiority of workmanship to the "Chûte d'un Ange," the superiority of touch to the "Orientales," or the superiority of composure to the lurid poems of Musset's "Nuits," will find nevertheless all the warm colouring, the sonority, and even that touch of grotesqueness to which the Romantic school had so acclimatised our eyes and ears, that it had become a second nature. It was at once the same thing, and its antithesis ; and this stamp of originality on the familiar is the sign by which a legitimate evolution may be recognised.

If our present-day poets should now in their turn have passed the goal attained by the "Poèmes Antiques" and the "Poèmes Barbares," that is another consideration which would carry me too far if I were to attempt to enter into it in this article. Let me confine myself, therefore, to reminding my readers that perhaps, in his reaction against the excessive liberty of the Romanticists, and in his insistence on respect for form as the justification for the poet's very existence, Leconte de Lisle holds the Muse sometimes too rigidly bound down. "All honour and reverence to beauty of form !" and certainly, and above all things, poetry must first be poetry, though the thought it expresses be never so deep. It is equally certain that verse which is neither rhythmical nor yet rhymed, is not verse, but prose—in France, at least. Besides, no matter how severe the rule for poetry, it has never been denied that it must sometimes give way ; Boileau himself was not afraid to admit it. But we are confronted with another problem to-day, and, to lose no time over useless details, we are asked whether a certain vagueness and want of precision do not belong to

* The slender bamboo sings in the wind ; the tall mosses hear the murmur of their invisible guests ; The bee hums as it flies, and the great woods, Dense, mysterious, full of confused voices, (Where the sages, plunged in ascetic dreams, Count no longer the days that fall from the ancient heavens), Feeling the sap run and the fire course, Rise with new youth in the delicate blue air.

the very definition of poetry. Should poetry fetter the freedom of the imagination, clip the wings of dreams? Is not her power as much that of music as of the plastic arts? and shall we not destroy her most subtle charm by imprisoning her behind the armour of too learned a technique? I attempt no solution. But one sees clearly that, if the question ever comes to be decided against all restraint, then Leconte de Lisle's influence will be done with; it will have ceased to work, and we shall retain no more of the general intention of his writings, but that which the spirit of the age has incorporated, as it were, in itself. For instance, no Cassegras will henceforth treat the admirable author of "Andromaque" and "Phèdre" as rogue; no Goncourt will suspect the ancients of having evolved themselves, for the pleasure of providing at the end of two thousand years "bread for the professors;" and none finally will be found to deny that a "naturalistic and atheistical poetry" can be the equal in sublimity of any other kind. It is true we should all be aware of this ever since a certain Lucretius wrote "De Natura Rerum."

I might still say a few words on the theory of art for art's sake, which was that of Leconte de Lisle, and in which he believed no less firmly and passionately than did Flaubert himself.

"Du bonheur impassible ô symbole adorable," *

he exclaimed, addressing himself to the Venus de Milo :

"Calme comme la mer en sa sérénité,
Nul sanglot n'a brisé ton sein inaltérable,
Jamais les pleurs humains n'ont terni ta beauté." †

To which, perhaps, one might reply a little brutally that humanity would perish were it to fix its ideal so high; and, after all, brutal though it be, the reply is a sensible one, too. Life and art cannot be completely divided. But I will not insist, since the doctrine of art for art's sake, so fatal in most things, is nowhere less so than in poetry and in painting. And at any rate, as I have shown, though Leconte de Lisle made a religion to himself of art for art's sake, he nevertheless forgot occasionally its rigorous and narrow application, and his writings, as I have endeavoured to show, are more interpenetrated with humanity than he himself perhaps knew.

"O nuit! Déchirements enflammés de la nuit,
Cèdres déracinés, torrents, souffles furieux,
O lamentations de mon père, ô douleurs,
O remords, vous avez accueilli ma venue,
Et ma mère a brisé ma lèvre de ses pleurs."

"Buvant avec son lait la terreur qui l'enivre,
A son côté gisant livide et sans abri,

* O adorable symbol of impassible happiness.

† Calm as the sea in its serenity, No sob has ever shaken thy unchangeable bosom, Never have human tears dimmed thy beauty.

La foudre a répondu seule à mon premier cri ;
Celui qui m'engendra m'a reproché de vivre,
Celle qui m'a conçu ne m'a jamais souri !”*

The cry of Cain will doubtless last as long as the French language ; and may we not ask of what eloquence consists, if not in the memory of Adam's sin, which still, after so many centuries, lies heavy upon his sons ? or what is there more human ?

It is time to conclude. Tendencies pass, but great works endure ; and in the history of literature and of art, those are the real masters whose productions outlive the tendency. Leconte de Lisle is such a one. Marked out for immortality from the instant of their first appearance, the “*Poèmes Antiques*” and “*Poèmes Barbares*” remain unmarred by time.

“*Les ans n'ont pas pesés sur leur grâce immortelle*” ;†

or, not to sacrifice the exactness of the phrase to the pleasure of quoting a last line from the poet, it were better said that time has neither arnished their lustre nor diminished their solid worth. No doubt all are not of equal value, and the future will make its choice. But what may be asserted to-day is, that no one has given us in French, neither Racine in his “*Odes*,” nor, above all, in his “*Hymnes*,” nor Chénier in his “*Idylles*,” a more vivid and accurate picture of Grecian beauty than has the author of the “*Plainte du Cyclope*” or “*Héraklès au Taureau*.” Should, however, the hypercritical, deeming this merit as one belonging rather to the archaeologist than to the poet, acknowledge it but from the lips only, I will not insist upon it, nor point out to them that 'tis precisely this they praise most in Theocritus and Virgil. But I will remind them that no one has drawn with greater truthfulness and grandeur than Leconte de Lisle those nature-pictures of which the “*Panthère noire*” and the “*Sommeil du Condor*,” the “*Éléphants*” and the “*Hurleurs*,” the “*Jungles*” and the “*Forêt vierge*,” are perhaps the masterpieces. And since one must seek to be armed at all points, should it be denied that, in giving it an enumerative picturesqueness and a truly lyrical didacticness, he has added to the art of poetical description a value hitherto unknown in our tongue, we may at any rate honour in the author of “*Quân*” and of the “*Fin de l'Homme*” one of the poets who has sung the most eloquently all that is most painful, most tragic, and most universal in pessimism. F. BRUNETIÈRE.

* O night ! Flery rendings of the cloud, Uprooted cedars, torrents, howling blasts, O lamentations of my father ! O sorrows ! O remorse ! You welcomed my coming ; And my mother scalden my lips with her tears.

Drinking in with her milk the tincture that filled her, Lying at her side, li, and unsheltered, The thunder alone answered my first cry. He who begot me reproached me for living. She who conceived me never smiled upon me.

† The years have not weighed on their immortal grace.

